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DR. LELAND'S

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND

FROM THE

INVASION of HENRY II.

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PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

ON THE

ANTIENT STATE OF THAT KINGDOM.

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VOL. III.

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THE HISTORY OF IRELAND FROM THE INVASION of HENRY II.

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A. D. 1629. IT were natural to expect, that Ireland, ſituated as it now appears, relieved from the calamities of inteſtine war, with a more general, and apparently more ſincere ſubmiſſion to the crown of England than former ages had experienced, ſhould proceed in quiet, through the courſe of civility and refinement, without affording any incidents conſiderable enough to be recorded. But that happy period had not yet arrived, when the turbulence and commotion which ſupply materials for the hiſtorian, ſhould be exchanged for a peaceable and proſperous obſcurity. From the preſent period, we ſhall find the affairs of this country more intereſting and important, more nearly connected with thoſe of England, and therefore the worthier and more neceſſary to be diſtinctly conſidered.

THE inſtructions tranſmitted by Charles to his lord deputy, which declared the rights, and promiſed to redreſs the grievances of his Iriſh ſubjects, were, for the preſent, received with ſatisfaction. The king ſtood engaged, that his graces ſhould be confirmed by a law of parliament; and the inſincerity of his profeſſions was not yet completely diſcovered. The people therefore chearfully ſubmitted to the contribution, by which theſe graces had been purchaſed. Every party concurred in this extraordinary ſupply: but the whole merit was aſſumed by the recuſants, who indeed formed the majority of the nation. They profeſſed the moſt zealous loyalty; but ſecretly exulted in the perſuaſion, that the army, and of conſequence the authority of the crown in Ireland, could not be maintained without their aſſiſtance.

Lord Faulkland ſeems to have been more diſtinguiſhed by his rectitude than abilities. In a government which required vigour and auſterity, he was indolent and gentle; courting, rather than terrifying the factious. He was harraſſed by the intrigues and clamours of the king's miniſters, whom he could not always gratify to the full extent of their deſires; his actions were ſeverely interpreted and maligned at the court of England; his adminiſtration of conſequence was cautious and embarraſſed. Such a governour was little qualified to awe the numerous and powerful body of recuſants, relying on their merits, and ſtimulated by their eccleſiaſtics to the moſt imprudent exceſſes. Their religious worſhip was once more celebrated with public ſolemnity, and with the full parade of their oſtentatious ritual. Churches were ſeized for their ſervice; their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was avowedly and ſeverely executed; new friaries and nunneries were erected; and even in the city of Dublin, under the immediate notice of the ſtate, an academical body was formed, and governed by an eccleſiaſtic of ſome note, for the education of popiſh youth. The clergy, by whoſe influence theſe violent proceedings were directed, were by their numbers, and by their principles, juſtly alarming to government. They ſwarmed into the kingdom from foreign ſeminaries; where they had imbibed the moſt inveterate

veterate prejudices againſt England, and the moſt abject and peſtilent opinions of the papal authority. Seculars and regulars alike had bound themſelves by ſolemn oath, to defend the papacy againſt the whole world; to labour for the augmentation of its power and privileges; to execute its mandates, and to perſecute heretics. Their whole body acted in dangerous concert, under the direction of the pope, and ſubject to the orders of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, lately erected at Rome; and many of them, by their education in the ſeminaries of Spain, were peculiarly devoted to the intereſts of that monarchy; habituated to regard the inſurrections of the old Iriſh in the reign of Elizabeth as the moſt generous exertions of patriotiſm, and taught to deteſt that power which had quelled this ſpirit, and eſtabliſhed a dominion on the ruins of the antient dignity and pre-eminence of their countrymen.

THE proteſtant party were no leſs zealous in their deteſtation of popiſh idolatry. The inferiours of their clergy were poor, and ſometimes ſo ſcandalouſly profligate, as to occaſion a ſarcaſtical obſervation of an Iriſhman to be recorded, that *the king's prieſts were as bad as thoſe of the pope*. But there was not wanting many, to whom the purity of the faith was an object of eſpecial moment; and who, with the ſupport of ſome grave and reſpectable prelates, as well as ſome of the officers of ſtate, of Engliſh birth, and puritanic education, remonſtrated warmly to Faulkland, on the turbulence of the recuſants, and the dangerous tendency of their preſent practices. The temper of this deputy diſpoſed him, and his inſtructions from England directed him to moderation and indulgence in the affair of religious controverſy. But the repeated inſtances of his council could not be neglected. He iſſued a proclamation importing, that "the late intermiſſion of legal proceedings "againſt popiſh pretended titular archbiſhops, biſhops, ab-

"bots, deans, vicars-general, Jeſuits, friars, and others, deriving their pretended authority from the ſee of Rome, in contempt of his majeſty's royal power and authority, had bred ſuch an extravagant inſolence and preſumption in them, that he was neceſſitated to charge and command them in his majeſty's name to forbear the exerciſe of their popiſh rites and ceremonies."

THE proclamation was publiſhed and received without the common reſpect due to an act of ſtate; nor did the deputy think himſelf warranted to proceed to any farther ſeverity. The popiſh worſhip was ſtill maintained; nor was the new college, erected by the recuſants in Dublin, ſuppreſſed by government: for the chief governour attended minutely to his inſtructions from London, and theſe were not unfavourable to that party which poſſeſſed the greateſt ſhare of power in Ireland. But the leaſt reſtraint or diſcouragement was ſufficient to awaken the reſentment of the recuſants. They now began, in the melancholy tone of diſcontent, to lament the weight and grievance of the public burdens. They inveighed againſt thoſe agents whom they had lately ſent into England, and complained that, without due commiſſion or authority, they had conſented to a tax too grievous to be ſupported. They who were ſtill harraſſed by vexatious inquiſitions into the titles of their eſtates; they who from any motives were flattered with the hopes of being relieved from public burdens, eaſily united in this clamour, which ſoon became ſo violent and alarming, that the government condeſcended to a ſort of compromiſe, and accepted a quarterly payment of five thouſand, inſtead of ten thouſand pounds, until the whole voluntary ſubſidy ſhould be diſcharged. The impatience of Charles and his miniſters at this murmuring of the Iriſh ſubjects, and this manifeſt reluctance to fulfil their engagements, made them readier to liſten to any complaints againſt the conduct of the chief governour. Lord Faulkland was recalled, and the adminiſtration entruſted for the preſent to two lords juſtices, A. D. 1630. united by friendſhip and affinity, and of conſiderable conſequence in Ireland, Adam Loftus, viſcount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, earl of Cork, lord high-treaſurer of this kingdom.

The firſt of theſe chief governours derived his fortune and ſtation from the activity and prudence of Loftus, archbiſhop of Dublin, in the reign of Elizabeth. The earl, head of the noble family of Boyle, had arrived in Ireland as a private adventurer in the ſame reign; and by a fortunate marriage, by induſtry and judicious conduct, by *purchaſing from Sir Walter Raleigh his portion of the Deſmond forfeitures*, and by introducing Engliſh colonies into his eſtates, had riſen gradually to the firſt degree of conſequence. He had been knighted, created baron Boyle, viſcount Dungarvan, and earl of Cork, and was now advanced to the government of Ireland; a progreſs in which he poſſibly was the ſpeedier and more ſucceſsful, as the heads of the two leading families in Ireland, Kildare and Ormond, were in the ſtate of minority. The power of the firſt of theſe houſes he afterwards contrived *to connect in* ſome ſort with his own *intereſts, by giving one of his* daughters in marriage to the young earl of Kildare.

The earl of Cork was poſſeſſed with a ſpirit ſuited to his exalted rank; not with a deſpicable pride of family that repoſes faſtidiouſly on its advantages, with a contemptuous diſregard of all inferiours; but with a liberal and generous ſolicitude for the welfare of thoſe he governed. On his own lands he had fixed a numerous, well regulated, and well defended body of Engliſh proteſtants; which ſoon rewarded him by the natural effects of ſuch generous cares, induſtry, affluence, and civility. With the ſame principles, and by the ſame means, he ſtudied to promote the general welfare of the nation in his public conduct.

With particular aſſiduity he laboured to execute a ſcheme of tranſplanting into the remote quarters of the South thoſe turbulent Iriſh ſepts of Wiclow, who had for ages harraſſed the Engliſh government, and filling the neighbourhood of the capital with more peaceable and induſtrious inhabitants. The errours of popery were offenſive to his religious principles; and that barbariſm, which generally attended it in Ireland, was equally repugnant to his ſchemes of political improvement. Without conſulting the miniſtry of England, or waiting for any inſtructions from the king, the lords juſtices fell at once with great ſeverity on the recuſants, and threatened all abſenters from the *eſtabliſhed worſhip with the penalties of the ſtatute, enacted in the ſecond year of Elizabeth's reign.* They were however ſoon informed, that this ſeverity was not acceptable to the king, nor deemed conſiſtent with his preſent intereſts in Ireland: and the recuſants, as uſual, were immoderate in their triumph.

A fraternity of Carmelites appeared in the habit of their order, and publicly celebrated their religious rites, in one of the moſt frequented parts of Dublin. The archbiſhop of the dioceſe, and the chief magiſtrate of the city, whoſe indignation *was rouſed at* this defiance of law and government, led a party *of the army to their place of worſhip,* and attempted to diſperſe the aſſembly. The friars and their congregation repelled the attack by force, and obliged the aſſailants to conſult their ſafety by a precipitate flight. The incident was repreſented in England in the moſt offenſive manner, and ſeemed to reproach that miſtaken lenity which had encouraged the recuſants to this outrage. It was deemed neither ſafe nor politic to connive at ſuch inſolence: by an order of the Engliſh council, fifteen religious houſes were ſeized to the king's uſe, and the popiſh college erected in Dublin was aſſigned to the univerſity, who for the preſent converted it into a proteſtant ſeminary.

But the ſuppreſſion of popiſh ſuperſtition was an object much leſs intereſting to the Engliſh cabinet, than that of providing for the immediate neceſſities of the king's Iriſh government. The time now approached when the voluntary ſubſidy was to determine. There were no hopes of maintaining the authority of the crown in Ireland without a competent military force, and little proſpect of any farther ſupply for the continuance of ſuch a force. To relieve himſelf from the additional embarraſſment ariſing from the weakneſs, danger, and diſtractions of the ſtate of Ireland, Charles now determined to commit the government of this kingdom to Thomas, lord viſcount Wentwoth, a ſtateſman highly favoured and eſteemed by his maſter; and although he could not for the preſent be ſpared to enter on his office, yet his activity and intrigue were of conſiderable aſſiſtance to the king, in the management of Iriſh affairs. The great point now to be obtained, was the renewal of the voluntary contribution for ſome time, until the lord deputy could aſſume his government, and have leiſure to deviſe ſome permanent proviſion for the army. The preſent lords juſtices, either from a ſenſe of the public burdens and poverty of Ireland, or from their zeal againſt popery, objected to any continuance of the contribution, from which they declared that all the ſubjects of every denomination were obſtinately averſe: they adviſed, that recuſants ſhould be ſtrictly preſented, and the weekly fines impoſed, for their abſence from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, as a means of providing for the army. Both the king and Wentworth diſapproved a ſcheme of ſupply, precarious and inſufficient; both however agreed in the expediency of alarming the recuſants, ſo as to conquer their reluctance to a new contribution. Charles now uſed a new language to his Iriſh ſubjects. If the ſubſidy were not chearfully and thankfully continued, he threatened, that his graces, thoſe graces which he had promiſed to confirm by parliament, ſhould be *ſtreightened*; that the recuſants'

D. 1632.

rafford's
tt. Vol. I.
71.

cuſants' fines ſhould be univerſally and ſtrictly levied, directing that the preſentments neceſſary for this purpoſe ſhould be made. He was careful at the ſame time to caſt the odium of this meaſure on the lords juſtices, by declaring it to be the conſequence of their advice. The juſtices were terrified; they could not venture to enter the king's letter, agreeably to his order, in the council books, leſt the inſpection of it ſhould produce ſome dangerous clamour. For this they were ſeverely, Strafford's Lett. vol. I. p. 77. and even inſolently reprimanded by Wentworth. He affected to deride the difficulties apprehended by the juſtices and council, in prevailing for a continuance of the contribution; he *inſinuated that the earl of Cork practiſed ſecretly with the* Ib. p. 75, 76. *proteſtant party, to embarraſs the king in his neceſſities*; his agents were privately employed to prevail on the recuſants to offer half a yearly ſubſidy, as the only means of ſuſpending the execution of the penal ſtatutes; and for this purpoſe to ſend a deputation to the king. Although they objected to repeat the errour they had formerly committed, and to treat by deputies who might exceed their commiſſion, they yet declared a readineſs to contribute voluntarily to the ſupport of the army *for ſome time* longer. After ſome altercation and delay it was at *length agreed, that the ſum of* twenty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to the former contribution, to be paid by four equal quarterly aſſeſſments. Thus were the immediate neceſſities of the ſtate ſupplied; and lord Wentworth was ſoon after ſent to aſſume the adminiſtration; a nobleman from whoſe vigour and abilities Charles expected the effectual regulation and improvement of his Iriſh dominions. A. D. 1633.

Few characters have been more the ſubject both of cenſure and panegyric than that of lord Wentworth, better known by his ſuperiour title of Strafford. His conduct as chief governour of Ireland forms no inconſiderable part of the hiſtory of his life; his enemies and his admirers have therefore carefully inſpected it. His deſertion of the popular cauſe in England had rendered him odious to a party powerful, implacable, ſubtile, and indefatigable. The extraordinary attention and favour of the king were ſufficient to encreaſe this odium, even if he had not proved ſo determined a partizan of prerogative. Some of the leaders of the party he had perſonally offended; and relying on that protection, which deſerted him in his extremity, he ſeemed to defy, and therefore confirmed their enmity. Their rancour purſued him into Ireland; watched his conduct ſtrictly, and interpreted his actions ſeverely. He aſſumed his government with a mind and affection fixed on one ſingle object, *the immediate intereſt of his royal maſter: and happily the ſervice of the crown obliged* him to ſtudy the improvement of the realm. He had heard of the turbulence and diſorders of this country; and hence inferred the neceſſity of that ſevere and rigorous adminiſtration which ſuited his own auſterity and arrogance. Ireland he regarded as a conquered kingdom in the ſtricteſt ſenſe. He avowed and defended the opinion, under all the terrours of impeachment, when it was charged againſt him as a traiterous principle; and from this crude conception he *deduced a conſequence* at once *ridiculous and deteſtable, that the ſubjects* of this country, without diſtinction, had forfeited the rights of men and citizens; and for whatever they were permitted to enjoy, depended ſolely on the royal grace. Such men he was naturally diſpoſed to treat with contempt; and even the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Iriſh ſubjects were of little conſequence in the eye of an imperious nobleman, uſed to the magnificence of the Engliſh court, diſtinguiſhed even in the crowd of exalted perſonages, and known to enjoy an extraordinary portion of the royal favour.

Against ſeveral in Ireland, of exalted ſtation, he had already conceived ſome prejudice, or ſome reſentment. The friends of lord Faulkland he regarded with ſuſpicion; for he looked on this nobleman as his ſecret enemy. The puritans he abhorred; for, like their brethren in England, they were jealous of the prerogative, nor readily diſpoſed to comply with every demand of the crown. Sir William Parſons, who, from a needy adventurer, had, by the power of aſſiduity and cunning, if not by means ſtill more exceptionable, acquired an ample fortune, and miniſterial ſtation, was conſidered as a principal agent in obſtructing the king's ſchemes; and to him therefore Wentworth was particularly ill diſpoſed. The earl of Cork was powerful; and one favourite ſcheme of the new lord-deputy was to break the power of the great lords; which indeed had frequently been applied to the baſeſt purpoſes. Wentworth had been inſtructed to pay particular attention to the intereſts, as well as the regulation of the eſtabliſhed clergy: the earl had poſſeſſed himſelf of lands which belonged to the church; and, what the deputy had learned from Laud to regard with equal abhorrence, he had erected a family-monument in the cathedral of Saint Patrick in Dublin, ſo untowardly ſituated, that it took up the place of what the prelate of Canterbury affected to call the GREAT ALTAR. The ſevereſt menaces were already denounced againſt the earl's injuſtice, and oppreſſive uſurpation, aggravated by an act of ſuch flagrant impiety. The clergy of the puritanic ſpirit were no leſs obnoxious; and among theſe were reckoned Uſher of Armagh, and Bedel of Kilmore, two men eminently diſtinguiſhed by their learning and piety. Bedel, with more of ſimplicity than policy, had united with the inhabitants of his dioceſe in a petition to the late lords juſtices, repreſenting the new contribution as irregularly obtained, and oppreſſively levied. Wentworth therefore landed full fraught with the bittereſt reſentment againſt his preſumptuous oppoſition to the king's ſervice. Uſher, more cautious, as yet gave no offence;

Straff. Lett. vol. I.

but

but lived in a quiet enjoyment of the conſequence derived from his character no leſs than his ſtation. To form a balance againſt this popular prelate, the deputy came attended by doctor Bramhal, whom he reſolved to advance to a diſtinguiſhed ſtation in the church of Ireland; a man ſufficiently endowed with abilities and erudition, but whoſe ideas both of doctrine and diſcipline were ſo conſonant to thoſe of Laud, that Oliver Cromwell afterwards called him *the Canterbury of Ireland.*

LORD Wentworth thus aſſumed the reins of government with lively prepoſſeſſions, and paſſions violently enflamed: and at the moment of his inauguration diſguſted thoſe he was to manage, by an incident not worthy to be noted, but that incidents apparently trifling ſerve to diſcover men's tempers and diſpoſitions. When he had viſited the late lords juſtices, with an affected attention, which the proudeſt are the moſt ready to ſhew to their immediate inferiours; and had been formally inveſted with his office, he ſummoned a council; but agreeably to the uſage of that court, in which he had been trained to buſineſs, but which was utterly unknown in Ireland, he ſummoned only a particular number, to the utter mortification of thoſe who were omitted. And thoſe who were collected, among whom were the late juſtices, he was ſo careleſs or ſo inſolent, as to offend by a wanton indignity. They aſſembled at the hour appointed; but the deputy, either from an affectation of ſtate, or from a more agreeable engagement with a lady, whom he met in Dublin, and had juſt declared to be his wife, neglected them for ſome hours; and when he at length appeared, inſtead of conferring on the buſineſs for which they had been ſummoned, only charged the judges to repreſent in their circuits the favour which the king offered to ſuch as would repair their defective grants; and to ſatisfy the proteſtants with regard to the new impoſition for maintainance of the army, as a charge neceſſary in itſelf, and intended

Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 57.

intended chiefly for their defence. Thus, with an air of careleſs inſolence, he diſmiſſed the council, declaring that they ſhould be again ſpeedily convened, to deliver their opinions on the means of ſupplying the king's immediate neceſſities.

In this next meeting they were ſilent and ſuſpicious. The chancellor at length ſuggeſted that the king ſhould call an Iriſh parliament, in order to provide a regular and ſettled eſtabliſhment for the army, to redreſs the grievances, and ſecure the properties of the ſubjects againſt thoſe litigations of their titles which ſtill ſubſiſted; adviſing, in the mean time, that the voluntary contribution ſhould be continued for another year. The earl of Cork was more reſerved; Parſons, the maſ*ter of the wards, utterly averſe from any new contribution.* The deputy was provoked. He told them, that without their help, he would undertake, at the peril of his head, to make the king's army able to ſubſiſt; that he had taken them to counſel, not from neceſſity, but to give them a fair occaſion of ſhewing their affection and duty to the king; and that the offer of another contribution might move from the proteſtant, as the former had been the act of the popiſh party. He there*fore* adviſed them to ſeize the opportunity of approving their *loyalty; to ſign an offer* of the next year's contribution, and at the ſame time *to petition his majeſty that* a parliament ſhould be aſſembled with all convenient ſpeed.

Straff. Lett. vol. I. p. 99.

A parliament was for ſeveral reaſons highly deſirable. The voluntary contributions to the ſupport of the army had been already ſo long continued, and ſo regularly renewed, that the ſubjects had reaſon to apprehend that they would be converted into an hereditary charge upon their lands. The revenues of the crown required improvement, the circumſtances of the realm called for an equitable ſettlement. Needy projectors, and rapacious courtiers, ſtill continued the ſcandalous traffick of pleading the king's title againſt the poſſeſſors of eſtates, of ſeizing their lands, or forcing them to grievous compoſitions. The deputy had indeed received a commiſſion for the remedy of defective titles: but the ingenuity of court lawyers in defeating the effect of ſeveral former commiſſions, had impreſſed the ſubjects with a laſting terrour, and left them no hopes of quiet and ſecurity, but in ſuch a proviſion as their own parliament ſhould deviſe. The council therefore were readily influenced by the hopes of a parliament, to renew the contribution for one year longer. Both their grant and their petition were tranſmitted to the king; the whole body of the realm was influenced by their example, and readily concurred in both.

Wentworth thus obtained a ſupply for the immediate occaſions of his government. The army was paid, cloathed, ſtrictly inſpected, duely diſciplined, without burden or offence to thoſe diſtricts in which they were quartered; and being often drawn out in bodies, added to the reputation of the ſtate, by the gallantry of their appearance, terrified the diſorderly, and protected the good ſubjects. But the aſſembling a parliament was, as he expreſſed it, a matter fit to be weightily conſidered. Charles had an habitual horrour of ſuch aſſemblies. "As for that hydra," ſaid he to *his lord-deputy*, "take "good heed; for you know that here I have found it as well "cunning as malitious. It is trew that your grounds are well "laid, and I aſſure you that I have great truſt in your care "and judgment; yet my opinion is that it will not be the "worſe for my ſervice, though their obſtinacy make you to "break them; for I fear that they have ſome ground, to de"mand more than it is fit for me to give." In effect, the king muſt naturally have apprehended that an Iriſh parliament would claim the performance of his royal promiſe, and preſs for a confirmation of the graces tranſmitted in inſtruction to lord Faulkland. Some of theſe were conceived to be inconſiſtent

Strafford's Lett. vol. I. p. 233.

ſiſtent with the power neceſſary to be maintained in Ireland; others ſeemed equally repugnant to the preſent profit of the crown. The ſcheme of an extenſive plantation in Connaught, if not avowed, was firmly reſolved on; and the limitation of the king's title to ſixty years, it was computed, would deprive the crown of full twenty thouſand pounds annual revenue. The deputy, however, relying on his own addreſs for managing a parliament, quieted the king's apprehenſions, by reminding him, that ſuch an aſſembly in Ireland was the leſs formidable, as by the law of Poynings, no act could paſs, which had not previouſly received the royal inſpection and approbation. *It was reſolved to comply with the deſires of the nation; and the whole delicate affair was entruſted to the conduct of lord Wentworth.* Strafford's Lett. vol. I. p. 183.

THE great object of this lord was to prevail on the ſubjects to grant a liberal ſupply; and at the ſame time to evade the confirmation of any of thoſe graces of the year 1628, which were now deemed inconſiſtent with the intereſts of the crown. It was uncertain what impreſſion an immediate denial of any of theſe might make upon the houſes of parliament. To *guard againſt all danger, he propoſed that two diſtinct ſeſſions ſhould be held, and that the king's promiſe ſhould be given for* both: the firſt for providing for the army and the debts of the crown; the ſecond for enacting laws and graces for the benefit of the ſubject. His ſucceſs depended in a great meaſure on the diſpoſitions of the members who were to compoſe the houſe of commons. Great care was uſed in the nomination of ſheriffs. Perſons well affected to government were encouraged to ſtand candidates for particular places, and ſupported in their elections. No reliance could be placed either on the recuſants, or the puritanic proteſtants; all depended on a dexterous management of their paſſions and intereſts. It was contrived, therefore, that the lower houſe ſhould be compoſed A. D. 1634.

of both papiſts and proteſtants, ſo equally balanced, that neither party ſhould appear predominant; and Wentworth condeſcended to practiſe ſecretly with each. To the recuſants he obſerved, that if ſome ſupply were not deviſed for the army, before the preſent contribution ſhould expire, government muſt neceſſarily recur to the weekly levies on abſenters from the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The proteſtants were reminded, that until a regular proviſion ſhould be made for the neceſſities of government, the king could not refuſe the bounty of the recuſants, or diſcontent them by the execution of penal ſtatutes. Thus, while he rendered each more tractable by their apprehenſions of the other party, he at the ſame time took care *that a ſufficient number of military officers ſhould be choſen burgeſſes*, who by their immediate dependence on the crown, would on every critical occaſion be directed by the deputy, and incline the ballance of parties, as he ſhould deem neceſſary.

WITH this political addreſs Wentworth mixed no inconſiderable portion of his pride and ſeverity. It had been uſual in Ireland, previous to the holding a parliament, that the lords of the Pale ſhould be ſummoned and conſulted, on the time, circumſtances, and buſineſs of this aſſembly. *It was moved in* council, that this cuſtom *ſhould be now obſerved*; but the deputy ſuppreſſed the motion peremptorily and ſeverely. Theſe lords deputed one of their number, the earl of Fingal, to remind him of the cuſtom: he treated his overture with contempt and diſdain, and reprimanded the preſumption of it with an indecent acrimony. When the council had aſſembled *to* deliberate on the cauſes and conſiderations, and the bills to be tranſmitted, previous to the ſeſſion of parliament, they at firſt ſeemed little inclined to tread preciſely in the path which the lord deputy pointed out; they propoſed ſeveral bills to be tranſmitted together with the ſubſidies, as good inducements to content the houſes: it was expected that the bill of ſubſidies

Strafford's Lett. Vol. I. p. 246.

Ib. p. 237.

ſhould be ſent with blanks, that the king himſelf might preſcribe the number and manner of theſe donations: the council on the other hand contended, that the ſums required ſhould be immediately aſcertained, and that they ſhould not exceed the ſtrict bounds of neceſſity. The deputy quickly interrupted theſe deliberations: he told them, that inſtead of conſulting what might pleaſe the people in parliament, the duty of their place required them to conſider what might pleaſe the king, and induce him to call one; that his majeſty deſerved and expected the confidence of his people; that he would admit of no conditions, no bargain or ſtipulation, and no conſtraint upon the free *and chearful hearts of his people.* *A permanent proviſion was neceſſary for his army; not a momentary and precarious ſupply.* "The king," ſaid he, "deſires this great work may be "ſettled by parliament. He covets to walk in this, as the "moſt beaten path, yet not more legal than that of his prero"gative royal, where the ordinary way fails him. If this peo"ple can be ſo unwiſe as to caſt off his gracious propoſals, and "their own ſafety, it muſt be done without them. As a "faithful ſervant to my maſter, I ſhall counſel his majeſty to "*attempt it firſt* by the ordinary means: diſappointed there, "*where he may with ſo much right* expect it, I could not, in "a cauſe ſo juſt and neceſſary, deny to appear for him in the "head of that army; and there either perſuade them fully that "his majeſty had reaſon on his ſide, or die in the purſuit of "his commands ſo juſtly laid upon me. Nay, I do not hold "it impoſſible to effect his deſires with the general conſent of "the nation, by taking the ſupply from thoſe only who are "beſt able to anſwer it, and all this while have paid little or "nothing."

THE counſellors, who but now canvaſſed every propoſition of government with freedom, were in a moment ſhamefully confounded and ſilenced by this inſolence. They trembled;

and

and acquieſced in every meaſure propoſed by the deputy. The parliament aſſembled in extraordinary pomp. The ſpeaker of the commons was choſen on the recommendation of lord Wentworth. After ſome fruitleſs attempts of the recuſants, to gain a majority to their ſide, by proceeding directly to purge the houſe of members unduly choſen or returned, the queſtion of ſupply was propoſed. With one voice the commons voted a grant of ſix ſubſidies, four for paying the debts of the eſtabliſhment, two for buying in rents and penſions: not that the uſes were determined by a formal appropriation: they entruſted the management of their ſupplies ſolely to the deputy; requeſting only by petition, *that it might be applied to theſe purpoſes.* Such zeal did they expreſs, and *ſuch delicate concern for the* honour of their chief governour, that when Sir Robert Talbot had been betrayed in debate into ſome unguarded reflections on his conduct, he was inſtantly expelled, and committed to cloſe cuſtody, until he ſhould implore pardon of the lord deputy on his knees. With this prompt compliance, and this ardour of affection, they ſeemed to have imbibed a full portion of the arbitrary ſpirit of the preſent government; for when one of their members had been affronted, they inſtantly *commanded the* ſheriff of Dublin to *inflict corporal puniſhment* on the offender.

Com. Journ. V. I. p. 116.

Ib. p. 118.

In the upper houſe, the current did not run ſo violently in favour of the lord deputy and his meaſures. At the very opening of the ſeſſion he experienced that the ſpirit of the old Engliſh nobility of Ireland by no means correſponded with the contemptuous ideas he had formed of the whole nation. To guard againſt exceſſes, to which contending parties might be ſuddenly tranſported, he revived an order iſſued in the late reign by lord Chicheſter, which forbad the members to enter their reſpective houſes with their ſwords. They had uſually complied, without conſidering the inſult on their privileges. The

Carte, Orm.

uſher of the black-rod attended at the entrance of the houſe of lords to receive the ſwords of the peers. The earl of Ormond, lately come to age, with a ſpirit and underſtanding ſuited to his deſcent, heard the order with ſcorn, and refuſed to deliver up the neceſſary enſign of his dignity. Provoked at a rude and peremptory repetition of the demand, he told the officer, that if he muſt receive his ſword, it ſhould be in his body: and thus marched to his ſeat with a ſtately indignation. The lord deputy, highly incenſed at this ſingular contempt of his authority, ſummoned the earl of Ormond to anſwer for his diſobedience before the council. The young lord appeared, avowed his knowledge of the order, and his own wilful diſobedience; but added, that he had received the inveſtiture of his earldom *per cincturam gladii*, and was both entitled and bound by the royal command, to attend his duty in parliament, *gladio cinctus.* Wentworth was abaſhed and confounded. He conſulted his friends, whether he ſhould at once cruſh, or reconcile this daring ſpirit. They reminded him of the neceſſity of gaining ſome among the great perſonages of Ireland; of the power, connections, and capacity of the earl; of the good diſpoſitions he had already diſcovered to the intereſts of the crown; of his influence in the houſe of peers, fortified as he was by the proxies of the lords Caſtlehaven, Somerſet, Baltimore, and Aungier: they adviſed, that the lord deputy ſhould by all means reconcile the earl, and attach him to his intereſt. The advice was purſued: Ormond ſoon appeared a particular favourite at the Iriſh court; and at the age of twenty-four, was admitted into the privy-council.

But as birth and ſtation are not ſufficient of themſelves to ſupport their own conſequence, the young earl of Kildare was not treated with the ſame attention. Provoked at the neglect of the lord deputy, he had determined to ſend his proxy, and abſent himſelf from parliament. The king by letter commanded his perſonal attendance. He obeyed; but either from reſentment, or through the influence of his father-in-law, the earl of Cork, warmly oppoſed every meaſure of the deputy. Wentworth was provoked; and his reſentment appeared in his imperious treatment of the earl. Impatient of ſuch inſolence, he hurried ſecretly to the court of England, without licence of departure, as if he were determined to ſeek redreſs from the throne. But Charles had been effectually prepoſſeſſed againſt him; and his precipitate and fruitleſs adventure ended in regaining the royal favour by a ſubmiſſion to the deputy, and a promiſe of future ſervice.

Strafford's Lett. Vol. I. p. 290.

In the mean time the peers of Ireland *ſeemed neither intimidated by the ſeverity of the chief governour, nor deceived by his artifices.* They complained loudly of public grievances; preſſed for the confirmation of the royal graces; were particularly urgent for eſtabliſhing that article, which confined the king's claims on their lands to a retroſpect of ſixty years; and frequently mentioned the royal promiſe, in a manner highly offenſive to an adminiſtration reſolved that it ſhould not be fulfilled. They debated warmly and frequently on ſeveral regulations, which they conceived neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed *for the* public good. They proceeded *yet further.* Without regard to the proviſions of Poynings' ſtatute, or conſidering themſelves as the king's hereditary council, and therefore particularly entitled to the deſignation mentioned in this ſtatute, they ordered the attorney-general to draw up ſeveral laws, on which they had debated, into formal acts, in order to be tranſmitted into England. No governour was more tenacious of the law of Poynings, or conſidered an inviolable adherence to this law in a light of greater conſequence to the crown, than lord Wentworth. Yet for the preſent theſe extraordinary proceedings were unnoticed. The warm temper of the lords was leſs alarming, as the neglect of a committee of the commons, in not attending

tending on a conference in due time, had occaſioned a quarrel, which prevented any dangerous concert between the two houſes. The bills of ſubſidy were paſſed. The only other bill which the adminiſtration intended ſhould be enacted in this ſeſſion, was one for the confirmation of letters patent to be paſſed on the new commiſſion for remedy of defective titles. This alſo was eſtabliſhed into a law, and attended by a petition from the lords to the chief governour, that this commiſſion ſhould be executed with ſuch ſpeed and moderation, that the royal favour might be the more welcome, and the ſubſidies the better paid. His anſwer was gracious: the ſeſſion on the point of cloſing; it was now the proper time for taking notice of the power aſſumed *by the lords, of framing and tranſmitting bills*; and this was done by a formal proteſt againſt their proceeding, made by the lord deputy on concluding the ſeſſion, and which he required to be recorded in the journals of the lords. The proteſt recites the purport of the law of Poynings, and the explanatory law of Philip and Mary. It enumerates the ſeveral bills drawn up by order of the houſe of lords, and which had in their name been preſented to the lord deputy, in order for their *tranſmiſſion into* England. "All which proceedings of their lordſhips, "*We the lord deputy*," ſaith Wentworth, "taking into due "conſideration, and weighing *with the ſaid ſtatutes*, although "we do not conceive, that the ſaid lords adviſedly or pur"poſedly intended to violate or innovate in any thing, other"wiſe than by the ſaid ſtatutes are provided; yet, for the avoid"ing of any miſrepreſentation, which, by reaſon of that man"ner of proceeding, may in after-times be made, to the "intrenchment of the ſaid acts of parliament, or his majeſty's "regal power, whereof we are and will be always moſt ten"der; in diſcharge of the duty we owe to the preſervation of "his majeſty's honour, and that the like miſtake in their lord"ſhips' proceedings may futurely be avoided:—We have there “fore thought fit this day, in full parliament, to PROTEST againſt that courſe held by their lordſhips, as not any ways belonging to their lordſhips, to give order to the king's learned counſel, or any other, for the framing or drawing up any acts to paſs in parliament; but that the ſame ſolely belongs to us the lord deputy and council. We the lord deputy do hereby further declare, that their lordſhips have power only by remonſtrance and petition to repreſent to the lord deputy and council for the time being, ſuch public conſiderations as they ſhall think fit and good for the Commonwealth, and ſo to ſubmit them to be drawn into acts, and tranſmitted into England, or otherwiſe altered or *rejected*, according as the lord deputy and council, *in their wiſdom*, ſhall judge and hold expedient; and that, in ſuch wiſe as the ſaid acts of parliament, in theſe caſes, have limited and appointed. And we the lord deputy do truſt, that their lordſhips will take this as a ſeaſonable and neceſſary admoniſhment from us, and forbear the like courſe hereafter.” This proteſt was received without any apparent ill temper in the lords; and the ſeſſion cloſed, with the utmoſt triumph on the part of the chief governour, for the conceſſions he *had* obtained.

THE ſubſequent meetings of this parliament, though intended ſolely for conſulting the intereſts of the people, yet did not paſs without clamour and diſſatisfaction. When proviſion had been once made for the neceſſities of government, Wentworth ſpoke with greater freedom of the graces. He told the commons plainly, that ſome of them were only occaſional and temporary; not proper to be enacted when the occaſion was removed; that others were already provided for; ſeveral difficult to be regulated by an invariable law; ſome indeed fit to be given in charge, and referred to the care and integrity of the proper officers. In two material points he abſolutely denied their requeſt; one for limiting the king's title to ſixty years; which was judged inconſiſtent with his ſervice; the other for enrolling former ſurrenders, and paſſing new patents of eſtates in the province of Connaught and county of Clare; which would have defeated the ſcheme of a weſtern plantation, with which the king was totally poſſeſſed; for plantations were now conſidered as engines of the crown for raiſing money.

Some more equitable deſigns for the intereſt of the ſubjects gave particular offence to the recuſants. By the common law of Ireland, lands and tenements had not been deviſable by will; *ſo that no one could in that manner legally provide for his younger children, by charging his real eſtate, when his perſonal* was not ſufficient; nor could they be regularly conveyed from one to another, unleſs by ſolemn livery and ſeiſin, matter of record or writing ſufficiently made, without fraud or artifice. Ways, however, were invented to alter the property and poſſeſſion of lands, by fraudulent feoffments, and other aſſurances, to ſecret uſes and truſts, by long leaſes, for near a thouſand years; ſometimes by wills, either in writing, or by *words, or in caſes* of extremity, by ſigns and tokens. Such *feoffments and long leaſes were at firſt uſed* by the Romiſh party to defeat the king of his wardſhips, and ſave the heirs of lands held *in capite* from ſuing out their liveries, which could not regularly be obtained without taking the oath of ſupremacy. But theſe artifices were alſo employed to defeat other lords of their rights and aids, widows of their dowers, and widowers of their tenancies by courteſy. Titles were thus rendered intricate; heirs unjuſtly diſinherited, without knowing whom to ſue for recovery of their rights; and perpetual occaſions offered for perjury. The king was deprived of the dues incident to the crown; the lands of rebels and felons attainted were ſcreened from his claims; and men were the leſs deterred from entering into rebellion, when they ran no hazard but of their own perſons.

For remedy of all, two acts were framed, purporting, "that "all perſons for whoſe uſe any others were ſeized of lands, "rent-charges, &c. ſhould be deemed in actual poſſeſſion "thereof; and that no conveyance of any eſtate of inheritance "or freehold, by bargain and ſale, ſhould be valid, unleſs by "writing indented, ſealed, and enrolled, in one of the king's "courts at Dublin, or in the county where ſuch eſtate lay, be"fore the *cuſtos rotulorum*, two juſtices, and the clerk of the "peace, within ſix months after the date of the deeds. Such "as were ſeiſed of eſtates in fee-ſimple, were to be enabled "to alienate them by will in writing, or by any other act law"fully executed. Thoſe who held of the king in chief by "knight's ſervice, or by knight's ſervice not in chief, to diſ"poſe of two thirds of their lands; thoſe who held by ſoc"cage, of the whole; reſerving to the king, in this latter caſe, "his rights and fines of alienation, and in the former reſerv"ing not only theſe, but alſo the wardſhip and cuſtody of the "other third: the fine for alienation being fixed at a third part "of the yearly value of the lands deviſed."

These regulations could not be agreeable to the recuſants; for they were directly pointed againſt thoſe artifices they had invented to defeat the king of his wardſhip of minors, and cuſtody of their lands; and they empowered him to have thoſe minors educated from their early years in the communion of the eſtabliſhed church. But the influence of government ſoon conquered their oppoſition. The acts were paſſed, together with a third for vacating fraudulent conveyances, ſales, and alienations, made ſince the beginning of the late reign.

The other laws of this parliament met with little obſtruction, as they were calculated purely for regulating the police, or for promoting the quiet and improvement of the realm, reforming the barbarous cuſtoms, and refining the manners of the people; aboliſhing odious diſtinctions between the original natives and other ſubjects; adopting the moſt valuable of the Engliſh ſtatutes enacted ſince the reign of Henry the ſeventh; regulating the proſecutions on penal ſtatutes, ſo as to guard the ſubject againſt grievance and oppreſſion; preventing the depauperation of eccleſiaſtical dignities, colleges, and hoſpitals, by leaſes at a leſs rent than half the value of the premiſes; with other proviſions for the ſecurity of eſtates, and improvement of lands. Theſe, and ſuch like inſtitutions, do honour to the adminiſtration by which they were ſupported. But the ſupport of lord Wentworth proved in one inſtance inſufficient. *The two houſes united in a petition that the king would eſtabliſh a mint in Ireland.* The deputy readily promiſed to enforce the requeſt; but the Engliſh council, whoſe views or judgments were not ſo favourable to the Iriſh ſubjects, defeated their application, "thereby," ſaith Mr. Carte, "giving "them occaſion to reflect on the unhappineſs of their ſituation, "in being under the controul of a body of men of a different "country, who have no *natural inclination* for the welfare of "*their's*, nor *any intereſt* in the good of it." An aſſertion which we muſt pronounce falſe and precipitate, unleſs we conſider the tempers and underſtandings of their fellow-ſubjects of England as odious and contemptible to an extraordinary degree. But the parliament of Ireland do not ſeem on this occaſion to have thought or ſpoken with the aſperity of this author; for when an act of free and general pardon was followed by a diſſolution, they departed with content and ſatisfaction. Some few proviſions for the public good, which had been defeated by the recuſant members, Wentworth, in the high ſtrain of prerogative, determined to eſtabliſh by an act of ſtate.

Strafford's Lett. vol. I. p. 432.

With the parliament ſat alſo a convocation of the clergy. They granted eight ſubſidies to the king; and at the ſame time ſolicited redreſs of ſeveral grievances, and correction of ſeveral diſorders in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The condition of their church was at this time deplorable. Their places of worſhip in ruin; the poſſeſſions of the clergy alienated, in the midſt of public confuſion and diſorders. Appropriations, commendams, and violent intruſions, had reduced the rural clergy to contempt and beggary. Abſolute grants, and long leaſes, made by avaricious incumbents, or extorted from the timid and oppreſſed, had reduced the revenues of biſhoprics to a ſcandalous inſufficiency. And even the proviſions made for the clergy in the late reign, on ſettling the plantations, had, in a great meaſure, been defeated by artful and fraudulent commiſſioners. Ignorance, negligence, and corruption of manners in the eſtabliſhed clergy, were the conſequences of their poverty. A Romiſh hierarchy, which exerciſed a regular juriſdiction in every quarter of the kingdom, were ſufficiently aſſiduous to take advantage of their abſence or neglect, and in ſome places had poſſeſſed themſelves of eccleſiaſtical lands. The more virulent of the Scottiſh preſbyterians, on the other hand, were outrageouſly zealous for their own diſcipline and worſhip, offered daily inſults to the eſtabliſhed church-government, and treated even its rites and worſhip with provoking contempt.

These ſectaries, as they were called, appeared to lord Wentworth, at leaſt equally enemies to the truth of religion with the popiſh party. A perfect conformity was the great work which he and his friend Laud were ſincerely zealous to eſtabliſh thoroughly in Ireland, but which indeed exceeded the abilities of both. The procedure of the lord deputy, however, was ſufficiently judicious; for he began with providing churches to receive, and able miniſters to teach the people.

Commiſſions for the reparation of churches iſſued through the kingdom. The example of the king, who conſented to ſettle the appropriations poſſeſſed by the crown upon reſident clergy, the deſire of recommending themſelves to the deputy, and the apprehenſions of his power and ſeverity, influenced many to a voluntary concurrence in the work of reformation, by erecting and endowing places of worſhip, and reſigning thoſe poſſeſſions which had been uſurped from the church. The more reluctant were either attacked, or threatened with rigorous proſecutions; and from the earl of Cork, in particular, the deputy contrived to wreſt about two thouſand pounds annual *revenue of tythes, which from the want of incumbents, and the diſorder of the times, he had gotten into his poſſeſſion, and converted to appropriations.* Laws were procured in the late parliament for reſtitution of the rights of the clergy, and proviſions made to prevent all future alienations.

THE cares of lord Wentworth were extended to the education and inſtruction of the riſing generation of Iriſh clergy. He inſpected minutely into the ſtate and circumſtances of the univerſity of Dublin; and found them in conſiderable *diſorder, partly by means of a weak governour, and partly by the defects of the preſent ſtatutes.* The governour was removed, and a perſon conceived to be more *ſufficient, ſubſtituted in his place.* The ſtatutes were ſubmitted to the inſpection of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; who was perſuaded to draw up a new body of laws for this univerſity, as he had done for that of Oxford; and theſe were eſtabliſhed by the royal authority.

THE great point for which the king, archbiſhop Laud, and the lord deputy were equally zealous, ſtill remained to be effected; the complete union of the churches of England and Ireland, by eſtabliſhing the Engliſh articles and canons in this latter kingdom, as the rule of doctrine and diſcipline. The clergy of the puritanic caſt were by no means favourers of ſuch an attempt; and affected a zealous ſolicitude for what they called the independence of their church. Uſher, the head of this party, had never been regarded by lord Wentworth with a favourable eye; but, on account of his ſtation, character, and popularity, was to be treated with reſpect and caution. It was mortifying to the compiler of the Iriſh articles of religion in the late reign, to find them now threatened with a ſolemn abolition; and had the temper of this learned prelate diſpoſed him to turbulence and oppoſition, he might have proved highly vexatious and embarraſſing to the deputy, ſupported as he was by the judgments and affections of almoſt all the Iriſh clergy. To *reconcile him to the projected* reformation, it was agreed, *that no cenſure ſhould be paſſed on* any of the former Iriſh articles, but that they ſhould be virtually, not formally abrogated, by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe of the church of England; and alſo, that the Engliſh canons ſhould not be received in a body, but a collection made of ſuch as might be moſt acceptable, to form a rule of diſcipline for the Iriſh church. The articles were received, and the canons eſtabliſhed agreeably to the lord deputy's mind; yet more by the influence of his authority, than the *inclinations* of a great part of the clergy; *although but one member of the* convocation ventured publicly to avow his diſſent. Strafford's Lett. vol. I. p. 381. Ib. p. 342.

These regulations in the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem were followed by an eſtabliſhment too odious, and therefore too dangerous, to be attempted during the ſeſſions of parliament, that of an high-commiſſion court, which was erected in Dublin after the Engliſh model, with the ſame formality, and the ſame tremendous powers. The intentions of this eſtabliſhment, (as the deputy explains them to Laud) were to countenance the deſpiſed ſtate of the clergy, to ſupport the eccleſiaſtical courts, and reſtrain the extortion of their officers, to annul foreign juriſdiction, to puniſh polygamies and adulteries, to provide for the maintenance Ibid. p. 188.

tenance and reſidence of the clergy; to enquire into the application of charitable and pious donations, to bring the people to a conformity of religion, and, "in the way to all theſe, raiſe "perhaps a good revenue to the crown."

THE favourite object, indeed, of this chief governour, which he ever kept in view, through all his tranſactions, was this of improving the revenue, and ſupplying the neceſſities of his royal maſter. And when for this purpoſe we find him protecting and extending commerce, guarding the coaſts from piracy, introducing manufactures, and encouraging a ſpirit of well directed induſtry, we muſt acknowledge, that ſuch means were *liberal and laudable. A ſubject of Ireland ſhould with gratitude record, that one ſcheme happily and judiciouſly deviſed* by lord Wentworth, *laid the firſt foundation* of the preſent affluence and proſperity of this country.

Carte, Orm. Strafford's Lett. vol. I.

HE found among the Iriſh little trade or manufactures, except ſome ſmall beginnings of a cloathing trade, which promiſed to encreaſe, and might in time eſſentially affect the ſtaple commodity of England. Ireland furniſhed wool in great quantities, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign mar*kets on more moderate* terms than the Engliſh traders. A governour, *particularly jealous of any diminution of* the king's cuſtoms, was alarmed at this proſpect: he conſidered farther, that the Iriſh ſubjects, if reſtrained from indraping their own wool, muſt of neceſſity fetch their cloathing from England; ſo as in ſome ſort to be dependent on this country for their livelihood. Hence the connection of theſe realms muſt become firm and indiſſoluble, as the Iriſh could not revolt from their allegiance to the crown, without nakedneſs to themſelves and their families. For theſe reaſons he laid diſcouragements on their woollen manufacture; but at the ſame time determined to eſtabliſh another article of trade, at leaſt equally beneficial to this people, and which promiſed ſervice, rather than detriment to England.

It was judged, that the ſoil of many parts of Ireland was well fitted to the raiſing of flax: ſome experiments made by order of the deputy confirmed it; the women were naturally addicted to ſpinning; the living, and conſequently the labour of the Iriſh was cheap; could they be trained to the manufacture of linen-cloth, Wentworth, with the ſanguine hopes of a projector, conceived that they might ſoon be enabled to under-ſell the French and Hollanders; he therefore happily determined to eſtabliſh this manufacture in Ireland. Infant ſchemes are ever attended with an expence terrible to men of cautious and contracted minds. To encourage a ſpirit of enterprize, Wentworth himſelf *embarked in his favourite project, even to* an expence (as he ſtated it) of *thirty thouſand pounds.* Flax-ſeed was imported from Holland; work-men were brought from France and the Low Countries. The ſeed proſpered; the people were employed; looms fitted up; regulations preſcribed for yarn and cloth, ſo as to ſecure the ſale by the goodneſs of the commodity. Such were the beginnings of the linen trade of Ireland; which, though fatally interrupted by the ſubſequent diſorders of this country, yet revived with all its happy conſequences on the return of peace and tranquillity.

A. D. 1635. But ſuch ſchemes of improvement, how promiſing ſoever, were yet gradual in their operation, and calculated rather for the advantage of future times, than for ſupplying the preſent neceſſities of the crown. Wentworth was impatient to ſignalize his adminiſtration by a ſervice of immediate and extenſive emolument to his royal maſter. His project was nothing leſs, than to ſubvert the title to every eſtate in every part of Connaught, and to eſtabliſh a new plantation through this whole province. A project, which when firſt propoſed, in the late reign, was received with horrour and amazement, but which ſuited the undiſmayed and enterpriſing genius of lord Wentworth. For this he had oppoſed the confirmation of the royal graces,

Strafford's Lett. vol. I.

graces, tranſmitted to lord Faulkland, and taken to himſelf the odium of ſo flagrant a violation of the royal promiſe. The parliament was at an end; and the deputy was at leiſure to execute a ſcheme, which, as it was offenſive and alarming, required a cautious and deliberate procedure. Old records of ſtate, and the memorials of ancient monaſteries were ranſacked, to aſcertain the king's original title to Connaught. It was ſoon diſcovered, that in the grant of Henry the third, to Richard de Burgo, five cantreds were reſerved to the crown, adjacent to the caſtle of Athlone; that this grant included the whole remainder of the province, which was now alledged to have been *forfeited by* Ardh O'Connor, the Iriſh provincial chieftain; *that the lands and lordſhip of de Burgo deſcended lineally to* Edward the fourth; and were confirmed to the crown by a ſtatute of Henry the ſeventh. The ingenuity of court-lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the poſſeſſors of theſe lands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was found, that the indentures made between Sir John Perrot, and the inhabitants of this province, were irregular, and unauthorized by his commiſſion; and the queen's patents voided by the *non-performance* of conditions; that thoſe granted by James were *obtained on falſe ſuggeſtions,* and executed without attention to the royal will and direction. *In ſeveral patents, paſſed by* commiſſion of this king, there was reſerved to the crown, without particular authority, a tenure by common knight's ſervice; a kind of tenure particularly agreeable to the recuſants, as it did not oblige them to do homage, or take the oath of ſupremacy. But the lawyers were now confident, that, as this was not particularly warranted by the commiſſion, as the law ever implied a tenure in capite where none in particular is expreſſed, and as a tenure by common knight's ſervice was leſs beneficial to the crown, the grants muſt be adjudged to have been made in deceit of the crown, which was hereby defrauded of its wards and other profits, and of conſequence void and illegal.

Armed with theſe authorities, Wentworth, at the head of the commiſſioners of plantation, proceeded to the weſtern province. The inhabitants of the county of Leitrim had already acknowledged the king's title to their lands, and ſubmitted to a plantation. It was now deemed expedient to begin with thoſe of Roſcommon. The commiſſion was opened in this county; the evidences of the king's title produced, examined, and ſubmitted to a jury, formed of the principal inhabitants, purpoſely, (as the lord deputy expreſſed it) that "they might "anſwer the king a round fine in the caſtle-chamber, in caſe "they ſhould prevaricate." They were told by Wentworth, that his majeſty's intention in eſtabliſhing his undoubted title, was to make them a rich and civil people; that he purpoſed not to deprive them of their juſt poſſeſſions, but to inveſt them with a conſiderable part of his own; that he needed not their interpoſition to vindicate his right, which might be eſtabliſhed by the uſual courſe of law, upon an information of intruſion; but that he wiſhed his people to ſhare with him in the honour and profit of the glorious and excellent work he was *now to execute*; to his majeſty it was indifferent, *whether their verdict ſhould acknowledge or deny his title*. *If* they were inclined to truth and to their own intereſts, they were to find the title for the king; if to do that which was ſimply beſt for his majeſty, without regard to their own good, the deputy adviſed them, roughly and pertinaciouſly, to deny to find any title at all.

Straff. Lett. vol. I. p. 442.

The preſence and interpoſition of a lord deputy, and a deputy whoſe character and temper were fitted to operate on men's paſſions, had probably their full effect on this occaſion. The king's title was found without ſcruple or heſitation; and the verdict attended with a petition, for an equitable treatment of preſent proprietors, and a due proviſion for the church.

The deputy not only promiſed ample ſatisfaction in theſe particulars, but publiſhed a proclamation, whereby all proprietors throughout the province were aſſured of eaſy compoſitions, and of new and indefeaſible grants. The counties of Mayo and Sligo followed the example of Roſcommon, and found the king's title with equal chearfulneſs.

It now remained to proſecute the royal claims in the county of Galway; but here, as was ſuſpected, the commiſſioners found greater difficulties to encounter. The inhabitants were almoſt wholly of the Romiſh communion, influenced by their clergy, encouraged by recuſant lawyers, and ſupported by the power of the governour of their county, Uliac earl of Clanricard and Saint Alban's, a nobleman of excellent character, potently allied, and of conſiderable eſteem and conſequence at the court of England. There he now reſided, but held a conſtant correſpondence with his kinſmen and countrymen; and was their avowed and zealous patron, at a time when his own great poſſeſſions were in danger, and his country threatened with a ſudden and violent revolution of property. Men thus influenced, encouraged, and ſupported, were not eaſily *intimidated* by the deputy. Their lawyers pleaded boldly and *violently againſt the king's title.* The jury were deaf to every argument in its favour, and *refuſed to find it.* Wentworth was enraged: he laid a fine of one thouſand pounds upon the ſheriff; and bound the obſtinate jurors to appear in the caſtle-chamber, and anſwer for their offence, where they were fined each in the ſum of four thouſand pounds, ſentenced to impriſonment, until it ſhould be paid, and to acknowledge their offence in court, upon their knees.

The ſeverity of this ſentence, and even the whole proceedings of the lord deputy, not in Galway only, but in the other weſtern counties, were repreſented in England with every circumſtance of aggravation, and afforded ample matter for invective to the numerous enemies of lord Wentworth. He was accuſed of rancour and ſcandalous injuſtice to the earl of Clanricard. Every inſtance of his rigourous adminiſtration was recalled to view; and the perſonal enemies he had made in Ireland were countenanced in their complaints. He had obliged lord Wilmot, who had for many years commanded the army in this country, to make compenſation for lands he had uſurped from the crown, and unjuſtly alienated; he had compelled the earl of Cork to reſign his depredations of the church: theſe were repreſented as inſtances of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. His friend Laud was alarmed at the clamours raiſed againſt him, and hinted the propriety of a temperate and cautious conduct; but the temper of lord Wentworth was too violent and headſtrong, and his maxims of adminiſtration too rigorous, not to enflame, inſtead of allaying the virulence of his enemies. In ſome inſtances he ſeemed to have conceived that the dignity of his government could not be ſupported but by ſuch exertions of authority as beſpeak an utter intoxication of power and greatneſs.

Sir Piers Croſby had been diſtinguiſhed as a ſoldier in the expedition to the iſle of Ré, and the principal means of ſaving the Engliſh forces in their retreat. He commanded a regiment, and was of the privy council in Ireland. In the ſecond ſeſſion of the late parliament, he ventured to oppoſe ſome meaſures of adminiſtration. The deputy reprimanded, and accuſed him of a violation of his oath, in voting againſt bills to which he had aſſented in council, and concurred in tranſmitting them. Croſby was ſequeſtered from the council board. He complained of this ſeverity by petition; he deſired licence to repair to England, as if reſolved to appeal to the king. It was refuſed; and on the repreſentations of Wentworth, his majeſty directed him to be removed entirely from the privy council. A libel appeared, containing ſevere reflections

tions on the conduct of the lord deputy; and Croſby was immediately ſuſpected as the author: on this ſuſpicion he was arreſted, and committed to priſon; his ſtudy opened forcibly, his papers ſecured and ranſacked; yet no copy of the libel could be found to prove his guilt. But if he had not framed, he had at leaſt encouraged and divulged the ſlander: on this ground, a virulent proſecution was commenced againſt him in the caſtle chamber. Wentworth now affected to interpoſe, and ſolicited the king to pardon him; but Charles, with his Strafford's Lett. Vol. I. p. 393. uſual ſtatelineſs and ſeverity, commanded that the offender ſhould be left to the cenſure of a court compoſed of obſequious miniſters and creatures of the deputy. The fine and damages decreed were ſo exceſſive, that Croſby found it neceſſary to ſave himſelf from utter ruin by an humiliating ſubmiſſion to lord Wentworth.

But neither this inſtance of rigour, nor the imperious commitment of the earl of Kildare to priſon, for heſitating to ſubmit his property to the ſentence of the privy council, made ſuch an impreſſion either in England or Ireland, as the amazing ſeverity experienced by lord Mountnorris.

Sir Francis Anneſley, created baron of Mountnorris, had adventured into Ireland in the late reign, and acquired fortune, ſtation, and conſequence. He had been honoured with ſeveral marks of favour and confidence both by James and Charles; and, at the arrival of lord Wentworth to his government, was conſidered, and repreſented by the deputy, as particularly attached to the intereſts of the crown. The noble hiſtorian deſcribes him as a man whoſe uſual courſe was to inſinuate himſelf into the affection of a new chief governour, and to malign him on his departure; and if we may believe the repreſentations of lord Wentworth, his private character was neither reſpectable nor decent. However theſe things may be, ſome cauſes of mutual diſſatisfaction had ariſen between the deputy

Clarendon, vol. I.

Straff. Lett. p. 402, 403.

deputy and this lord, and laid the foundation of a *rancorous* enmity. Mountnorris had, by order of the king, been abridged of certain fees uſually received in his office of vice-treaſurer, which he *naturally* aſcribed to the inſtances of the lord deputy. To mortify him ſtill further, Wentworth diſcovered that a gratuity had been paid to expedite the diſcharge of a ſum, granted by warrant from the treaſury; and commanded that it ſhould be inſtantly refunded. Mountnorris pleaded that the money had been received by one of his domeſtics without his privity; ſo that the deputy could not enjoy the additional ſatisfaction of removing him from his office. He was impatient for an occaſion to make him feel the weight of power; Mountnorris, with equal impatience, waited for the time when that power ſhould expire.

It is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed that theſe lords, thus circumſtanced, ſhould be ever cautious and guarded in ſpeaking of each other; or if Wentworth had leſs occaſion for reſerve, that Mountnorris, in ſome unguarded moment of privacy and ſocial confidence, ſhould not be ſurpriſed into ſome expreſſion of intemperance or imprudence. A few days after the diſſolution of parliament, in a private company at the *table of the* lord chancellor, it was obſerved, that *the deputy had juſt now* been much provoked by the aukwardneſs of a domeſtic; who attending him in an acceſſion of the gout, had hurt his foot grievouſly in removing a ſtool. One of the gueſts turning to lord Mountnorris, obſerved, that the offender was of his own name and kindred. The domeſtic, it ſeems, had formerly experienced the haughtineſs of the deputy, who at a review of ſome troops, had threatened him rudely with his ſtaff, or given him a ſlight blow. From this incident lord Mountnorris took occaſion to obſerve, that he had perhaps wilfully offended, in revenge of that public affront he had once received from the lord deputy; "but the gentleman has a brother," ſaid he, "who would not have taken SUCH A REVENGE."

After an interval of ſome months, this myſterious expreſſion was conveyed to the lord deputy, by ſome officious creatures of power. His pride and reſentment dictated the moſt obnoxious interpretation of it; and nothing leſs than the utter ruin of Mountnorris was determined, as the puniſhment adequate to his indiſcretion. He commanded a company in the king's ſervice; he was ſeized, brought as a culprit to be tried by martial law, in a court where Wentworth preſided as general, accuſed of uttering words diſgraceful to his ſuperiour in command, of breeding mutiny in the army, and "impeaching the obeying his general;" and his expreſſions at the *lord chancellor's were atteſted, and ſufficiently proved.* In vain did *Mountnorris* plead, that they ought in juſtice to be interpreted favourably; in vain did he profeſs his own intentions to have been really reſpectful to the lord-deputy. His judges pronounced the words to be incapable of any indulgent conſtruction; and that, aggravated as they were by the manner of delivering them, they rendered the ſpeaker a delinquent in a tranſcendent manner, againſt the perſon of his general, and the king's authority. The obſequious court with *one voice decreed,* that lord Mountnorris ſhould be impriſoned for his offence, *deprived of his commiſſion in the army,* diſarmed, declared incapable of any military office, and ſhot to death, or beheaded, at the pleaſure of the general.

There was a ridiculous meanneſs in Wentworth's apology for this tranſaction; that the ſentence againſt Mountnorris was the act of a court of officers, in which he had neither declared his own opinion, nor openly influenced that of others: nor was it accepted as a palliation of his inſolence and malice, that he had not, with a vengeance perfectly diabolical, really intended to put this lord to death; that he and his council petitioned the king to remit the full and final ſeverity of the ſentence; and that Mountnorris, harraſſed by a rigourous proſecution,

cution, mortified by an ignominious ſentence, deprived of his offices, and wearied by the anguiſh of a tedious confinement, at length obtained his pardon from the throne. The enemies of Wentworth in England inveighed againſt this proſecution with particular triumph; his friends were ſcandalized; and even Laud, with all his imperious violence, trembled at the bold exceſſes of ſeverity which his friend had hazarded. But Wentworth, confiding in the favour of his royal maſter, was equally unmoved by the clamour of enemies, and the apprehenſions of friends. A. D. 1636. In defiance of popular odium, he quitted the reins of government for a while, and appeared in London. Carte, Orm. vol. III. p. 2—11. Before the king and council he expatiated on the ſervices he had performed in Ireland, his care of the revenue, the army, and the church, the excellent laws he had procured, and his ſchemes for the advancement of commerce and manufactures. He lamented that the ſubjects of Ireland had in ſome inſtances been treated as aliens and foreigners; as in the impoſition of four ſhillings on every tun of coals, which was as much as either the French or Dutch had ever paid; the exceſſive rates charged on horſes tranſported into this kingdom, to the particular inconvenience of the army, and the duties on *live cattle ſent* from Ireland. In theſe particular grievances, he prevailed on the king to grant an immediate redreſs; and when he attempted to apologize for the rigour of his adminiſtration, Charles interrupted him with a warm approbation of his conduct. He was deſired to proceed in the work ſo happily begun; and aſſured him that it muſt be acknowledged as the beſt ſervice which the crown ever had received in Ireland.

He returned to his government with the ſame principles, and purſued the ſame conduct. Individuals were frequently aggrieved by an adminiſtration which diſdained the rigid and exact reſtraints of law; but the kingdom in general experienced the good effects of that compoſure produced by the terror of a ſevere, vigilant, and active government. The revenue was conſiderably encreaſed by improvements made in the conſtant rents, and the ſums raiſed by fines, on renewal of letters patent, and grants for plantations. The finding the royal title to the poſſeſſions of the O'Byrnes in Wiclow, produced fifteen thouſand pounds. The city of London was ſued for breach of covenants in the plantations of Derry and Colerain, and their forfeit lands redeemed by a fine of ſeventy thouſand pounds. But notwithſtanding all the pains taken for the eſtabliſhment of the weſtern plantation, notwithſtanding the caſe of tenure was ſolemnly argued, and judgment finally pronounced for the king, yet ſuch was the clamour raiſed againſt the attempt, and ſuch the encreaſing diſorders of England, that the ſcheme was laid aſide. The death of the earl of Saint Alban's enflamed the popular odium againſt the lord deputy: it was imputed to the vexation conceived by this nobleman, at the attempts againſt his property by an inſolent governour, who poſſeſſed himſelf of the earl's houſe at Portumna, and in his hall held that court which impeached his title to his lands.

THOSE enemies of both kingdoms, who watched his conduct, and interpreted every act of his adminiſtration with ſeverity, were ſtill farther gratified by his rigourous treatment of Loftus, lord chancellor of Ireland. One Sir John Gifford had married a daughter of this nobleman, and claimed ſome ſettlement of fortune on his wife, which the father was not diſpoſed to grant. A petition to the privy council was favourably received from Gifford, his cauſe heard, and ſentence pronounced in his favour. The illegality of ſuch proceedings was by this time generally underſtood in Ireland. Loftus refuſed obedience to the order of council; was inſtantly ſequeſtered from that board, ordered to deliver the great ſeal into the hands of the lord deputy, and committed to priſon. He had not ſcrupled to declare, that the ſentence of council had been dictated by Wentworth, and to accuſe him as the real author of his diſgrace. His ſuggeſtions had the greater weight, when letters were divulged, written by the lord deputy to the wife of Sir John Gifford, in a ſtrain ſo affectionate and gallant, as raiſed ſuſpicions of an unlawful intercourſe between them. The violence of clamour againſt the oppreſſion and injuſtice of this governour was thus highly encreaſed. Loftus was encouraged to appeal to the throne; but Charles was fully prejudiced in favour of a man who acted agreeably to his own principles of government; and Loftus found it neceſſary to purchaſe his liberty and his former ſtation by an humble petition to the lord deputy and council, by which he acknowledged his offence in the moſt mortifying terms of ſubmiſſion and repentance.

But however individuals were aggrieved by the imperious ſeverity of the preſent government, the nation, which had never known a ſtrict and ſcrupulous adminiſtration of Engliſh law, cleared from every thing arbitrary or oppreſſive, was abundantly conſoled by the advantages derived from the adminiſtration of lord Wentworth. The army, which had long proved an odious and intolerable burden to the inhabitants, yet ſcarcely of eſſential ſervice to the crown, was well diſciplined, duely paid, preſerved in good condition, inoffenſive to the peaceable ſubjects, and formidable to the enemies of government. The revenue was unencumbered, and a large ſum lay ready in the exchequer, to anſwer any ſudden emergency. The eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment was protected, the revenues of the church improved, and abler and more reſpectable teachers generally provided for the people. The Scottiſh puritans were indeed ſometimes offended at the indulgence ſhewn to recuſants; but in the preſent ſituation of the kingdom, where far the greater number of inhabitants, and thoſe poſſeſſed of power and conſequence, were of the Romiſh communion, the moſt obvious maxims of policy forbad any rigourous execution of penal ſtatutes. It was ſufficient to confine recuſants to a leſs public and offenſive exerciſe of religion, ſo as to preſerve the authority of government, without provoking violent and dangerous diſcontents. Peace, order, obedience, and induſtry, diſtinguiſhed the preſent period from that of any former adminiſtration; the value of lands was encreaſed; commerce extended; the cuſtoms amounted to almoſt four times their former ſum; the commodities exported from Ireland were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported; and ſhipping was *found to have encreaſed even an hundred fold.* Such were the benefits derived from the adminiſtration of lord Wentworth, however in many inſtances juſtly unpopular, odious, and oppreſſive.

CHAP. II.

*Inſurrection of Scotland—alarming to lord Wentworth.—He impoſes an engagement on the Ulſter Scots.—He ſupplies the king with money and ſoldiers.—Defeats the attempts of Argyle.—Project of the earl of Antrim.—Diſapproved by Wentworth.—Favoured by the king.—Vanity and inſincerity of Antrim.—Wentworth recalled to England.—Created earl of Strafford, and knight of the Garter.—Returns to Dublin.—Meets a parliament.—Zeal and liberality of the Iriſh commons.—New army levied.—Strafford returns to England.—Sudden change of diſpoſition in the Iriſh parliament.—Cauſes of this change.—Remonſtrance of the commons againſt the clergy.—Their new regulation of ſubſidies.—Strafford returns to Ireland.—Preparations for invading Scotland.—Treaty of Rippon.—Orders for diſbanding the Iriſh army.—Encreaſing ſpirit of oppoſition in the Iriſh parliament.—Injudicious complaints.—Order for the aſſeſſment of ſubſidies—torn from the commons' Journals by the king's command.—*REMONSTRANCE *of grievances voted haſtily by the commons—tranſmitted to England.—Iriſh agents in London.—Earl of Strafford impeached.—Death of Wandesford.—The king yields to the Iriſh agents.—Lords juſtices appointed.—Further compliances of the king.—The Iriſh agents preſent the remonſtrance to the throne.—Anſwer of Sir George Ratcliffe.—The agents decline to reply particularly.—New ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament.—Demands of the commons.—They proteſt againſt the preamble of the firſt ſubſidy-bill.—Lords prepare a petition of grievances.—Motion of the biſhop of Meath.—Lords jealous of their priviledge.—*QUERIES *preſented by the commons to the upper houſe, for the opinion of the judges.—Tranſmitted to the parliament of England.—Impeachments in Ireland.—A proro-*

*prorogation.—Act of attainder paſſed againſt the earl of Strafford.—Effects of this event on Ireland.—Conceſſions of the king to the Iriſh agents.—Their farther demands.—Important queſtion ariſing from the impeachments of the commons—undecided.—Arbitrary proceedings of the commons—againſt the clergy—againſt the univerſity.—*QUERIES *reſumed.—Anſwer of the judges unſatisfactory to the commons.—Their deciſions on the ſeveral queries.—They recede from the impeachments.—They oppoſe the deſign of ſending the diſbanded army into foreign ſervice.—Suſpicious attempt to examine the king's ſtores.—Return of the Iriſh agents.*

THE commotions of Scotland had by this time grown A. D. 1639. violent and alarming; and the perplexities of Charles became every day more inextricable. His attempts to reform the diſcipline and worſhip of the Scottiſh church had awakened the diſcontents, and ſhocked the religious ſentiments of a ſullen, determined, and intractable people, agitated by the fervour of religious zeal, even to a degree of deſperate fanaticiſm. The introduction of his liturgy had been oppoſed with rage and execration: tumults, inſurrections, formidable combinations, an univerſal ſpirit of oppoſition, at once deliberate and ſtrenuous, could not ſhake the purpoſe of the king, nor check the violence of his paſſion for religious conformity. His proclamation, which attempted to allay the riſing commotions, by promiſes of pardon, and exhortations to ſubmiſſion, was anſwered by a proteſtation, encouraged and preſented by men of power and conſequence. The male-contents, with a formidable regularity, aſſembled at Edinburgh, iſſued their orders, and framed the famous COVENANT. It was received with enthuſiaſtic rapture, and declared to be equally dear and ſacred to the people with their baptiſmal vow. Their inſurrection, ſupported by able and powerful nobles of their own nation, and ſecretly fomented by the French miniſter, evidently threatened ſome terrible convulſion. The conceſſions which Charles at length deemed it neceſſary to propoſe, only ſerved to diſcover his weakneſs, and to animate theſe ſtubborn Northerns. They imported arms, they recalled their officers from the continent; they choſe a general, and ſeized the king's forts; while Charles, on his part, advanced to Berwick, and prepared to encounter this deſperate commotion.

FROM the beginnings of theſe diſorders, lord Wentworth naturally and juſtly apprehended that they might ſoon extend to Ireland; or, to uſe his own expreſſions, that "the "ſkirts of the great rain, if not ſome part of the thundering "and lightening, might fall on this kingdom." The Scots ſettled in the northern counties, generally agreed with thoſe of their original country in religious doctrine and diſcipline; and though more controuled, were really no leſs inveterate enemies to the eſtabliſhed mode of church government and worſhip. Several of them had taken the covenant, and paſſed ſecretly into Scotland to ſhare in the glorious cauſe now ſo happily advanced: the leſs active were perſuaded that the hour was at hand, when their own diſcipline ſhould be fully eſtabliſhed; and boldly reſiſted the attempts at this time uſually made to reduce them to conformity. They were ſtill farther encouraged by thoſe from Scotland who traded with the northern counties. Theſe men boaſted that they had taken the covenant; they magnified the zeal and ſpirit of their countrymen; they affected to deſpiſe thoſe who could entertain a doubt of their ſucceſs, or ſcruple to unite warmly in their cauſe.

Strafford's Lett. vol. II. p. 219.

WENTWORTH was juſtly alarmed. He knew that ſeveral of great conſequence and high ſtation in Ireland, were favourers of the puritanic cauſe; he could not be inſenſible, nor did his friends fail to remind him, that the original natives might

Ib. p. 240.

be tempted to take ſome dangerous advantage of the preſent diſorders. His royal maſter, to whoſe ſervice he was particularly devoted, was reduced to a perplexed and perilous ſituation; he therefore determined to act with redoubled vigilance and aſſiduity.

A NEW engagement was preſcribed to the Ulſter Scots, whereby they promiſed allegiance to the king, and ſubmiſſion to his commands, with an abhorrence of the proceedings of their countrymen, and an abjuration of all covenants contrary to the tenour of this preſent oath. While this engagement was framing at the council board, ſome principal inhabitants of the northern province arrived at Dublin to petition for ſuch a teſt of their loyalty, and received it with alacrity. It was impoſed on all ages, ſexes, and conditions; thoſe who refuſed it were fined and impriſoned, in ſome caſes, with ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity, as the enemies of Wentworth alledged. Charles was ſo pleaſed with this precaution, that he imitated it in England.

Strafford's Lett. vol. II. p. 344.

No ſituation of affairs demanded greater vigour and circumſpection in a chief governour of Ireland; and no governour could have been more attentive to his immediate department, as well as the general intereſt of his royal maſter, than lord Wentworth. At the firſt alarm of the Scottiſh inſurrection, thirty thouſand pounds were remitted to the king from the Iriſh exchequer, to which the deputy added ſome conſiderable donations from his private fortune. The Iriſh army was reviewed, regulated, and ſtrengthened by an augmentation of four hundred cavalry. A body of five hundred men carefully diſciplined, and gallantly appointed, were at the king's deſire tranſported into England, under the command of Willoughby, an experienced officer, to form a garriſon for Carliſle. Three hundred more were deſtined to ſecure the caſtle of Dunbarton, but prevented by the activity of the covenanters in ſeizing this important

Carte, Orm.

important poſt. The care of thoſe parts of Scotland, which lay contiguous to the province of Ulſter, had been entruſted by the male-contents to the earl of Argyle, their powerful and zealous partizan. To alarm him with the fears of an invaſion, and at the ſame time to awe thoſe Ulſter Scots, who favoured the cauſe of their covenanting brethren, the main body of the Iriſh army was ordered to rendezvous at Carricfergus; and reports induſtriouſly ſpread that the deputy was ſpeedily to take the command in perſon. When Argyle, with equal vigilance, had opened a communication with the Scots of Ulſter, and ſent his emiſſaries to excite them to take arms, his ſhips were ſeized; a plot to deliver up the caſtle of Carricfergus to the Scots, was *inſtantly diſcovered, and the principal* agent executed without mercy. The caſtle was reinforced; detachments were ſtationed in every place of danger; and magazines provided with arms and ammunition for ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe.

THE king expreſſed the higheſt approbation of the conduct of lord Wentworth in his government, and no leſs ſatisfaction in the free, candid, and judicious advice he frequently received from him relative to his own conduct. Yet the ſecret councils by which this unhappy prince was too much influenced, were not without their effect even in Ireland, and created ſome embarraſſment to the chief governour. Randal Mac-Donnel, earl of Antrim, was deſcended from thoſe Scottiſh iſlanders who had ſettled in Ulſter, and proved ſuch peſtilent inſurgents in the reign of Elizabeth. On the ſubmiſſion of his family and their ſervices to government, his father received a large tract of lands in the northern province, was created viſcount Dunluce by king James, and by Charles advanced to the dignity of an earl. The young lord was bred in England; and by marrying with the ducheſs of Buckingham, dowager to the great favourite, appeared at court with ſome

Carte. Straff. Lett.

ſome ſplendour, and ſeems to have rendered himſelf particularly acceptable to the queen. With a very moderate portion of underſtanding, and fully poſſeſſed with the importance of clanſhip and family power, he was naturally a great undertaker, as the noble hiſtorian expreſſes it, and ſolicitous that the king ſhould conceive highly of his power and intereſt in Ireland. He ſpoke magnificently of the ſtrength and attachment of his adherents in the northern province; of theſe he freely offered to levy and maintain a conſiderable army at his own expence, and to make a deſcent upon the Scottiſh iſles, where he had alſo a numerous clan ready to aſſiſt him, where *he made no doubt of effecting a laſting-ſettlement, ſo as to give Argyle ſufficient employment in his own country, and poſſibly to hem in the covenanters between an Engliſh and Iriſh army.*

THE project ſeemed plauſible and well conceived; the king determined to ſend Antrim into Ireland; Antrim, flattered by the favourable acceptance of his ſervices, talked openly of his vaſt deſigns, and thus warned Argyle to take the neceſſary precautions againſt invaſion. But Wentworth cautiouſly weighed the circumſtances of Ireland, the character of the undertaker, the nature and conſequences of his deſign. The earl he knew was grandſon by the female line to the famous rebel Tirone, connected in alliance and affection with thoſe Iriſh clans of Ulſter, which had formerly expreſſed, and were ſtill ſuppoſed to retain an averſion to Engliſh government. Numbers of theſe could be eaſily raiſed, but not ſo eaſily paid and maintained; a neceſſitous rabble of armed followers, without diſcipline or reſtraint, might give material interruption to the public peace. At this time, it muſt prove a dangerous cauſe of offence, if the king ſhould employ a popiſh army, commanded by a popiſh general. To the Scots of Ulſter it might afford a plauſible pretence of arming to defend them-

Straff. Lett.

ſelves from outrage; they might be ready to unite with the covenanters of Scotland, ſhould they defeat their invaders, and purſue them into Ireland. Such conſiderations had their full weight with lord Wentworth; and to confirm his prejudice againſt the undertaking, he found on his firſt conference with Antrim that the earl was totally ignorant of war, and that he had not once attended to the commoneſt proviſions and precautions neceſſary for any military operation. He repreſented theſe matters to the king and his miniſters; he urged his objections both to the man and his deſign freely and fully; yet ſuch was the poſſeſſion which the queen and her partizans had gained of Charles, that he was perſuaded *repeatedly* to direct, and even ſolicit the lord deputy, that Antrim ſhould be employed. Preparations were even made for his expedition; officers were appointed to aſſiſt him; an agent ſent to practiſe with his friends and kinſmen, the Mac-Donalds of the Iſles, and a ſhip freighted with one thouſand arms for their uſe. But it ſoon appeared that the earl of Antrim had not that extenſive following which he boaſted, either in Scotland or Ireland; that he himſelf was not only vain, but inſincere; had made a forward tender of ſervices, which he conceived would not be needed or accepted; and was neither able nor diſpoſed to perform his promiſes.

In the mean time the king's affairs grew more and more embarraſſed. An injudicious and diſreputable pacification with the Scots was followed by a diſbanding of his army, and an ungracious diſmiſſion of the gentry, who, at their own expence, had attended him in his expedition. The Scots, on the other hand, held their troops in readineſs to re-aſſemble at the ſhorteſt notice; they held a correſpondence with ſome of the Engliſh nobility, and were encouraged to proceed in their oppoſition to the king. They continued to hold their ſeſſions, they proteſted againſt the articles of pacification, they retained the forts which they were bound to reſtore; refuſed to demoliſh others agreeably to the treaty; perſecuted thoſe who adhered to the king, made vigourous preparations for war, and even ſolicited the king of France for ſuccours.

Charles now found his Engliſh dominions evidently threatened with an invaſion, from an enemy obſtinate and enflamed; and ſecretly, if not avowedly, favoured by numbers of his Engliſh ſubjects. A new army was to be raiſed; his finances were totally exhauſted, his reputation was impaired by his late conceſſions to the Scots; and even in his councils he had reaſon to ſuſpect treachery. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, lord Wentworth was thought too neceſſary to the king's ſervice to remain in Ireland. He was directed to commit the adminiſtration to two lords juſtices, and to repair to the king. He had frequently ſolicited Charles to juſtify him againſt the clamour of his enemies, and to blaſt their hopes of ſupplanting him in the royal favour by granting him ſome new honours. Charles had hitherto denied the requeſt; but was now more condeſcending. He confirmed him in his preſent ſtation, by the more honourable title of lord lieutenant of Ireland, advanced him to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Strafford, and created him a knight of the garter. Straff. Lett.

The new earl of Strafford was now confeſſedly the firſt in confidence with the king, and ſuppoſed to be the great director of his meaſures; a ſituation which in the preſent juncture could not fail to expoſe him to odium and danger. He had formerly recommended to the king not to exaſperate the Scots, as they were his natural though rebellious ſubjects; to be careful that hoſtilities ſhould not begin on his part, but to wait until they ſhould juſtify his arms, by commencing hoſtilities in ſome part of England. But now, when conceſſions were demanded which Charles deemed repugnant to his conſcience and his honour, when their hoſtile intentions were avowed, and a war

inevitable,

inevitable, he recommended more vigourous meaſures, and urged the neceſſity of firmly repelling, and effectually proſecuting the Scottiſh inſurgents. They were provoked at this zeal, and breathed vengeance againſt the malignant enemy of their nation.

To raiſe a new army, money was abſolutely neceſſary; and Strafford had the credit of adviſing his maſter to recur to the conſtitutional method of ſupply, by convening a parliament. The meaſure was of neceſſity embraced: but to provide in ſome ſort for the immediate occaſions of the king, a loan was ſolicited from the peers and officers of ſtate, to which Strafford liberally contributed; and the queen, by her agents, obtained conſiderable ſums from the *Roman* catholics of *England.* To demonſtrate ſtill greater zeal for the royal ſervice, the earl aſſured the king that no inconſiderable reſources might be found in Ireland; he recommended that a new parliament ſhould be immediately ſummoned in this kingdom, where he was aſſured of obtaining large ſupplies: that the bounty of the Iriſh ſubjects would prove an uſeful example and incentive to an Engliſh houſe of commons, and enable the king to raiſe a gallant army in Ireland, ready to be tranſported into Scotland at his command, with fairer hopes of ſucceſs than could poſſibly be grounded on the wild and futile project of the earl of Antrim. The ſcheme was eagerly adopted; and the indefatigable earl arrived at Dublin two days after the parliament had aſſembled, under the juſtices, lord Dillon and Chriſtopher Wandesford, maſter of the rolls. Whitlock.

A. D. 1640. THE popiſh party of Ireland, whatever were their grievances and complaints, by no means favoured the cauſe of the covenanters, and, like their brethren of England, affected the moſt zealous loyalty and attachment to the king. The puritans were numerous, but not as yet encouraged by their friends in England to avow their diſcontents; nor freed from the terrour of an haughty and rigourous adminiſtration. Thoſe who by their ſtations or emoluments were particularly bound to the ſervice of the crown, formed no inconſiderable party in the Iriſh parliament. The evils they were to avert, the advantages they expected, the fear of power, the conſequence aſſumed from being thought neceſſary to the king's affairs, all conſpired, with ſome leſs intereſted motives, to produce an unuſual unanimity in this aſſembly. Strafford repreſented the ungrateful return made by the Scots to the clemency of his royal maſter, in the late pacification, and recommended to them to grant a ſupply adequate to his occaſions. The commons even outran his wiſhes. They *granted four entire ſubſidies, with* an *elevated encomium on his majeſty's goodneſs in conſtituting* the earl of Strafford lord lieutenant of Ireland, who had endeared himſelf to this kingdom by an upright adminiſtration of juſtice without partiality; by encreaſing the revenue without grievance; by the benefits received or expected from his majeſty's commiſſion for remedy of defective titles, procured by his lordſhip; by the reſtoration of the church, the regulation of the army; by the vigourous ſupport of law, the due puniſhment of its contemners, and a *benevolent relief* and redreſs of the oppreſſed and indigent.

Com. Journ. Ir. A. D. 1640.

The *zeal and affection of the Iriſh* commons were *not yet* exhauſted. The king, in a letter to the two houſes, expreſſed his apprehenſions, that if the Scots did not ſubmit, he ſhould find it neceſſary to demand two additional ſubſidies: they declared, with equal unanimity, that they were ready to ſupport *his* majeſty in all his great occaſions with their perſons and eſtates, which they prayed their governour to repreſent to the king, that it might be recorded as an ordinance of parliament, and publiſhed as a teſtimony to the world, that as the kingdom had the happineſs to be governed by the beſt of kings, ſo they were deſirous to be accounted the beſt of ſubjects.

Carte, Orm. Jour of H. of Lords. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

THE Iriſh lords quickly caught the ſame ſpirit of loyalty. At the motion of the earl of Ormond it was reſolved to congratulate the commons on their bountiful and chearful grant, to ſignify the lords' deſire to join in their intended declaration, and to appoint a conference for ſettling ſome common form to be made the joint-act of both houſes. But here the jealouſy of priviledge intervened. It it was the ſole right of the commons to grant money; and neither the right nor merit of granting was to be communicated to the upper houſe. They refuſed their concurrence in any common form. The lords, however, determined that their zeal and affection ſhould be equally conſpicuous. They publiſhed a ſeparate declaration of their abſolute attachment and devotion to the king, in ſubſtance the ſame with that of the commons.

THEY proceeded yet farther in expreſſing their deteſtation of the Scottiſh diſloyalty. Archibald Adair, a native of Scotland, had been tempted to conformity by the proſpect of gain, and advanced to the biſhopric of Killalla, a ſtation little ſuited to his puritanic principles. The wretch was not ſo guarded or confirmed in his hypocriſy, as to ſuppreſs his indignation at a clergyman of his own country, who had written with ſeverity againſt the Covenanters; he reproached him for his conduct, and was even provoked to juſtify their conduct, with a warmth and acrimony utterly indecent. The lords determined that no writ of ſummons ſhould be vouchſafed to an avowed favourer of the covenant It was even propoſed to cenſure him ſtill farther. But the rigour of adminiſtration rendered it unneceſſary. The Scottiſh prelate was ſeized, fined, and formally deprived.

IN theſe favourable and affectionate diſpoſitions both of lords and commons, Strafford had nothing more to do, but iſſue the neceſſary orders for levying the parliamentary grants, and raiſing and regulating a new army. The preſſing occaſions of the king required his immediate return to England. To Wandesford, his friend and deputy, the charge of raiſing the ſubſidies was committed: the affairs of the army were entruſted chiefly to the earl of Ormond. The new levies were raiſed with ſurpriſing expedition. Ireland afforded numbers of idle and able-bodied men; and the commiſſioners appointed for aſſeſſing the ſubſidies, had authority to preſs them into the ſervice. Cloathing and proviſions occaſioned ſome delay; yet before the king's Engliſh forces could meet at Berwick, the whole body of eight thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe appeared at Carricfergus, their deſtined place of rendezvous, in gallant order and condition. Their officers were proteſtants, together with one thouſand of the private men, which had been drafted from the old army; all the reſt were of neceſſity Roman catholics, a circumſtance ſufficient to raiſe a violent clamour againſt the king and Strafford, who armed legions of popiſh ruffians, to glut their malice with the blood of the godly.

But, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who had ſeen the late loyal diſpoſitions of the Iriſh commons, who had relied on the liberality of their grants, and the zeal of their profeſſions, the ſubſidies by which this army was to be ſupported, were reluctantly and ſcantily ſupplied. A new ſpirit ſeemed to have ſuddenly actuated the ſubjects of Ireland. They who had but juſt now devoted their lives and poſſeſſions to the ſervice of the *beſt of kings*, grew cold, ſuſpicious, and querulous; they complained of the grievous weight of thoſe four ſubſidies, which they had declared was but the earneſt of their beneficence; they objected to the rates of aſſeſſment, the ſame which had been uſed in the late parliament. A general combination was formed through the kingdom, to prevent the levying any money until a new manner of taxation ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament, or, in other words, until they ſhould utterly annul and reſcind the late money-bill, enacted with ſuch remarkable zeal and unanimity.

Carte.

To account for this ſudden change of ſentiment and diſpoſition, it is to be obſerved, that Charles had by this time convened his Engliſh parliament, experienced their averſion to ſupply his neceſſities, and ſuddenly diſſolved them. The Iriſh ſubjects found that an attachment to the king was unfaſhionable and unpopular in England; that favour and applauſe attended thoſe who were moſt violent and ſpirited in oppoſing his meaſures; and a paſſion for imitating the people of England has been ever known to have conſiderable influence on their politics. The puritan party, which every day grew more and more powerful and confident, held a freer corrreſpondence with their brethren of Ireland, and laboured to attach them to the common cauſe. The vigilant chief governour was abſent; and, to encreaſe the confidence of his ſecret enemies in Ireland, reports were induſtriouſly ſpread of his dangerous ſickneſs, and his death. Popiſh agents were aſſiduous in encouraging their party to ſeize the favourable opportunity of forcing ſome attention and indulgence to their claims, civil and religious. Puritans and recuſants alike, freed from the reſtraint of that adminiſtration which had kept both in awe, and encouraged by thoſe diſorders which had already grown formidable in Britain, and threatened to flame out with ſtill greater violence, formed a determined and regular ſcheme of oppoſition.

Such was the temper of the Iriſh parliament on their ſecond meeting. The principal lords and officers of ſtate were, many of them, puritanically diſpoſed. In the old mode of voluntary contribution, they had contrived to ſhift the public burden on their inferiours; but in the aſſeſſment of the parliamentary grants, they had been rated in proportion to their ſuperiour fortunes: and therefore, in the midſt of all their affected ſolicitude for the king's ſervice, were really enemies to the new taxation. Several abſented themſelves from parliament, on whoſe ſervices the crown relied. Thoſe military members, who were deſtined to keep the balance between the popiſh and puritan parties, were now neceſſarily at their reſpective poſts. Theſe parties, therefore, had full liberty to exert themſelves, and by forming a kind of union of political ſentiments and diſpoſitions, bore down irreſiſtibly upon a feeble government.

SEVERAL conciliating and popular bills had been tranſmitted, Carte. and recommended from the throne; among others readily accepted, one was enacted for confirmation of letters patent granted on any commiſſions of grace for remedy of defective titles; an act much magnified, and ſaid to be worth many millions to the ſubject. But the commons were not to be allured from their preſent favourite object. Grievances had been the popular topic in the Engliſh legiſlature; and the clamour of grievances was faithfully echoed in Ireland. The Iriſh commons had as yet no leiſure to examine into thoſe ſeveral particulars, in which the regular courſe of law had been interrupted, and the nation governed with an arbitrary ſway. They fixed at once upon a grievance of an inferiour nature, but ſuch as was ſtriking and obvious, and equally offenſive to each of the prevailing parties. They inveighed againſt the conduct Comm. Jour. 1640. of the eccleſiaſtical courts, their fees, their commutation-money, the demands of the eſtabliſhed clergy for chriſtenings, marriages, herſe-cloaths, mortuaries, and other claims introduced in times of popery, and as yet not ſufficiently regulated and reformed. They preſented a bold remonſtrance to the lord deputy Wandesford on this ſubject; and they were too formidable, and their demands in general too reaſonable, to meet with any diſcouragement.

BUT their attack was not confined to the income of the clergy. A committee was appointed to conſider of the manner in which the ſubſidies ſhould be aſſeſſed. On their report, a declaration was drawn up, againſt any aſcertaining of ſubſidies, condemning the inſtructions iſſued by the deputy and council for raiſing the firſt ſubſidy, expreſſing their apprehenſions, leſt theſe inſtructions ſhould be deemed the continuance of a precedent eſtabliſhed in a former parliament, and proteſting that neither this precedent, nor the late inſtructions ſhould be regarded as a direction or warrant for any future aſſeſſments. In compliment to the deputy, and regard to the king's weighty occaſions, they indeed appoint the firſt ſubſidy to be levied agreeably to the inſtructions, but declare that the three others, and all future ſubſidies, ſhall be raiſed in what they call a moderate and parliamentary way. The declaration was ordered to be entered among the ordinances of their houſe, and copies furniſhed to all who ſhould deſire them. They even had the courage to demand, and the ſucceſs to prevail on Wandesford, to direct that it ſhould be enrolled in the council-books, the court of chancery, the offices of the auditor-general, and of the chief remembrancer.

In this zeal for reformation, they forgot their own privileges, and the ſolicitude they had lately expreſſed for preſerving them. They became ſuitors to the lords to unite in their favourite declaration, and to enter it as an ordinance of their houſe. But the lords were now fearful of the leaſt interference in matter relative to the granting money. They conſulted the judges: the judges declared, that an ordinances of the commons, reſpecting the aſſeſſment of ſubſidies, could not of right be entered in their journals. The anſwer, therefore, to the commons, was, that they had taken time until the next ſeſſion to conſider whether their declaration ſhould be entered in the journals of the upper houſe, or not.

But while the commons affected all this regard for the eaſe of the ſubjects, this patriotic oppoſition to exorbitant and oppreſſive grants (nor can it be denied that they were exorbitant and oppreſſive, when we are aſſured that one year's aſſeſſment on the earl of Cork amounted to three thouſand ſix hundred pounds)

pounds) they at the ſame time felt conſiderable embarraſſment from recollection of their former zealous conceſſions and declarations: nor could the partizans of government fail to urge them with the ſhame of inconſiſtency, a charge ſo obvious, and at the ſame time ſo mortifying. To efface this reproach, and "to the end," as they expreſſed it, "that no ill-" Com. Journ. V. I. p. 254. "affected perſons, in envy to their loyal and chearful proceedings to his majeſty, might ſpread any falſe rumours, as though they had not a continued reſolution to further his majeſty's ſervice," they entered a ſecond ordinance in their Journals, "whereby they declared to the world, that by *nothing contained in their late declaration, it was intended to vary from any of their former chearful expreſſions uſed in* the beginning of the parliament, for the furtherance of his majeſty's ſervice againſt the preſent diſtemper in Scotland."

Such formal profeſſions of attachment were but a weak apology for whatever ſeemed exceptionable in their conduct. They ſhewed that the Iriſh parliament had ſtudied the example of thoſe in England, and learned to convey the moſt determined oppoſition in terms of apparent duty and loyalty. *Strafford* was the only man likely to check this riſing ſpirit. *It was reſolved that he ſhould immediately* reſume the reins of Iriſh government. He was made captain-general of all the Iriſh forces, with power to lead them into Scotland. He tranſmitted the orders neceſſary for this expedition; he directed the earl of Ormond to repair to Carricfergus, and to put himſelf at the head of the forces; preparations were made for his own voyage; when, on the illneſs of the earl of Northumberland, Charles found it neceſſary to detain him in England, in order to lead his army againſt the Scots, as his lieutenant-general. Strafford, who ſincerely ſtudied the honour and intereſt of his maſter, was ſolicitous for employing the Iriſh army; and even when the Scots had ſeized Newcaſtle, wiſhed

Carte.

to tranſport it into Cumberland, ſo as to cut off their communication with their own country. But as theſe inſurgents had particularly excepted againſt him, he deemed it imprudent to encreaſe their rancour, by propoſing this meaſure directly to the king. The unhappy Charles adopted other counſels, and other meaſures. The treaty begun at Rippon, and concluded in London, was followed by a ceſſation of arms, highly acceptable to thoſe who favoured the Scots, and avowed their diſſatisfaction at marching to fight for prelacy. They who petitioned for this ceſſation, and for ſummoning a new parliament, at the ſame time expreſſed their abhorrence and apprehenſions of the popiſh army raiſed in Ireland. Orders were tranſmitted for diſbanding it; but theſe orders could not be immediately executed. Money was wanting to diſcharge the arrears of the ſoldiers.

In the mean time the commons of Ireland in their ſucceeding ſeſſion, aſſembled with paſſions ſtill more violent and undiſguiſed, and with a more ſettled and ſyſtematic ſcheme of oppoſition. The puritans, encouraged ſecretly by their friends in England, and animated by the example of the Scots, the recuſants, ſmarting with the remembrance of their mortifications, and grievances real or pretended, thoſe who had experienced the ſeverity of the adminiſtration of Strafford, who were impatient to revive the pomp of popery, or to eſtabliſh the rueful ſimplicity of the preſbyterian model, who had adopted the preſent popular ſentiments of civil liberty, or been infected by the contagion of factious turbulence, all united in the ſcheme of oppoſition to the king; and had all imbibed the faſhionable inveteracy againſt their chief governour.

They began with complaints againſt thoſe very acts which he had procured for reforming and civilizing the nation. Such were the laws which enjoined the general uſe of Engliſh apparel, which forbad ploughing by the tail, burning corn in the ſtraw, or tearing wool from living ſheep. The lords were prevailed on to concur in a repreſentation of the accidental grievances attending the execution of ſuch ſtatutes. And ſo little were the moſt obvious principles of liberty regarded, in the violence of faction, that the deputy was moved to exerciſe a diſpenſing power, and to ſuſpend the penalties annexed to theſe laws.

Com. Journ. 1640.

The commons, who every day grew more confident in their own ſtrength, proceeded to explain diſtinctly their declaration of the former ſeſſion, relative to the aſſeſſment of ſubſidies. They reſolved that no ſubject ſhould be taxed for more than a *tenth part* of his eſtate, real or perſonal; which they called a *moderate, parliamentary, eaſy, and equal rate.* This *reſolution they entered as the order of the houſe,* and the rule by which the three ſubſequent ſubſidies ſhould be aſſeſſed. "Shame," ſaith Mr. Carte, "is a great reſtraint from ills of a ſcandalous "kind; but it affects only particular perſons: it never enters "into bodies of men." The ſentiment is refuted by the conduct of this houſe of commons. They ſtill retained a painful recollection of their former profeſſions of loyalty. They knew that by their preſent reſolution, three of the ſubſidies were reduced to a *ſum ſcarcely worth collecting*; and amidſt all their preſent violence, *not yet diveſted of ſhame, they affected* a ſerious attention to the king's manifold and urgent occaſions; and as it might conduce to the advancement of his ſervice to haſten the payment of the third ſubſidy, they ordered that it ſhould be paid together with the ſecond, on the firſt day of December, 1640, ſix months earlier than it had been made payable by the original grant. But ſuch ridiculous affectation ſerved only to provoke, inſtead of reconciling the king to an unprecedented order, made only by the commons, revoking their own grant, in oppoſition to a ſtatute enacted by the whole legiſlature, and a legiſlature ſtill in being. With a peeviſh impatience at this inſolent procedure, he ordered the *leaf* in which their reſolution was inſerted, to be torn from their Journals.

THE commons were not to be intimidated by this ungracious and irregular exertion of royal power. They had friends and partizans in England, who obſerved their diſpoſitions with pleaſure, and cheriſhed that ſpirit which promiſed to advance their preſent purpoſes. The ruin of the earl of Strafford was the favourite object of the popular party. He was already accuſed; meaſures were concerted for ſupporting the accuſation; Ireland was the ſcene where this obnoxious nobleman had been principally diſtinguiſhed; his proſecutors, therefore naturally looked to this kingdom. Here they found a numerous party ready to ſecond their deſigns, and eager to receive their inſtructions for this purpoſe. A remonſtrance of grievances ſuſtained by the Iriſh ſubjects during the adminiſtration of the earl, was haſtily prepared, and preſented to the houſe of commons. It began with an acknowledgment, that ſince the happy ſubjection of the kingdom to the imperial crown of England, it had been the princely care of his majeſty and his noble progenitors, that their dutiful people of the land of Ireland, being now for the moſt part deſcended of *Britiſh* anceſtors, ſhould be governed according to the laws of England; that the ſtatute of Magna Charta, and other laudable ſtatutes, were by ſeveral Iriſh parliaments enacted and declared, whereby the kingdom hath, until of late, grown to a flouriſhing ſtate, and been enabled to comply with his majeſty's occaſions, by repeated benevolences and ſubſidies. The late grievances were enumerated, by which the kingdom was ſaid to be reduced to extreme and univerſal poverty.—The general decay of trade, occaſioned by a new and illegal raiſing the book of rates and impoſitions.—The arbitrary deciſions of cauſes and controverſies by paper petitions before the chief governour, and the proceedings in civil

Com. Journ. V. I. p. 179.

cauſes at the council board, contrary to the law and great charter.—The denial of the princely graces, and ſtatute of limitations granted by his majeſty, together with the extrajudicial avoiding of letters patent of eſtates, by private opinions delivered at the council board, contrary to law, and without precedent or example.—The unuſual and unlawful encreaſe of monopolies, eſpecially of tobacco.—The extreme and cruel uſage of the inhabitants and tenants of the plantation of London-Derry.— The erection and proceedings of the court of high commiſſion for cauſes eccleſiaſtical; and the exorbitant fees and cuſtoms exacted by the clergy.—The miſapplication of the revenue.—The reſtraint laid on men of quality and eſtates *from repairing to England without licence of the chief governour.*—*Quo warrantos iſſued againſt* boroughs.— The unconſtitutional influence of certain miniſters of ſtate, by which the parliament was deprived of its natural freedom.—Exorbitant fees taken in courts of juſtice.—Extreme preſſures laid on merchants and other ſubjects, to the enriching of farmers of cuſtoms, waiters, ſearchers, purſuivants, goalers, and ſundry others.

Had the ſeveral articles of this remonſtrance received a diſtinct and temporate diſcuſſion, many might have proved groundleſs or vague, *and many* by no means chargeable to the chief governour, *at whom they were pointed. But the* proceeding on this occaſion diſcovered more of zeal than candour. It was preſented abruptly to the houſe, required to be twice read; no objection was admitted; no member allowed to ſpeak to it; no queſtion was put upon the ſeparate articles; but all the ſeveral particulars collected into one queſtion, and all voted to be grievances, in the midſt of tumult and diſorder. The remonſtrance concluded with a petition to the lord deputy, that if he ſhould not think fit to afford relief, he would admit a ſelect committee of the commons to repair to the king in England, in order to obtain fitting remedies for their juſt grievances Carte.

grievances and oppreſſions. Before an anſwer could be obtained, the commons proceeded to nominate this committee. Wandeſford, the lord deputy, was perplexed and intimidated: he made a faint attempt to evade an anſwer to their remonſtrance, by recommending a conference with a committee of the lords on the articles contained in it. The commons had already experienced the temper of the upper houſe, which had originally refuſed to concur with them in their application; they rejected the overture with diſdain; and while their committee, compoſed of virulent papiſts and rigid puritans, prepared to embark ſecretly for England, and their agents John Bellew and Oliver Caſhel, were on their way to London, the deputy was left to the uſual method of prorogation, to give ſome check to the ſpirit of the Iriſh commons.

Com. Journ. V. I. p. 287.

Carte.

In the mean time, the Iriſh committee were received in London with particular favour by the popular party, who expected conſiderable aſſiſtance from them, in the great deſign now in agitation, that of the deſtruction of the earl of Strafford. Their public inſtructions were to addreſs themſelves to the king; but they ſeem to have been privately directed to apply to a power greater than the king's, that of the Engliſh houſe of commons. To prepare the way for their *favourable* reception, Mr. Pym, with the aſſiſtance of Sir John Clotworthy, a gentleman of Ireland, whoſe attachment to the popular party, and enmity to the earl of Strafford, had gained him a ſeat in the Engliſh parliament, obtained a committee to take into conſideration the grievances of Ireland. To this committee the agents readily communicated their remonſtrance, which, with a petition from ſeveral of the knights citizens, and burgeſſes of the Iriſh parliament, was preſented to the houſe.

Thus was the firſt alarm of danger conveyed to the earl o Strafford. Contrary to his own ſentiments, and the urgent admonitions of his friends, he fatally relied on the king's promiſ of protection, he repaired to London, and reſigned himſelf to the power of an incenſed parliament. To deprive him of the ſervices of an able and faithful friend, whoſe evidence muſt have proved eſſentially favourable to his cauſe, Sir George Ratcliffe was accuſed of high treaſon, and conveyed a priſoner from Ireland. The earl himſelf was impeached, ſequeſtered from parliament and committed to cuſtody. His numerous enemies of the three kingdoms were raiſed to the utmoſt pitch of exultation, and waited with impatience the event of this bold and well concerted attack.

Carte. The ſudden death of Wandesford, lord deputy of Ireland, is *imputed to the violent impreſſion on his mind, made by the proſecution of Strafford, and the vexations of his government. It was an event attended with momentous conſequences* to this kingdom: for the preſent, it afforded the Iriſh committee, reſident in London, a fair occaſion of proving and diſplaying their power. Soon after the prorogation of the Iriſh parliament, they were joined by ſome lords of Ireland, not delegated by the upper houſe, but by a number of the Iriſh nobility, moſt unfriendly to Strafford, and directed to unite with the agents of the commons, in repreſenting the grievances of the nation. The popular *leaders ~~in the~~ Engliſh parliament* were not ſcrupulous to examine the validity of their commiſſion. They received them with open arms; and induſtriouſly affected the utmoſt deference and attention to the delegates of both houſes of the Iriſh legiſlature, who came to explain the injuries of their nation, and to prove the iniquity of their chief governour. Such was the conſequence they had gained, that the king himſelf deemed it neceſſary to court them, and laboured to ſoften their reſentments againſt his favourite by ſome incautious condeſcenſions.

Ibid. The appointment of a ſucceſſor to Wandeford became an immediate object of deliberation. The earl of Strafford, who knew the circumſtances of Ireland, and ſincerely ſtudied the intereſts of the king, recommended with particular earneſtneſs that the earl of Ormond ſhould be nominated lord deputy; a nobleman of vigour and abilities, of powerful connections, zealous in the royal cauſe, an enemy both to the Romiſh and puritan factions, and already ſucceſsful in oppoſing the violences of both. But the Iriſh committee, in the fullneſs of pride and power, had the hardineſs to remonſtrate againſt this nomination, and by the aſſiſtance of the earl of Arundel, (who claimed ſome lands of which Ormond was poſſeſſed, and hence became his mortal enemy) were ſo ſucceſsful, that the king relinquiſhed the deſign of employing the earl of Ormond, and declared his reſolution of committing the Iriſh government to two lord juſtices, equally choſen for the contending parties, lord Dillon of Kilkenny-weſt, a nobleman of approved affection to the royal ſervice, and Sir William Parſons, diſtinguiſhed for his attachment to the popular and puritanic faction.

But the Iriſh committee were too well inſtructed, and had imbibed the ſpirit of the times too deeply, not to take advantage of this condeſcenſion, and to preſs the king with new demands. They proceeded to remonſtrate againſt lord Dillon as a perſon unfit to be entruſted with the adminiſtration of Iriſh government. Charles liſtened to their frivolous objections. With an impatience to be relieved from a conteſt of an inferiour nature, and which interrupted his attention to matters more urgent and important, he revoked the nomination of lord Dillon, and abandoned the government of Ireland to Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlaſe, two puritan lords juſtices without abilities or character, and full fraught with that party virulence which is readily imbibed by men of mean underſtandings and illiberal principles.

In proportion to the king's conceſſions, the committee roſe in their demands: and Charles having already ſtooped to ſuch exraordinary condeſcenſions, felt leſs reluctance in grant ing *their* additional requeſts. He conſented to ſend orders to Ireland, that they ſhould not be proſecuted for departing without licence; that the leaf which had been torn from the Journals of the Iriſh commons ſhould be replaced; that the ſubſidies ſhould be aſſeſſed in the manner preſcribed by their houſe; that all the king's correſpondence with his miniſters of Ireland ſhould be entered in the ſignet office, open to be inſpected or copied, by every ſubject; and that all thoſe who complained of any order or decree, ſhould have copies of records, certificates, orders of council, public letters, or other entries neceſſary for declaration of their grievances.

HAVING thus far experienced the compliance of the king, *they at length preſented their remonſtrance in due form. An anſwer prepared by Sir George Ratcliffe,* was ſoon after read in council; and a copy delivered to the committee. They were alarmed; they proteſted againſt the king's conſulting on their affairs either with the earl of Strafford, Ratcliffe, or Sir Philip Mainwaring, another of his zealous friends. They were called to make their reply; the diſcuſſion of particulars was difficult and hazardous; they agreed to entrench themſelves in a general declaration of the ſenſe of the Iriſh houſe of commons, *concerning the grievances alledged.* It was prepared: Strafford, *on his part, ſolicited* a *commiſſion of enquiry into* every particular of their remonſtrance, ſeverally and diſtinctly: the committee were not without their apprehenſions of ſuch a diſcuſſion; they declined preſenting their declaration to the king. Carte.

THE Iriſh parliament in the mean time again aſſembled, and with ſpirits ſtill more elevated. That formidable power which the ruling party in the Engliſh legiſlature had acquired by firmneſs and perſeverance, that applauſe and popularity which attended their proceedings, the embarraſſment of the king's affairs, the weakneſs and dejection of his party, the attention ſhewn to the Iriſh committee, and the ſurpriſing ſucceſs of their applications to the throne, were all powerful incentives to the Iriſh houſes, to exert themſelves vigourouſly on an occaſion ſo favourable to the popular intereſt. Not contented with demanding a redreſs of former grievances, they aſpired, in imitation of their neighbours, to new privileges, new advantages and ſecurities. Having provided for the ſupport of their agents in London, by a public aſſeſſment, they proceeded to inſtruct them to apply to the throne for new laws and regulations, calculated to encreaſe their own power no leſs than to advance the public intereſt. Among other particulars, they were directed to move his majeſty for a bill for the further explanation of Poynings' law, in ſuch parts as had occaſioned any doubts of the manner of certifying bills into England, or any other matter concerning the farther explanation of the law, which they ſhall think fit: and, that the houſe of commons, during the parliament, may draw up bills by their own committee, and tranſmit them.

Com. Journ. 1640. IN all their endeavours for reformation, it was their purpoſe (and it was a purpoſe particularly acceptable to their friends in England) to repreſent the earl of Strafford as the great author of all national grievances. But in the *preamble* to the bill of ſubſidies in their firſt ſeſſion, a magnificent encomium had been beſtowed on this chief governour and his adminiſtration. It was the united and unanimous declaration of both houſes, attended with expreſſions of uncommon ſatisfaction and attachment. The tranſaction was too remarkable and too recent to be forgotten. To evade its force, and obviate the difficulty it might create to the proſecutors of this earl, they now inveighed againſt the ſecret contrivers of this clauſe; they enquired, with an affected wonder and indignation, into the authors of it; they drew up a proteſtation to be tranſmitted to their committee, in which they declared that, it had been ſurreptitiouſly inſerted in their bill, either by the earl of Strafford or his agents; that, conſtrained by repreſentations of the king's neceſſities, they had not oppoſed the fraud, leſt his majeſty ſhould ſuffer by a rejection of the bill thus ſophiſticated; that the matter of this preamble was entirely falſe; and that the nation had really been oppreſſed and impoveriſhed by the adminiſtration of the earl. The committee were directed to petition his majeſty for a bill to eraſe this preamble from their records; and that neither the earl nor his miniſters or adviſers might have any ſhare in conducting the affairs of Ireland. The upper houſe were prevailed on to join in this proteſtation, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Ormond, *Digby, and other zealous royaliſts.*

Jour. of H. of Lords. MS. Trin. Col. Dub. Carte.

THE *lords had by this time caught the ſpirit of the other houſe, and adopted all the ſentiments and paſſions of the po*pular party. They nominated the peers, already reſident in London, a committee of their houſe, for the purpoſe of conveying their grievances to the throne, adding another of their body to the number. A catalogue of thoſe grievances was prepared and preſented to the lords. It conſiſted of eighteen articles; wherein they complained that the nobility were over-rated in the ſubſidies, ſome of them detained in priſon, though not *impeached of any capital offence,* and none allowed to be abſent from the houſe, *without leaving a proxy with ſome lord* of the chief governour's nomination; that noblemen voted in their houſe in conſequence of new titles of honour, without poſſeſſing any lands or property in the kingdom; that they could not, without ſpecial licence, repair to England, to preſent their petitions to the throne. In other articles they echoed the remonſtrance of the commons; ſuch were their complaints of the grievous diſcouragement of trade by heavy impoſitions, of monopolies, of the deciſion of civil cauſes and vacating letters patent by extrajudicial opinions, at the council board; the benefits of the act of limitation denied to the ſubjects, the unconſtitutional influence of miniſters in parliament. Others were added in the form of petitions to the throne, that ſundry of the graces granted in the fourth year of the king's reign, might paſs into acts of parliament; that a general pardon might be granted, unincumbered by captious proviſoes; and that the nobility of the kingdom might be preferred, in all promotions to offices of truſt and honour.

Carte. THESE ſeveral articles engaged the peers in a long and accurate diſcuſſion; nor was it without conſiderable oppoſition that they at length received the ſanction of their houſe. At a time when the popular clamour was ſo violent againſt prelacy; and that there was a general inclination, and even a concerted deſign to deprive biſhops of the right of ſuffrage in parliament, a biſhop of Meath was ſo incautious as to move, that in the reſolution of theſe grievances the name of the lords ſpiritual might be omitted, as they had unanimouſly declared againſt it. In England the propoſition would poſſibly have been received with eagerneſs and applauſe. In Ireland, the enemies of the hierarchy were not ſo powerful or inveterate. The judges declared that the act of the majority muſt be conſidered as the act of all the orders which compoſed the houſe of peers. The motion was rejected without any *conſequences*; and the repreſentation of grievances tranſmitted in due form to the lords of the committee, to be by them preſented to the throne.

Ibid. THEY had ſoon occaſion to enlarge their inſtructions. The Engliſh commons were now conſidered as the center of authority and power. Not only national grievances, but thoſe of private perſons, were referred to their tribunal; and from Ireland particularly, numbers of petitioners beſet their houſe, praying relief againſt the deciſions of the king's courts. One of thoſe appellants complained of a ſentence given in favour of a biſhop of Ardagh, with whom he had a ſuit. The commons, not diſpleaſed to mortify a prelate, ſummoned the biſhop to appear before them. He applied to the Iriſh houſe of lords for direction; the lords reſented the infringement of their priviledges; Lenthal, the Engliſh ſpeaker, was informed that they did not think it fit to licenſe the biſhop's departure into England, and "that they were confident that the houſe of "commons in England would not proceed to any determination of a cauſe in which a member of their houſe was concerned, but rather remit the ſame to the parliament of Ireland." Not contented with oppoſing the attempt of the Engliſh commons in this particular inſtance, the lords reſolved, that "being informed that ſome members and attendants of "their houſe have been ſummoned to appear in the parliament "of England, and before committees of the houſe of commons, upon private men's ſuits, and their eſtates alſo there "queſtioned; and having duely conſidered thereof, and the "evil conſequences which may ariſe thereby—the committee "of the houſe now attending the king be ordered to repreſent "the ſame to his majeſty, and become humble ſuitors unto "him for preventing the like hereafter."

The commons at the ſame time were engaged with ſtill greater warmth on objects more important than their own priviledges. The time was favourable to reformation; and every attempt to eſtabliſh the rights of ſubjects, was received with popular applauſe. They critically examined into various inſtances of illegal practices during the adminiſtration of the earl of Strafford, and ſeverely cenſured every deviation from the exact line of conſtitutional liberty, to which he had been encouraged by the practice of former governours, or hurried by his own paſſions. To condemn them with the greater ſolemnity, the houſe formed a number of queſtions to be conſidered and decided by the judges, relative to the power and authority of the chief governour and privy council, in hearing and determining civil cauſes, the legality of monopolies, and of

Com. Journ. 1640.

the puniſhments *inflicted* on thoſe who infringed them; the legal force of proclamations, or acts of ſtate; the execution of martial law in time of peace; the juriſdiction of the exchequer, caſtle chamber, and other courts; the collation and powers of deans and other dignitaries; the cenſures and ſevere puniſhments of jurors; the legality of quo warranto, and other articles of grievance.

Their queſtions were preſented to the upper houſe, with the following ſpirited declaration. "Inaſmuch as the ſubjects "of this kingdom are free, loyal, and dutiful ſubjects to his "moſt excellent majeſty, their natural liege lord and king, and "to be governed only by the common laws of England and ſtatutes in force in this kingdom, in the ſame manner and form "as his majeſty's ſubjects of the kingdom of England are, and "ought to be governed by the ſame common laws and ſtatutes "of force in that kingdom, which of right the ſubjects of this "kingdom do challenge, and make their proteſtation to be "their birth-right and beſt inheritance; yet inaſmuch as the "unlawful actions and proceedings of ſome of his majeſty's "officers and miniſters of juſtice, of late years introduced and "practiſed in this kingdom, did tend to the *infringing* and "violation of the laws, liberties, and *freedom* of the ſaid ſubjects of this kingdom, contrary to his majeſty's royal and "pious intentions: therefore the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes in parliament aſſembled, not for any doubt or ambiguity which may be conceived or thought of, for, or concerning the premiſſes, nor of the enſuing queſtions, *but for* "manifeſtation and declaration of a clear truth, and of the ſaid "laws and ſtatutes already planted, and for many ages paſt "ſettled in this kingdom, the ſaid knights, *citizens*, and burgeſſes do therefore pray that the houſe *of lords* may be pleaſed "to command the judges of this kingdom, forthwith to declare in writing their reſolutions *of*, and unto the enſuing "queſtions, and ſubſcribe the ſame."

Although the lords were moved, and conſented to add one queſtion more to thoſe of the commons, yet they diſcovered no great alacrity in referring them to the judges. The earl of Ormond in particular was zealous for prerogative, attached to lord Strafford, and alarmed at the violence of the commons. He took advantage of a matter of priviledge, in diſpute between the houſes, to ſuſpend the conſideration of the queries. The judges deſired time to conſider them; he urged the propriety of their requeſt. He prevailed on the lords to reſolve, that the judges ſhould not be compelled to anſwer ſuch of the queries as concerned his majeſty's prerogative, or were contrary to their oath of office; and that they ſhould have *time till Eaſter-term to give anſwer to the reſt.* The commons, *who looked for a ſpeedy prorogation,* were impatient, and offended at this coldneſs of the lords. Inſtead of being embarraſſed at their affected delay, they ſeized the advantage of it to add to the odium of the earl of Strafford. They tranſmitted the queries to their committee in England, directing them to be preſented with all convenient ſpeed to the parliament of England, and praying that they ſhould make a de*claration of* the law in the ſeveral particulars contained in theſe *queries.*

Comm. Jour. V. I. 341.

The *Iriſh committee was flattered and careſſed by the* popular leaders, as uſeful agents in their proſecution of lord Strafford, and a neceſſary channel for conveying their inſtructions to his enemies of the Iriſh legiſlature. This body had adopted the *paſſions* of the Engliſh houſe, and ſeemed to glory in imitating their procedure. Whether in the ferment of their own zeal, or in compliance with inſtructions received from England, the commons proceeded to an impeachment of Sir Richard Bolton the chancellor, doctor Bramhal biſhop of Derry, Sir Gerrard Lowther, chief juſtice of the common pleas, and Sir George Radcliffe, men of known attachment to the earl of Strafford; the laſt already accuſed by the commons of England, and rendered incapable of giving evidence in favour of his friend. To reduce the others to a like incapacity, the charge of high treaſon was proſecuted againſt them with the utmoſt vigour. Audley Mervyn, an active puritan, appeared at the bar of the upper houſe; and with an harangue of tedious pomp and futility, introduced the articles of high treaſon prepared by the commons. They charged Bolton, Bramhal, Lowther, and Radcliffe, of traiterouſly contriving and exerciſing an illegal and tyrannical government in Ireland, by the countenance and aſſiſtance of Thomas earl of Strafford; of aſſuming a regal power over the properties, perſons, and liberties of the ſubjects, pronouncing unjuſt decrees, and extra-judicial opinions, and illegally and traiterouſly *ruining* his majeſty's liege people by infamous and cruel puniſhments; and laſtly, of ſubverting the rights of parliament, and the antient courſes of parliamentary proceedings. They prayed that all might be obliged to anſwer to the charges, and that thoſe now in the upper houſe might be ſequeſtered from their places of judicature, and from the council board, and committed to cloſe cuſtody.

Ruſhworth, vol. IV.

Journal of the Houſe of Lords. Carte.

A VAGUE and general charge, however conformable to the *proceedings in England againſt the earl of Strafford*, was not univerſally well received in the houſe of lords. A variety of queſtions and points of difficulty were ſuggeſted, little ſuited to the impetuoſity of the commons and their friends. Whether the ſpeaker of the lords could be ſequeſtered and committed without a diſſolution of their houſe; whether he or the other perſons impeached might be admitted to bail; whether it were ſufficient that the houſe be anſwerable for their ſpeaker, as no particular charge had as yet been exhibited; whether the lord chancellor could be committed while the ſeals were in his cuſtody? Such were the queſtions which were long and violently

lently agitated in the lords. The commons were impatient, and even clamourous, for a full compliance with their demand. It was at length reſolved, that Bramhal and Lowther ſhould be confined; and that the lords juſtices ſhould be informed that the houſe held it alſo meet that the chancellor ſhould be committed to custody, and therefore requeſted that their lordſhips might appoint ſome other perſon for their ſpeaker. They were anſwered, that the chancellor and chief juſtice were at this time peculiarly neceſſary at the council board, and that the lords juſtices wiſhed the houſe would entruſt them with the diſpoſal of theſe perſons; that their deſire of a new ſpeaker *ſhould* be *tranſmitted to the* king, and that they deſired a *meſſage from* the *houſe* to bail the parties accuſed, if their lordſhips ſaw cauſe. The lords complied; and the conteſt between the houſes was for the preſent ſuſpended by a prorogation.

But the diſcontented party ſoon enjoyed a conſummate triumph, in the trial of the earl of Strafford, and the act of attainder paſſed againſt this unhappy lord. This important tranſaction is too well known to need any new detail; eſpecially as *the moſt* obnoxious particulars of his Iriſh adminiſtration have been *already pointed out*. *Inſtead of diſcuſſing* the ſeveral articles of accuſation which *his Iriſh* enemies ſupplied, in which the malice of his proſecutors was ſometimes too conſpicuous, but in which the moſt candid and indulgent muſt diſcover his pride, inſolence, and tyranny, it ſeems more pertinent to the *preſent deſign to* trace the effects of this great event on Ireland.

To have been diſcountenanced, diſplaced, or treated with any ſeverity by the earl of Strafford, was now conſidered as the higheſt merit, and moſt effectual recommendation to honours and employments. Sir Piers Croſby, his accuſer, was reſtored to his place in council. Archibald Adair, the wretched Scottiſh

Carte.

tiſh prelate, who had been deprived of the ſee of *Killalla* for his declarations in favour of the covenant, was recommended by a puritanic government to the biſhoprick of Waterford. The lords juſtices cautiouſly declined to hear any ſuits, or to decide any cauſes in council; terrified by the remonſtrances againſt paper petitions, as they were called. The high commiſſion, and the preſidential courts of Munſter and Connaught, were afraid to exerciſe their wonted juriſdiction. The judges in the law courts were terrified; and a ſcrupulous adherence to the exact line of law and conſtitutional liberty, had a different effect in Ireland from what might be expected from the theory of politics: but here it ſerved to render the adminiſtration contemptible to a people who had been uſed to a government of rigour and ſeverity.

Some particular members in both houſes of the Iriſh parliament had already entertained deep and dangerous deſigns, not yet diſcovered, nor perhaps ſufficiently matured. But the coalition of puritan and popiſh partizans was made for no other purpoſe, nor can their party be ſuſpected of any other deſign, but that of ſeizing the advantage of the confuſions in England, the fall of Strafford, and the embarraſſments of the crown, to aggrandize their own power, and to extort ſome conceſſions from the king, favourable to their intereſts. Every ſtep towards the ruin of lord Strafford encreaſed the confidence of the Iriſh committees ſtill reſident in London. They repeatedly ſolicited the king to grant an anſwer to the remonſtrances of the Iriſh parliament, and to redreſs the grievances which had been conveyed to the throne. Charles, in his humiliation, at length conſented that they ſhould be conſidered in the privy council; and to moſt of the articles gave a favourable anſwer. He conſented that the aſſeſſment of the nobility ſhould be moderated; he agreed to confirm their rights and priviledges by act of parliament; to deprive thoſe peers of their votes who ſhould not purchaſe eſtates in Ireland within a limited time; to allow all Iriſh ſubjects to repair to any part of his dominions without reſtraint; to prohibit the chief governours and council from deciding property, or avoiding letters patent; to revoke monopolies; to ſuſpend the high commiſſion court; to refer the demands of the clergy to the Iriſh council, in order to frame an act for an equitable regulation of their claims and courts. In like manner he conſented that the GRACES ſhould be conſidered by the lords juſtices and council, and a bill prepared for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch as appeared moſt conducive to the intereſts of the kingdom. Such condeſcenſion *did he diſcover to their paſſions,* that he even promiſed to *paſs an act for repeal of the* preamble in the bill of ſubſidies, relative to lord Strafford. He agreed to reform the abuſes of quo warrantos, and to reſtrain the execution of martial law. In theſe, and ſome other leſs material articles, his council recommended a compliance. A few points of their petition were rejected; and in particular he refuſed to conſent that any part of the law of Poynings ſhould be repealed.

BUT his conceſſions were not ſatisfactory to the committee. *Inſtead of depending* on the royal favour, they demanded the *ſecurity of a legal and formal declaration* of the rights they claimed; the powers which Charles promiſed not to exerciſe, they required to be utterly annulled; and with reſpect to Poynings' law, they contended that this law did not preclude the two houſes of parliament from concurring with the council in preparing and tranſmitting bills. Replies, explanations, diſpatches ſent to Ireland, and anſwers from the council of this kingdom, were attended with inconvenient delay. The time to which the Iriſh parliament had been prorogued was already elapſed, before the king's order for a further prorogation had been received. It was neceſſary, by a ſhort bill, to declare the legal continuance of this aſſembly, and to render their proceedings valid; and for this purpoſe the king's letter was tranſmitted. It was equally neceſſary by ſome act of favour to conciliate the Iriſh houſes, and to allay that violence which they had diſcovered in the former ſeſſion. Without waiting the proceedings of the Iriſh committee, Charles addreſſed a letter to the lords juſtices, declaring his pleaſure that the Iriſh ſubjects ſhould enjoy the benefit of all his GRACES, and directing that bills ſhould be tranſmitted for eſtabliſhing ſome moſt material articles, eſpecially for ſecuring their eſtates, for limiting the crown's title to ſixty years, for annulling all proceedings againſt the proprietors of Connaught, which had been attended with popular odium and clamour, and for ſecuring the eſtates of this province from all claims of the crown.

FORMAL thanks were returned to the throne: but in expreſſing theſe thanks, both lords and commons ſhewed that they were ſtill firm and determined. They prayed that ALL the GRACES ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law; and that the preſent parliament ſhould not be prorogued or diſſolved, until laws were prepared for the eſtabliſhment of all, and the redreſs of every grievance. And the proceedings of parliament correſponded with this beginning. The impeachments of the laſt ſeſſion had produced a queſtion of ſuch importance as juſtified the vehemence expreſſed on that occaſion. The chancellor, in anſwering the charge againſt him, had inſinuated a doubt, whether, ſince the enacting of Poynings' law, the houſe of lords had power of judicature in capital caſes. The ſuggeſtion was received not without reſentment and indignation; and among the firſt proceedings of the preſent ſeſſion, we find both houſes joining in a ſolemn proteſtation, that the court of parliament ever was and is the ſupreme judicatory of the realm, and always had and ought to have full authority to determine in caſes of treaſon and other offences. This proteſtation they communicated to the king: but by preſenting it alſo to the

Journal of the Houſe of Lords. Carte.

Engliſh houſe of lords, they appealed to a tribunal not ſo favourable as they expected. The queſtion was ſeriouſly debated both in that houſe and in the Engliſh council, and the king perſuaded to ſuſpend the acts of grace and favour to his Iriſh ſubjects, until this weighty point ſhould be determined. The ſubſequent diſorders in both kingdoms ſeem to have prevented the formal determination.

THE Iriſh houſe of commons, in the mean time, acted with that violent ſpirit of reformation, which the example of their neighbours had inſpired. By a ſolemn declaration they aſſerted their antient right of repairing at all times to his majeſty, by their agents, without the intervention of a chief governour. The proclamation for regulating linen yarn, however judiciouſly deviſed for improving this manufacture, were yet the acts of lord Strafford's government, and were now declared grievances by the houſe. The high commiſſion court they pronounced a great and univerſal grievance, tending to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Not ſatisfied with the reſtraints of martial law preſcribed by the king, they reſolved to limit the execution of it, even in times of war and rebellion. Every queſtionable demand of the clergy was at once pronounced a grievance, and this, with ſuch ſeverity, that their maintenance was rendered precarious; ſo that the houſe was afterwards obliged to qualify the rigour of their former reſolutions. Com. Journ. 1641.

AN aſſembly which ſcorned the limits of its own conſtitutional privileges, which aſſumed a power of deciding property, and controuling the courts of law, found a convenient object of arbitrary power in the eſtabliſhed clergy, a body equally obnoxious to the popiſh and puritanic leaders. A furious zeal for particular modes and ſyſtems, had in theſe days the ſame effect which hath ſince been experienced from a profligate indifference to religion. Not contented with reſcinding decrees, Ibid.

made in favour of the clergy, and involving particulars of this order in vexatious difficulties, the houſe proceeded to ſtrike at the very vitals of the religious eſtabliſhment, by harraſſing the univerſity. The regulations eſtabliſhed in this ſeminary by archbiſhop Laud, excluded non-conformiſts of every kind from its advantages and preferments. The houſe examined them with ſeverity; diſcovered dangers never experienced, and ſuggeſted objections which time hath abundantly confuted. So earneſt were the prevailing factions to condemn the late ſtatutes, that the committee of the commons appointed to inſpect the college, accepted the groſſeſt miſinformations and diſgraced their report by palpable falſehoods. From a clauſe in one ſtatute not rightly underſtood, they were perſuaded that every member of the college was prevented from divulging the grievances or miſgovernment of the ſociety to any but the governours, under pain of expulſion. They exclaimed againſt the ſuppoſed prohibition as an infamous contrivance to conceal and ſuppreſs the truth: and it was voted null and void. They accuſed the late provoſt, by this time advanced to the biſhopricks of Cork and Roſs, of clandeſtinely accepting the new body of ſtatutes, with the concurrence of two members only of the body; a fact evidently falſe, and eaſy to be diſproved: his government, his procuring the new charter, his acceptance of the new regulations, were voted ſubverſive of the antient foundation, and a grievous diſcouragement to natives of the kingdom, before this charter was inſpected, or theſe regulations weighed. They proceeded to a frivolous impeachment of the biſhop in the houſe of lords, and ſoon found it impoſſible to be ſupported. In the plenitude of their power they forbad any elections to be held, or any leaſes executed, in the college, until the houſe of commons ſhould give farther orders therein; and to complete the triumph over royal prerogative, the committee was empowered to inſpect the old and new ſtatutes, and to make ſuch a compilation of laws from both, as they ſhould judge neceſſary for the government of the college. In the next ſeſſion, which was to complete this ſcheme of reformation, public diſorders became too violent to admit of any attention to the government of a college.

We may naturally expect to find an houſe of commons of ſo inflamed a ſpirit, reſuming the conſideration of thoſe queries which were to aſcertain the conſtitutional rights of the Iriſh ſubjects, and proceeding on thoſe impeachments which were to puniſh the violations of theſe rights. The firſt were indeed reſumed with particular ardour; and the judges were again demanded to give explicit anſwers to the ſeveral queſtions propoſed. *They repreſented the hardſhip impoſed on them of pronouncing extrajudicial opinions,* on points already decided by the commons, already tranſmitted to the king as grievances, and before the ſentence of his majeſty could be known; on queſtions too general; on points which concerned the high courts of the kingdom, and which judges of inferiour courts could not decide without the royal licence. They expreſſed their apprehenſions of being cenſured or impeached, ſhould *their anſwers prove not exactly conſonant to the declared ſentiments of the commons. They were however commanded to* anſwer the queries, *ſo far as might conſiſt* with the duties of their ſtation, and a juſt attention to the royal prerogative. Their anſwers were temperate and guarded: the commons voted them unſatisfactory. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, who had felt the ſeverity of lord Strafford's adminiſtration, and now ſtood forth a zealous, irritated, and active partizan in the commons, was appointed prolocutor, at a conference with the lords, to explain the reaſons of the ſeveral queſtions propoſed, and the inſufficiency of the anſwers returned by the judges. The conteſt was cloſed, by a ſolemn determination of the houſe of commons, on every ſeparate article, in which the rights of Iriſh

Com. Journ. 1641.

Iriſh ſubjects were ſtated and affirmed with ſtrength and preciſion, and all the powers aſſumed by the late adminiſtration, all irregular or illegal practices introduced by public confuſions and ſanctified by cuſtom, were condemned explicitly and ſeverely.

In the impeachments, the houſe proceeded with leſs violence. Strafford had been deprived of any advantage to be derived from the evidence of the impeached lords. An act of attainder had been paſſed againſt him, and he had been already executed. The vengeance of his enemies in the Iriſh commons was not ſo inſatiate as to require more victims. For the ſake of form, and not immediately to relinquiſh their former proceedings, they appointed a committee to conſider Sir George Ratcliffe's anſwer to their remonſtrance: they received petitions againſt the biſhop of Derry, and deſired that the lords might not admit him to bail: the prelate, conſcious of his innocence, petitioned the houſe of commons, that they would vouchſafe to hear his defence on one, two, or more of the fouleſt articles alledged againſt him, which ſhould convince them that the reſt were unworthy of their audience; but they declined this mode of proceeding. Though Bolton, the chancellor, and Sir Gerard Lowther, ſtill kept their ſeats in council and in their courts, yet a new ſpeaker had been appointed for the houſe of lords; and each of the accuſed perſons exhibited an anſwer to the articles of their impeachment. But the fury of the commons was exhauſted; no replication was prepared, no farther proſecution attempted. Carte.

The general proceedings of this Iriſh parliament, when candidly and impartially conſidered, diſcover no more exceptionable motives, than an averſion to lord Strafford, provoked by an adminiſtration, in many inſtances imperious and ſevere; a reſentment againſt the agents of his arbitrary meaſures; a paſſion for reformation, an eagerneſs to take advantage of the embarraſſed and diſtreſſed circumſtances of the king, to circumſcribe the royal prerogative, and to ſupport the popular rights and intereſts. One or two particulars of their conduct admit of a leſs favourable conſtruction.

THE Iriſh forces, raiſed by lord Strafford for the ſervice of Scotland, had long continued an uſeleſs and grievous burden to the ſtate of Ireland, and an odious and alarming object to the Engliſh commons. Money was wanting to diſcharge their arrears; to diſband them unpaid were highly dangerous. The urgent and repeated remonſtrances of the Engliſh parliament made it neceſſary to diſband them; and to prevent the danger, Charles reſolved to ſend them into ſome foreign ſervice. France lay too near, too conveniently ſituated with regard to Ireland; and Richlieu was ſuppoſed as well inclined to raiſe commotions in this kingdom as in Scotland: the commons too, at this time, affected fears of an invaſion from France. The king therefore reſolved to ſend theſe forces into Spain, and for this purpoſe had actually entered into treaty with the Spaniſh ambaſſadour. Orders were tranſmitted for diſbanding them; and the ſtate of Ireland was left to provide the money neceſſary for this purpoſe. By the addreſs and diligence of the king's friends, a ſum was raiſed not ſufficient to diſcharge the arrears, but ſuch as at preſent ſatisfied the ſoldiery. The regulations for diſmiſſing them were ſo providently made, and the orders ſo exactly executed, that the whole body was diſſolved without any immediate inconvenience or diſorder. Preparations were now made for tranſporting the forces into Spain; and conſiderable ſums of money expended for this purpoſe by the Spaniſh ambaſſadour: when on a ſudden, both the Iriſh committee in London, and the commons in Ireland, clamoured paſſionately againſt this meaſure. They urged, with a plauſible and affected tenderneſs for the intereſts of the crown, that theſe forces might be ſent back from Spain to raiſe inſurrections in Ireland; that although the

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preſent king of Spain was in amity with his majeſty, yet his grandfather had meditated the conqueſt of this kingdom, and had been too ſucceſsful in exciting the Iriſh to rebellion; that ſeveral heads of families, attainted in the late reign, were now entertained at the Spaniſh court, and honoured with titles taken from places in Ireland, where their anceſtors had flouriſhed. They might hereafter be appointed to command the Iriſh troops; they might lead them back to aſſert their antient claims, and regain their forfeited inheritance.

If we may judge from the event, it ſeems not improbable that this clamour was induſtriouſly raiſed, and theſe ſpecious arguments artfully ſuggeſted, by ſome leaders who entertained malignant deſigns againſt the Engliſh government. It was at leaſt highly favourable to the purpoſes of ſuch men, that a number of idle, indigent ſwordſmen, ſhould be retained in Ireland, enflamed with religious bigotry and the pride of family, poſſeſſed with the barbarous ideas of chieftainry and its ties; with an habitual averſion to the Engliſh power; diſtracted by the clamour of public grievances, and ready for any purpoſe of innovation, how deſperate ſoever. The Engliſh parliament, inſenſible or indifferent to the conſequences, earneſtly adopted the ſentiments of the Iriſh commons, and echoed their affected apprehenſions of an invaſion from Spain. They well knew that the king of Spain, even if his preſent amity with England were ever ſo diſſembled, had neither leiſure nor power to project an invaſion of its dominions, reduced as he was by a long war with France, and the late revolt of Portugal and Catalonia. But they mortified the king, and diſplayed their own power, by declaring that they held it unfit to allow any levies in Ireland for the ſervice of the king of Spain. They ſtopped the tranſports provided by the Spaniſh ambaſſadour: he complained of the diſappointment and expence incurred by a reliance on the royal promiſe; Charles addreſſed himſelf to the houſe of lords;

but parliament was inexorable. Merchants were obliged to give ſecurity that they would not tranſport forces from any part of the king's dominions. The Iriſh ſoldiers were left to prey upon their country, and to be made the inſtruments of rebellion.

ANOTHER particular, apparently of leſs moment, yet could not but raiſe ſome ſuſpicion of deſigns againſt the public peace. The popular ſpirit in England had been conſiderably enflamed by rumours of plots, and extravagant ſuggeſtions of ſome ſudden danger. The ſame artifice was practiſed in Ireland, and with the ſame ſucceſs. It was rumoured that *ſome ſervants or dependants of the late earl of Strafford had conſpired to revenge his fall, by deſtroying the whole Iriſh parliament at one blow; and for this purpoſe had lodged a magazine of gun-powder under their place of ſeſſion.* Some leaders of both houſes affected an alarm at this intelligence, and procured an order for a committee to inſpect the chambers of the caſtle of Dublin, and to ſearch for powder and ammunition. Every place adjacent to the apartments, occupied by the two houſes, was ranſacked with extraordinary care; but no ſuſpicious circumſtances was diſcovered. Lord Macguire, the head of this committee, a nobleman, of whom we ſhall have immediate occaſion to ſpeak fully, was yet unſatisfied; he diſcovered an extraordinary ſolicitude to be made acquainted with the ſituation and circumſtances of the ſtores; he laviſhed his money on the officers and ſervants to purchaſe information; yet without prevailing: he addreſſed himſelf to Sir John Borlaſe, one of the lords juſtices and maſter of the ordnance. He ſurpriſed him with a demand to be admitted to the royal magazines, by virtue of an order of parliament, and to inſpect the ſtores. Borlaſe, in the open honeſty of a military man, did not poſſibly ſuſpect any deſign of ſeizing theſe ſtores; but the pretence for this order was manifeſtly groundleſs, and this extra-

Dr. Jones' Narrat. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

ordinary ſolicitude to inſpect the magazines wherever they were ſituated, did not even correſpond with the pretence. Macguire was mortified with a peremptory denial. "The ſtores," ſaid Borlaſe, "are his majeſty's precious jewels, and not to be "expoſed to view without ſpecial cauſe."

A SESSION of conſiderable heat and violence was protracted, in expectation of the Iriſh committees at length returning to Ireland with the bills promiſed by the king. The delay grew inconvenient and alarming to the chief governours, who dreaded ſome new acts of violence from the parliament. The ſolicitude which this aſſembly expreſſed for a continuance of their ſeſſion, *ſerved but to confirm the lords juſtices in their earneſtneſs for a receſs.* The houſes adjourned, *in full expectations* of proſecuting their ſchemes of reformation in a future meeting, and apparently with a determined purpoſe of riſing in their demands, and extorting new conceſſions from the throne. The time was moſt favourable to ſuch deſigns; the Iriſh houſes had diſcovered a ſpirit and diſcernment to embrace the favourable opportunity. To animate their hopes, the committees at length arrived, laden with favour and honour. They brought thoſe bills for which the parliament had repeatedly and ſtrenuouſly petitioned, by which the *poſſeſſions of the ſubjects* were enſured, and all *their capital grievances redreſſed*: ſo as to leave the moſt factious without reaſonable excuſe; to give real ſatisfaction to thoſe who had aſſerted the rights of Iriſh ſubjects with ſincerity and integrity, and to open a fair proſpect of public tranquility and national improvement.

Carte.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Peace of Ireland fatally interrupted.—Cauſes and occaſions of rebellion.—Temper of the mere Iriſh—and old Engliſh.—Their provocations.—Influence of religion.—Spirit and principles of Romiſh eccleſiaſtics.—Their practices on the continent.—Schemes of inſurrection diſcovered by Heber Mac-Mahon.—Influence of the Scottiſh inſurrection.—Character of Roger Moore.—His connexion with young Tirone.—His practices with Plunket and Macguire.—He engages other Northerns.—Their conferences.—Their hopes of foreign ſuccours.—They are enflamed by intelligence from England.—Propoſal for ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin.—Sir Phelim O'Nial.—Plan of the conſpiracy.—The whole deſign on the point of being laid aſide.—Zeal of Moore to revive it.—Scheme of proceeding in Dublin—and in the country.—Fantaſtical projects of ſome conſpirators.—Aſſembly at the abbey of Multifernam.—Conſpirators repair to Dublin.—Their conſultation on the twenty-ſecond of October.—Supineneſs of government.—Information of Sir William Cole neglected.—Owen O'Conolly.—His conference with Mac-Mahon.—His information to Sir William Parſons.—Council aſſembled at the houſe of Sir John Borlaſe.—Mac-Mahon ſeized and examined.—Lord Macguire detected and ſecured.—Eſcape of their aſſociates.—Sir Francis Willoughby.—His advice.—His zeal and aſſiduity.—Confuſion in Dublin.—Falſe rumours.—Stratagem of Sir John Temple.—Meaſures for the public defence.—Lords of the Pale apply for arms.—Anſwer of the juſtices and council.—The proclamation of government offenſive to the lords of the Pale.—Second proclamation.—Diſpatches to the king, and to the earl of Leiceſter.—Succeſſes of the rebels in Ulſter.—Proceedings in Cavan and Longford.—Errour of the Engliſh.—Their calamities.

Rancourous ſpirit of the rebels.—Their pretended commiſſion from the king.—Their ſubſequent manifeſto.—Remonſtrance from Longford.—Oppoſition given to the rebels.—Diſpatches and ſupplies from the king.—O'Nial foiled and diſgraced.—Defeat of the rebels at Liſburn.—Horrid cruelties of the rebels.—Maſſacre in ISLAND-MAGEE.

A. D. 1641. THE interval of that receſs, to which the Iriſh parliament had reluctantly ſubmitted, proved an important period; diſtinguiſhed by a deſperate conſpiracy and inſurrection. The hopes conceived from a peace of forty years, from the gradual improvement of the nation, from the activity of its parliament, from the favourable diſpoſition of the king, from the temper of the Engliſh parliament, were in an inſtant confounded; and the calamities of former times revived in all their bitterneſs.

IT is difficult, if not impoſſible, for a ſubject of Ireland to write of theſe tranſactions, now to be explained, without offending ſome, or all, of thoſe diſcordant parties, who have been habituated to view them through the medium of their paſſions and prepoſſeſſions. The ſufferings of their anceſtors may have been ſhockingly aggravated, or their offences fallaciouſly extenuated. But it is not to be expected from the hiſtorian, that the allegations of their ſeveral partizans ſhould be minutely ſtated, diſcuſſed, and confuted. It is his part to form a general narrative upon the beſt information to be obtained, with an attention ſteadily confined to truth, without flattering the prejudices, or fearing the reſentments of ſects or parties. A rapturous encomium on the preſent happineſs and tranquillity of the nation, might be affectingly contraſted by ſome animated deſcription of ſucceeding miſeries and enormities. But it will be leſs dangerous, and poſſibly more candid, to confine ourſelves within the ſober bounds of hiſtory; and firſt to trace the cauſes and occaſions of a rebellion, whoſe effects have been important and permanent; and do not ceaſe to operate even at this day, after a lapſe of one hundred and thirty years.

THE victories of Elizabeth in Ireland left her ſucceſſor to the exerciſe of his political and legiſlative abilities in this part of his dominions. But neither arms nor policy can at once form men's paſſions and ſentiments by a new model, or extinguiſh every ſpark of national prejudice and animoſity. Through the beſt governed and moſt civilized parts of Ireland, they produced an exteriour of peace and reformation. Yet even theſe parts harboured numbers of the old Iriſh race, attached *to the remains of their reſpective tribes, ſmarting with remembrance of their ſufferings,* and habituated to regard the Engliſh government as an *injurious* uſurpation. In remoter diſtricts, the old inhabitants retained their original manners more avowedly, and were leſs careful to diſſemble their reſentments.

THEIR averſion extended, though with leſs inveteracy, to the old Engliſh race ſettled for ſeveral centuries in their country; and in their proſperity they made little ſcruple to expreſs it. Of this race, numbers had united with the rebel earl of *Tirone. In the pride of victory he boaſted, that every man of Engliſh birth ſhould be exterminated from every part of* Ireland; and to the aſtoniſhment of his old Engliſh confederates, he inſolently aſſured them, that they alſo were to expect the ſame fate; or if any of them ſhould be ſuffered to remain, they were to become menial ſervants to the Iriſh, the *only rightful inheritours of the land.*

Chicheſter's State Papers, MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

BUT ſuch occaſional effuſions of inſolence were not ſufficient to eſtrange the old Engliſh from the original natives, or to poſſeſs them with that deteſtation of the mere Iriſh, which they who treat of the preſent period ſometimes aſcribe to them. They for the moſt part ſpake the Iriſh language; they had all, in ſome degree, adopted Iriſh manners. Both races were intermixed by marriages; they were united by religion; and they complained of the ſame grievances. By the new adventurers employed in the ſervice of the crown, both were regarded indiſcriminately as one people equally diſaffected, and dangerous to the Engliſh intereſt. Theſe men, who had raiſed large fortunes in Ireland, and frequently upon the ruin of the old natives, affected to be conſidered as the only loyal ſubjects of the realm; and artfully contrived that even the moſt reſpectable of the old Engliſh families ſhould be regarded by the crown with ſuſpicion, and excluded from every office of truſt or honour. The earl of Strafford proceeded yet farther. It was his profeſſed policy to break all factious combinations, to mortify all popular leaders, and to convince the proudeſt amongſt them, that no power in Ireland ſhould ſtand in competition with the king's vice-gerent. But he purſued this policy without temper or diſcretion. He was ever impatient to expreſs his ſcorn of the old Engliſh race; he ſtudiouſly denied their nobles that reſpect and attention, to which they had been uſed in former times; he told thoſe men, whoſe anceſtors had acquired the dominion of Ireland by their blood, that they were a conquered people, diveſted of all political rights, and dependent ſolely on the royal pleaſure.

Ruſhworth. Trial of Strafford.

The profeſſed policy of James was to unite the inhabitants of Ireland, and for ever to aboliſh all odious diſtinctions. The real policy of his miniſters, and their ſucceſſors, was to diſtinguiſh them into two parties, that of loyal and affectionate ſubjects, containing only the late adventurers and ſervants of the crown; and that of the diſaffected and dangerous, including all the reſt of the inhabitants. The people thus inſulted, were ſpirited and proud; and there was an infatuated folly, as well as a barbarous iniquity, in provoking them yet farther by injuſtice and oppreſſion. The northern plantation, however juſtified, and well deviſed, was an object neceſſarily ofſenſive to the pride and prejudices of the old Iriſh; and thoſe among them who ſubmitted and accepted their portion of lands, complained, that in many inſtances they had been ſcandalouſly defrauded. The revival of obſolete claims of the crown, harraſſing of proprietors by fictions of law, diſpoſſeſſing them by fraud and circumvention, and all the various artifices of intereſted agents and miniſters, were naturally irritating; and the public diſcontents muſt have been further enflamed by the inſincerity of Charles, in evading the confirmation of his GRACES, the inſolence of Strafford in openly refuſing it; together with the nature and manner of his proceedings againſt the proprietors of Connaught.

To the influence of national prejudices and grievances in eſtranging the people from Engliſh government, we are to add the powerful operation of religious principles and prepoſſeſſions. Far the greater number of inhabitants were obſtinately devoted to popery, provoked and mortified by the penal ſtatutes of Elizabeth, and impatient of the odious diſqualifications impoſed upon them. Theſe ſtatutes indeed had not been generally enforced in their full rigour. Sometimes, however, the inſolence of popiſh eccleſiaſtics provoked the execution of them; *ſometimes the terrour of them* was uſed as a political engine *to extort conceſſions from the popiſh party*; and in either caſe, there was pretence ſufficient for exciting popular clamour. The Romiſh clergy had that influence even over the gentry of their communion, with which they are inveſted by the tenets of their religion; the ignorant herd of papiſts they governed at their pleaſure. They had received their education, and imbibed their principles in foreign ſeminaries, particularly of France and Spain. Hence they returned to Ireland, bound ſolemnly to the pope in an unlimited ſubmiſſion, without profeſſion, or bond of allegiance to the king; full fraught with thoſe abſurd and peſtilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion profeſſed to abominate; of the univerſal monarchy of the pope, as well civil as ſpiritual; of his authority to excommunicate and depoſe princes, to abſolve ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to diſpenſe with every law of God and man; to ſanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and eſſential differences of vice and virtue. With this, and other impious trumpery of ſchools and councils, they filled their ſuperſtitious votaries, "contrary," ſaith Walſh, the Iriſh Franciſcan, "to the letter, ſenſe, and deſign of the Goſpel, the writings of the apoſtles, and the commentaries of their ſucceſſors, to the belief of the Chriſtian church for ten ages, and moreover, to the cleareſt dictates of nature."

Walſh's Iriſh Remonſtrance: Dedicat.

Carte, Orm.

Ecclesiastics of ſuch a ſpirit and ſuch principles were ſuffered to erect a ſpiritual juriſdiction in Ireland, exerciſed under the papal authority, generally with connivance, ſometimes under the protection of popiſh magiſtrates (for ſuch men had in ſome inſtances been admitted to magiſtracies, without taking the oath of ſupremacy). But this juriſdiction was precarious, ſubject to the reſtraint and animadverſion of the civil power; and therefore little ſuited to the ideas of clerical authority formed in countries, where popery was legally eſtabliſhed. The ſtate connived at the private exerciſe of their religious rites and devotions. But their imaginations were forcibly impreſſed with that pomp of religion, which they had ſeen in foreign countries. They had been witneſſes of the grandeur of foreign prelates, the reverence paid to all orders of their clergy, their noble endowments, and comfortable revenues. They were mortified at their own ſituation, the diſguiſe and ſecrecy to which they were reduced, the ſcanty and dependent ſubſiſtence, which they were impatient to exchange for the eſtabliſhed income of the proteſtant clergy. Small as it was at this time, yet in their hands it might be conſiderably improved by the ſuperſtition of the laity, and the terrour of eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

It were fruitleſs and abſurd to attempt the gratification of their deſires in any way, but that of arms and inſurrection. In foreign countries they found numbers of their countrymen, the offspring or followers of rebel chieftains, who were careſſed and employed. They had little difficulty in enflaming ſuch men with the remembrance of their family grandeur, the brave efforts of their fathers in the cauſe of religion and liberty, (for ſuch was the language obvious to be uſed) their preſent ſtate of depreſſion, and the hopes of executing an effectual vengeance on their Engliſh oppreſſors. *By the aſſiſtance of theſe their countrymen, or by the merit of being ſufferers for religion, ſeveral of them gained acceſs to miniſters of ſtate.* To theſe they magnified the ſtrength of the Iriſh catholics, repreſented them as impatient to take arms for the faith, ſolicited ſuccours for the pious undertaking, and ſometimes received no unfavourable anſwers. Elevated by any marks of attention, and conceiving ſanguine hopes from the ſlighteſt intimations of favour and encouragement, they diſpatched their *emiſſaries into* Ireland, *to* practiſe with the old Iriſh. The old *Iriſh, proud, querulous, violent,* unemployed, *diſdaining* every *profeſſion but that of arms, were eaſily rouſed to any deſperate* attempt. Conſultations were held, correſpondencies conducted and carried on, ſchemes of inſurrection formed; and ſo early as the year 1634, Heber Mac-Mahon, a Romiſh eccleſiaſtic, gave information to lord Strafford of a general inſurrection intended in Ireland, to be aſſiſted from abroad; and that he himſelf had been long employed in foreign courts, ſoliciting ſupplies for ſuch an undertaking. Strafford was contented with taking the neceſſary precautions for ſecurity, without alarming the nation; and providing that the practices of the Iriſh in foreign courts ſhould be ſtrictly watched, and faithfully reported. Rumours of conſpiracy lightly propagated, and attended by no apparent conſequences, ſerved to confirm the confidence of Iriſh government, and to render it inſenſible to real danger. The ſpirit of rebellion was reſtrained, but not ſuppreſſed by the vigilance of Strafford; the ſeverity of his adminiſtration encreaſed its acrimony.

WHILE the paſſions of the Iriſh were thus dangerouſly agitated, the male-contents of Scotland, by their ſpirited and determined efforts in the cauſe of religion, and for the redreſs of civil grievances, by their reſolution in taking arms, by the progreſs and ſucceſs of their irruption into England, ſeemed to reproach the ſupineneſs of their neighbours, and to challenge them to a bold emulation of their conduct. If the Scots were ſuffered to eſtabliſh a new religion, the Iriſh deemed it more meritorious, and leſs offenſive, to labour for the reſtoration of an antient model; if the Scots complained of temporal grievances, thoſe of the Iriſh were more afflicting; if the valour of the Scots had extorted the ampleſt conceſſions, it was ſhameful for the Iriſh to reſign the palm of valour. Such were the ſentiments which popiſh emiſſaries were now remarkably induſtrious to propagate. They held their conſultations, and formed their ſchemes of inſurrection on the continent; their eccleſiaſtical agents were poured into Ireland; and ſo unguarded was their zeal, that their motions were not unnoticed. The Engliſh miniſters ſoon perceived an uſual ferment among the Iriſh in foreign countries, they received ſecret intimations of ſome conſpiracy now forming, they conveyed the intelligence to their court; and Vane, the ſecretary, was directed to acquaint the Iriſh lords juſtices “that there had paſſed from Spain, and “other parts, an unſpeakable number of Iriſh churchmen for “England and Ireland; and ſome good old ſoldiers, under the “pretext of raiſing levies for the king of Spain; and that it was “whiſpered by the Iriſh friars in that kingdom, that a rebel-

Carte, vol. III. Lett. xviii.

"lion was ſhortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught." It doth not appear that any meaſures were taken by the juſtices in conſequence of this precaution; although the danger was approaching to their very door: the enemies of government were now giving ſome form to their deſign; and the addreſs and abilities of one man conducting it to the point of final execution.

Carte. Ann. MS.

Roger Moore was the head of a once powerful Iriſh family of Leinſter. His anceſtors, in the reign of Mary, had been expelled from their princely poſſeſſions, by violence and fraud; and their ſept harraſſed and almoſt extirpated by military execution. Their remains were diſtinguiſhed by an hereditary hatred of the Engliſh, which O'Moore, of queen Elizabeth's reign, expreſſed by the violence and obſtinacy of his hoſtilities. The reſentment of Roger was equally determined, irritated, as he was, by the ſufferings of his anceſtors, his own indigence and depreſſion, and the mortifying view of what he called his rightful inheritance poſſeſſed by ſtrangers, rioting in the ſpoils of his family. But his conduct was cautious and deliberate; for he had judgment, penetration, and a refinement of manners unknown to his predeceſſors. He was allied by intermarriages to ſeveral of the old Engliſh, and lived in intimacy with the moſt civilized and nobleſt of their race. Some part of his youth had been ſpent on the continent, where his manners were ſtill farther poliſhed, and his hatred of the Engliſh power confirmed, by an intercourſe with his exiled countrymen. He attached himſelf particularly to the ſon of the rebel earl of Tirone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain, and who was careſſed at the court. It was natural for ſuch companions to dwell on the calamities of their fathers, their brave efforts in the cauſe of their countrymen, and the hopes of ſtill reviving the antient ſplendour of their families. With ſuch men, in ſuch a place, an averſion to that power which had ſubverted all the old eſtabliſhments in Ireland, was heroic patriotiſm. The ſpirit of Moore was on fire. He vowed to make one brave effort for the reſtoration of his brethren, was applauded by his aſſociate, and returned to Ireland, totally engaged by the bold deſign.

Carte. FROM the moment that the idea had firſt dawned in his mind, Moore wiſely contrived by every poſſible means to conciliate the eſteem and affection of the native Iriſh: he had the qualities moſt effectual for this purpoſe; a perſon remarkably graceful, an aſpect of dignity, a courteous and inſinuating addreſs, a quick diſcernment of men's characters, and a pliancy in adapting himſelf to their ſentiments and paſſions. *The old* Iriſh beheld the *gallant repeſentative of one of their diſtinguiſhed* families, with an extravagance of rapture and affection; they regarded him as their glory and their protection; they celebrated him in their ſongs; and it became a proverbial expreſſion, that their dependence was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.

HE proceeded to practiſe cautiouſly with his friends and kinſmen, and by fomenting their diſcontents and alarming their fears, to lead them gradually into his deſign. Among theſe was Richard Plunket, younger ſon of that *Sir Chriſtopher Plunket*, who, in the government of *Chicheſter*, was a diſtinguiſhed leader of oppoſition in the Iriſh parliament; a man well deſcended and allied. He had been bred in England, obtained a military command in Flanders, was diſtinguiſhed and advanced; he had a politeneſs which recommended him to his numerous connections, and a plauſibility which enabled him to influence and govern them. Vain in his temper, indigent in his fortune, and bigoted in religion, he was a fit inſtrument for Moore. The artful conſpirator exaggerated the inſults which the whole nation had ſuſtained from the oppreſſive government of Strafford, enumerated all the public grievances, lamented the tedious and ineffectual meaſures taken for redreſs, extolled the gallantry of the Scots, who had at once eſtabliſhed their religion and liberties, condemned the ſupineneſs of his own countrymen, who inſtead of making a brave effort worthy of their valour, at a juncture the moſt favourable to ſuch a purpoſe, waited with ſubmiſſion, until the puritanic party of England and Scotland ſhould utterly extirpate the Roman catholic religion from every quarter of the king's dominions. Such ſuggeſtions had an inſtant effect on the mind of Plunket: he reſigned himſelf to the direction of his kinſman, and became an active agent in his conſpiracy.

No great difficulty was apprehended in gaining the leaders of *the Ulſter Iriſh, who had been ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed by the arms of Elizabeth, and ſo grievouſly deſpoiled by the plantations of James.*— Of theſe, Moore firſt applied to Connor Macguire, baron of Inniſkillen. This lord was regarded as chieftain, by the remains of his ſept ſtill left in the county of Fermanagh. His anceſtor had forfeited in the rebellion of Tirone: part of the forfeited lands had been reſtored to his grand-father for good ſervices, and deſcended to the preſent lord, a youth of mean underſtanding and a licentious and expenſive *life, already overwhelmed* with debts, proud and impatient of *his diſtreſs. Moore reminded him of the antient affluence* and ſplendour of his family, pathetically lamented his preſent difficulties, inveighed againſt that power which had deſpoiled the old and rightful poſſeſſors of the iſland, and planted a race of aliens and foreigners on their patrimony. The Engliſh government, he obſerved, was now become univerſally odious; that all the old inhabitants of Ireland, as well of the Engliſh as Iriſh race, were impatient of their numerous oppreſſions; and ſurely no juncture could be more favourable than the preſent, for a brave attempt to aſſert their liberties and regain their inheritance. When ſuch general intimations proved inſufficient, he

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Narrative of lord Macguire. Nalſon.

he demanded an oath of ſecrecy from Macguire; and under this ſeal aſſured him that he had conferred with ſeveral of the beſt quality in Leinſter, as well as with numbers in Connaught, on the ſcheme of a general inſurrection; that he found them ready to engage, provided the Iriſh of Ulſter would unite in the deſign; a deſign which would reſtore him to the poſſeſſions, and eſtabliſh the religion of his anceſtors, unleſs he ſhould meanly ſubmit to his preſent diſtreſs, and ſuffer the Engliſh parliament to extend their perſecution of the catholics into Ireland, and exterminate every profeſſor of the Romiſh faith. His artifice at length prevailed; and with ſtill greater eaſe, he wrought to his purpoſes three other Iriſhmen of the northern province, Mac-Mahon, Philip Reily, and Torlagh, *brother of* Sir Phelim O'Nial, the moſt conſiderable of *his* name and lineage now reſident in Ulſter.

Nalſon.

In his conferences with theſe new aſſociates, he obſerved, that a general inſurrection might be eaſily effected, *in the preſent* diſordered ſtate of England and Scotland, and when ſuch numbers of their kinſmen and followers were in arms, and would gladly revolt to their natural leaders; that the time of execution ſhould be choſen at the approach of winter, when no ſuccours could be ſent from England; *that each ſhould practiſe with his own friends; and as there was no doubt of receiving aid from* abroad, they ſhould notify their reſolutions to the Iriſh on the continent. The northern conſpirators cautiouſly inſiſted on the neceſſity of being fully and particularly aſſured of foreign ſuccours before any meaſures ſhould be hazarded on *their part*, except that of ſounding the diſpoſitions of their countrymen. Moore, who was impatient of delay, laboured to convince them of the futility of a tedious application to individuals, all friends to their deſign, and ready to riſe in arms on the firſt alarm. Even the inhabitants of the Pale, he obſerved, would readily follow the example of the native Iriſh, or at leaſt would ſtand neuter in the public commotion; that the ſcheme had been already communicated to ſeveral perſons of power; that one leader was engaged who could command an extenſive diſtrict: and when urgently preſſed to declare him, he named lord Mayo, deſcended from a branch of the degenerate De Burghs, and of an extenſive following in the weſtern province.

To quicken the reſolutions and animate the hopes of theſe conſpirators, there now arrived opportunely from Spain an emiſſary from the earl of Tirone, as he was called, with aſſurances, to all of his name and kindred, of arms, money, and ammunition from cardinal Richlieu, and inſtructions to hold themſelves in readineſs for an inſurrection. He was directed to inform the earl that the month of October was fixed for the time of riſing, and to deſire that all the foreign ſuccours might be then in readineſs. In their preſent agitation, they were not damped by a ſudden rumour of the death of young Tirone. They inſtructed their meſſenger, that if the report ſhould be confirmed, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to another of the ſame family in the Low Countries, colonel Owen O'Nial, to acquaint him with the meaſures concerted in Ireland, and to deſire his aſſiſtance and direction; and particularly that he would continue the negotiation with the cardinal of France, and ſecure the ſuccours he had promiſed.

The ſpirits of the male-contents, even of thoſe not actually engaged in the conſpiracy, were ſtill farther enflamed by new intelligence received about this time, of terrible proclamations iſſued againſt the catholics of England, and the denunciations of the Scots againſt all of their communion. Fears of extirpation by the fanatic fury of the puritans, were ſeriouſly conceived by ſome, and affected and propagated by the more deſigning. They poſſeſſed men's minds with the imagination of a Scottiſh army, in all the phrenſy of religious zeal, ready to land on the Iriſh ſhores, and to perſecute the Romaniſts with

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ſword and fire. Even the loyal catholics were alarmed at the thought of ſending the diſbanded Iriſh army into foreign ſervice, when the regal authority, as well as their religion, was in danger. The conſpirators had obvious reaſons for inſiſting on the detention of theſe troops. Hence the violent clamours of the Iriſh commons, and the remonſtrance againſt ſending them to Spain. Carte. On intelligence of the king's permiſſion to levy troops in Ireland for the Spaniſh ſervice, Plunket, the aſſociate of Moore, Hugh Byrne, a deſperate male-content, whoſe father had been oppreſſed and deprived of his lands by Parſons the lord juſtice, and a third officer of the name of O'Nial, undertook to levy and tranſport ſome forces for this purpoſe; and, though unauthorized by the king, were unnoticed, or at leaſt unreſtrained by Iriſh government. Sir James Dillon, a man of honourable family of the old Engliſh race, pretended to be engaged in the ſame ſervice. Theſe officers were already involved in the general ſcheme of inſurrection; and being all zealous catholics, expreſſed the utmoſt horrour and deteſtation at the ſeverities denounced againſt their religion in England and Scotland. In their ſecret conſultations they laboured to animate their aſſociates: they propoſed to employ the forces they ſhould raiſe in the cauſe of their brethren, and defence of their religion; and promiſed to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, with all the king's ſtores, arms, and ammunition, provided that the inſurrection ſhould be general, and eſpecially that the Iriſh of Ulſter ſhould ſupport them by a ſpirited concurrence.

Ibid. A DESPERATE and dangerous partizan, of the northern province, was about this time engaged in the conſpiracy; SIR PHELIM O'NIAL of Kinnaird in the county of Tirone. He had been educated in Lincoln's Inn, and in his youth profeſſed the proteſtant religion; but returned to popery, and the rudeneſs of an Iriſh life, on ſettling in his native country. His family had been treated with no ſeverity by government; nor deprived of any of their poſſeſſions. On the contrary, their lands had been ſecured to them by their loyalty and good ſervices, and by a new patent were confirmed to Sir Phelim. With a mean underſtanding, and a ſenſual and brutal temper, he took poſſeſſion of his eſtate, before he had acquired judgment or diſcretion to conduct himſelf, and of conſequence was ſoon involved in all the difficulties ariſing from a licentious and diſſipated life. His name and family, however, gave him a conſiderable influence over the mere Iriſh of his province; which was encreaſed by the death of the young Tirone, of Spain, at firſt lightly reported, but ſoon confirmed. This event left him in an unconteſted rank of conſequence among his kindred and *dependents, chieftain of the extenſive and powerful ſept of O'Nial. He entertained his imagination with the proſpect of* exchanging his preſent indigence and inferiority, for the vaſt domains and princely power annexed to this title, in old times. With theſe hopes, he plunged eagerly into the conſpiracy againſt Engliſh government. He entered into correſpondence with Owen O'Nial, the Iriſh officer of the Low Countries; he liſtened to his aſſurances of foreign ſuccours; he affected to appear the leader of the northern Iriſh; and, under pretence of *levying forces for the king of* Spain, collected all the indigent *and profligate, the barbarous, the violent*, or the diſcontented, and kept them in readineſs to obey the orders of their ſuperiour.

The acquiſition of ſuch a partizan gave new confidence to thoſe officers, Plunket, Byrne, and Dillon, who had undertaken to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin. They had a fair proſpect of a powerful northern inſurrection to co-operate with their attempts. They continued their private conſultations, and diſcuſſed every particular relative to the undertaking, calmly and diſtinctly. To pay their ſoldiers (for a civil war of ſome length was neceſſarily expected) they reſolved to ſeize all the rents of the

Narrative of L. Macguire.

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kingdom, without diſtinction of perſons: and the pope, it was expected, would ſend them an additional ſupply. They required ſome aſſurance of foreign ſuccours. Byrne affected to ſlight the doubts of his aſſociates: he told them that Owen O'Nial had received the moſt ſolemn promiſes of aid from cardinal Richlieu; and particularly, would be enabled to furniſh them inſtantly with a conſiderable quantity of arms; *that he himſelf* had conferred with the Spaniſh ambaſſadour, and doubted not of aſſiſtance from his court; that they were engaged in defence of the catholic religion; that every catholic power muſt therefore neceſſarily eſpouſe their cauſe. As to the gentlemen of the Pale, Plunket boldly undertook to procure their *concurrence*: ſeveral of them, he declared, *he had already ſounded, and found* them willing to engage; that *he had even opened the* deſign of an inſurrection to lord Gormanſton, and others of the Iriſh committees in London, who approved and commended it; ſo that he had a moral certainty of effectual aſſiſtance from the Pale. Theſe vague expectations were ſufficient to confirm the conſpirators in their purpoſe. The fifth day of Octocter was fixed for the time of riſing. It was reſolved that Plunket and Byrne ſhould ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, with one hundred men; that Sir James Dillon ſhould march *to their ſupport* with one thouſand, and that *while the Ulſter leaders were employed in* ſecuring London-Derry, and all the forts and garriſons of the North, they ſhould detach one thouſand more to the aſſiſtance of their friends in Dublin.

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HITHERTO, Roger Moore beheld with ſecret *pleaſure* the progreſs of that conflagration which he had lighted up; he had of late kept himſelf retired, employing lord Macguire as agent and emiſſary, to carry on the correſpondence between the different conſpirators. But now, he was *neceſſarily* called forth to a more active part, as his whole favourite ſcheme ſeemed on the point of ruin. Sir Phelim O'Nial, who aſſumed a ſort of conſequence and authority, inſiſted that the inſurrection ſhould be deferred to a later day; for that he could not commence his operations ſo early as the fifth of October: nor did he appear ſufficiently determined, or decided in his method of procedure. What was ſtill more alarming, the vanity of Plunket, in anſwering for the gentlemen of the Pale, began to be ſuſpected by his aſſociates. It ſeems highly improbable that Plunket, knowingly and purpoſedly, gave falſe aſſurances; men of his temper deceive themſelves. He might have diſcourſed with ſeveral of the Pale on a ſcheme of inſurrection; and they might, in general, have approved the deſign, of imitating Scotland, taking advantage of the diſorders of England, and eſtabliſhing their *religion by a military enterprize. But their fortunes* were not *ſo deſperate, nor their paſſions ſo enflamed,* as *thoſe* of the *mere Iriſh.* They were generally under the influence of lawyers (for the ſons of their nobleſt families had been bred to the profeſſion of law). And theſe are "a ſet of men," ſaith Mr. Carte, "always averſe to war, in which their profeſſion is "of little uſe." They had conducted an oppoſition in parliament with remarkable ſucceſs; they had gained many conceſſions from the crown; and had not their progreſs been fatally *interrupted, they might* have taken farther advantage of the *diſtreſſes and abaſement of the king, and extorted farther* proviſions for the rights and intereſts of Iriſh ſubjects. The more moderate of the Pale were contented to proceed in this manner: the moſt provoked and violent, determined rather to take advantage of a ſucceſsful commotion, than engage in a precarious and dangerous attempt to raiſe it.

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THEY, on the other hand, who had already engaged in the more deſperate part, were offended and alarmed at the coldneſs of the Pale. They expected to have been already joined by ſome leaders of this diſtrict: they complained to Plunket of their diſappointment; and Plunket, aſhamed of the confidence he

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he had formerly expreſſed, was now obliged to confeſs that his friends were not prepared to join in the commencement of the enterprize, though well diſpoſed to ſecond it. His aſſociates reminded him, that their engagement to attempt the caſtle of Dublin, was made on condition of a general concurrence: ſince this could not be obtained, they were reſolved to abandon an enterprize, in which they alone were to be expoſed to danger, without any reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs.

THE undaunted ſpirit of Moore was irritated and mortified. He ſtepped out of his retreat; he conferred with Sir Phelim O'Nial; he conjured him not to be deterred, by the levity of Plunket, or the timidity of Dillon, from an enterprize which was to reſtore the antient grandeur of his houſe. He addreſſed himſelf to colonel Byrne; enflamed his reſentment of the injuries of his family, and reproached his inglorious caution and reluctance. He lamented the diſappointment of their friends on the continent, who impatiently expected ſome gallant effort on their parts, and were ready to pour their foreign ſuccours into Ireland. By his aſſiduity, by his addreſs and artifice, he ſo wrought on O'Nial, Byrne, and Macguire, that they grew aſhamed of their fears, and reſumed their purpoſe of taking arms, notwithſtanding the defection of ſome few of their confederates. The conſpiracy thus revived, produced frequent conferences in different places, to collect aſſociates, and regulate the order and method of procedure.

Narrative of L. Macguire.

IT was finally reſolved to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin on the twenty-third day of October. Moore was the firſt to undertake this bold enterprize; and to him, together with Byrne, Macguire, and captain Brian O'Nial, it was principally committed; while Sir Phelim O'Nial engaged to lead the northern inſurrection. In the attempt on the caſtle two hundred men were to be employed, compoſed equally of their followers from Ulſter and Leinſter. From the former province Sir Phelim and Brian

O'Nial, Mac-Mahon, Reily, and Macguire, engaged to detach their reſpective parties, under able and faithful leaders. That their march might be leſs ſuſpicious, it was contrived that they ſhould be taken for new levies intended for the ſervice of Spain, and as the day appointed for their arrival in Dublin, was that on which a weekly market was uſually held, it was preſumed, that the extraordinary concourſe would paſs unnoticed. The leaders had their different ſtations appointed: they of Ulſter were to make their attack on the great gate of the caſtle, while thoſe of Leinſter ſhould force the ſmaller.

Narrative of L. Macguire.

As to the proceedings in the country, it was reſolved that the riſing ſhould be on the ſame day, and as general as poſſible; *that all forts and garriſons ſhould be ſeized, and all the gentry made priſoners, for the better ſecurity of the conſpirators* againſt any adverſe fortune. For the ſame reaſon it was determined, that the enterprize ſhould be conducted, in every quarter, with as little bloodſhed as poſſible. Sir Phelim O'Nial was appointed to ſeize London-Derry, Sir Henry O'Nial, his kinſman, engaged to ſurpriſe Carricfergus; and the ſeizure of Newry was entruſted to Sir Conn Macgenis, his brother-in-law and dependent. When this ſhould be effected, the Ulſter *chieftains promiſed to march to Dublin to the aſſiſtance of Moore and his aſſociates, that the poſt of greateſt conſequence* might be effectually ſecured.

It was apprehended that the Scottiſh ſettlers, who were numerous and powerful in the northern province, might embarraſs their deſigns by a ſtrenuous and dangerous oppoſition. To obviate this inconvenience, it was reſolved to leave them totally unmoleſted, as if with peculiar favour and indulgence to the old allies and kinſmen of the Iriſh. If this treatment ſhould not keep them quiet, it was ſuggeſted, that their attention might be diverted to their own country, by raiſing ſome diſturbances in Scotland, under favour of the earl of Argyle, who had formerly entered into a treaty of mutual aſſiſtance with young Tirone, and had ſometimes intimated that he could raiſe a dangerous flame in Ireland.

SUCH were the ſchemes, the proſpects, the progreſs, and the motives of theſe leaders of the conſpiracy. The memoirs of one Plunket, which lie among the manuſcrips of the Bodleian library, aſſure us, with conſummate gravity, that the earl of Ormond had received private inſtructions from the king to ſeize the perſons of the two puritan lords juſtices of Ireland; that the Iriſh leaders had diſcovered this ſecret; and that the ſole object of their deſign was, originally, nothing more than to run foremoſt in loyalty, and to ſnatch the merit of this *ſervice from* the earl. The *falſehood has been ſometimes ſhamefully adopted* by popiſh zealots, and *ſometimes diſgraced their foreign* publications. But from the minute and artleſs narrative of a principal accomplice, deeply engaged, through the whole progreſs of the conſpiracy, and admitted to the ſecret counſels of the great leaders, it appears (with the utmoſt clearneſs which can reaſonably be required in hiſtorical evidence) that the deſign was nothing leſs important, than the utter ſubverſion of all the late eſtabliſhments of property; reſtoring the native Iriſh to all that they had loſt, by the rebellions of their anceſtors, or the deciſions of *law; and procuring an eſtabliſhment for the* Romiſh religion, with all the ſplendour and affluence of its hierarchy.

IT is not indeed to be expected that all the different perſons engaged in this deſign had preciſely the ſame views and purpoſes. Some might have ruſhed wildly into a ſcheme of inſurrection, which flattered their paſſions, without any premeditated plan of conduct, in caſe of ſucceſs. Nor were the more deliberate agreed in their particular objects and purſuits. The moderate among them are ſaid to have been contented with a reform of government, without renouncing their allegiance to the crown of England. They deemed it meritorious to relieve the ſubject, by confining the king's revenue within ſome reaſonable and certain bounds; they determined to require that the adminiſtration of Iriſh government ſhould be committed to ~~two~~ lords juſtices, one of the antient Iriſh, the other of the old Britiſh race, and both of the Romiſh profeſſion; that the law of Poynings ſhould be utterly repealed, as well as every penal ſtatute enacted againſt popery; that the Romiſh prelates ſhould be admitted to parliament, and the Romiſh religion only eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom. Some were contented with expelling the Britiſh ſettlers, and re-inveſting all the old proprietors with their eſtates; others were for driving out the *new created lords, and even thoſe of the old nobility who ſhould not conform to popery:* others again poſſeſſed their imaginations with ſchemes the moſt abſurd and fantaſtical; they computed that two hundred thouſand able men might be found in Ireland, entirely at their devotion; of theſe they propoſed to arm thirty thouſand, by means of thoſe ſupplies expected from the continent; they were to tranſport this army into England; they were to be aſſiſted by France and Spain; they were to reduce the whole iſland of Britain to an obe*dience to the pope; and when this glorious work ſhould be effected, they were to aſſiſt their good ally* the Spaniard againſt the Hollanders, and to chaſtiſe their rebellion.

Dr. Jones's Exam. Orig. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

Such extravagances are ſaid to have gained particular poſſeſſion of the Romiſh clergy. Heber Mac-Mahon had been admitted into many ſecret conſultations of the leading conſpirators; and in the progreſs of their deſign, it was neceſſarily communicated to many other eccleſiaſtics. Men of this order, when engaged in any factious purpoſe, are, in proportion to their ignorance and experience, wild, inſolent, and preſumptuous. We are told, that early in the month of October a conſiderable meeting of the principal Romiſh clergy, together

Ibid.

with ſome laymen of their faction, was held at the abbey of Multifernam, in the county of Weſtmeath. They conſulted in the fulneſs of arrogance and vanity, as if they were already maſters of the kingdom, and abſolute directors of the intended war. Among other queſtions, it was debated what courſe ſhould be taken with the Engliſh, and other proteſtants of the kingdom, when they ſhould be at the mercy of the inſurgents. The more moderate adviſed that they ſhould be ſimply baniſhed. The king of Spain, they obſerved, in expelling the Moors from Granada, and other parts of his dominions, had ſuffered them to depart unmoleſted, and even with ſome of their effects. They recommended the like honourable lenity towards the Engliſh, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted for ſome advantages, and whoſe countrymen of Britain would thus be the leſs incenſed. Others exclaimed againſt the indulgence granted to the Moors, as contrary to the expreſs opinion of the Spaniſh council, and in the event highly detrimental not to Spain only, but all Chriſtendom: they contended, that to diſmiſs the Engliſh unmoleſted were but to give them the opportunity of returning with double fury, to regain their poſſeſſions, and execute their revenge; that a general maſſacre was therefore the ſafeſt and moſt effectual method of freeing the kingdom from ſuch fears. Others again declared againſt theſe extremes of lenity and cruelty, and ſuggeſted ſchemes of procedure, neither ſo indulgent, nor ſo abhorrent to humanity. Such is the account of this aſſembly given by a Franciſcan, who alledged that he was preſent, and a ſharer in thoſe deliberations.

But if the clergy indulged ſuch hopes from the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, the leaders were more cautious and ſolicitous to ſecure this ſucceſs. When the time of execution had been finally ſettled, an emiſſary was diſpatched to Owen O'Nial; and returned with aſſurance that in fourteen days after he would arrive to their ſupport. As the day approached, they gradually drew towards Dublin, in all the anxiety of men conſcious of their momentous enterprize. On the evening of the twenty-ſecond day of October, they aſſembled, in expectation of the detachments deſtined to aſſault the caſtle; of theſe eighty only were arrived; neither Sir Phelim O'Nial's, nor Mac-Mahon's followers appeared. Colonel Byrne was alarmed at the abſence of Sir Morgan Cavenagh, a conſpirator of ſome conſequence in Leinſter. But theſe diſappointments were not ſufficient to deter the leaders. They encouraged each other with the aſſurance that every hour would encreaſe their numbers. They perſevered in their reſolution; and to give time for the arrival of their parties, reſolved that the aſſault ſhould be made on the evening of the enſuing day.

Narrative of L. Macguire.

EVEN to this moment the chief governours of Ireland ſeemed to ſleep in full ſecurity. On the death of Strafford, the earl of Leiceſter, deſcended from Sir Henry Sydney, ſo famous in Ireland, had been nominated lord lieutenant of this kingdom; but his commiſſion was delayed, and the adminiſtration of government ſtill continued in the hands of Sir William Parſons, and Sir John Borlaſe. The firſt was vigilant only to encreaſe his fortune and conſequence; the latter an aged ſoldier, indolent, and ignorant, except in the buſineſs of his profeſſion. The temper and principles of Parſons, the progreſs of his fortune, and the meaſures he had already taken to advance it, made it by no means incredible that he might artfully connive at a wild ſcheme of rebellion, to enrich his coffers by new forfeitures. His known attachment to the popular party of England might have alſo given him ſome degree of ſecret ſatisfaction in a public commotion, which would prove embarraſſing to the crown. However this may be, both the lords juſtices were equally deficient in their vigilance and their affection to the king. They owed their ſtation to the

Carte.

Engliſh commons, and their partizans in the privy council; and their attention and attachment were confined wholly to the prevailing power. Confident of ſupport, they diſobeyed the orders, and deſpiſed the inſtructions of the king. The caution tranſmitted by Sir Henry Vane ſeems to have been received with total diſregard. On the eleventh day of October, an expreſs from Sir William Cole, a gentleman of Enniſkillen, informed them of an unuſual and ſuſpicious reſort of various Iriſh to the houſe of Sir Phelim O'Nial; of many private journies made by lord Macguire; of diſpatches ſent to their different friends; an extraordinary ſolicitude for levying men, as if for the ſervice of Spain, and other circumſtances alarming to the friends of government. The lords juſtices ſtill continued inſenſible to their danger. On the twenty-firſt, Cole diſpatched a full account of the conſpiracy, which had by this time been revealed to him by two accomplices. Yet this inſtance of his zeal proved equally ineffectual; for his letter to the juſtices was either intercepted or ſuppreſſed.

Temple. Iriſh rebellion.

But accident at length obtruded a diſcovery on the lords juſtices, when the conſpirators had already agreed finally on their operations, and but waited the hour of execution. Owen O'Connolly, a ſervant of Sir John Clotworthy, and educated in the profeſſion of a proteſtant, was conſidered by Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the conſpirators, as an agent likely to engage, and to prove uſeful, in their deſign; whether from ſuppoſition of his ſecret attachment to the religion of his anceſtors, or that his family had been deſpoiled by the plantations. Mac-Mahon ſummoned him to his houſe in the county of Monaghan; but before his arrival had removed to Dublin. Hither he was followed by O'Connolly; and their firſt interview was on the evening of the twenty-ſecond day of October, when the leaders had cloſed their ſecret conſultation, by falling on their knees, and drinking to the ſucceſs of their enterprize.

Borlaſe.

In the fulneſs of exultation and confidence, Mac-Mahon diſcloſed the whole deſign to his aſſociate; and dwelt with particular triumph on the glorious action of to-morrow. He introduced him to lord Macguire; and in his preſence entered into a full detail of the intended enterprize. From Macguire, he again conducted him to his own lodgings, again enlarged on the gallantry of the attempt, the effectual precautions already taken, and the fair proſpect of ſucceſs, peremptorily inſiſting on his concurrence. A deſign of ſo much danger ſo ſuddenly diſcloſed, ſo ſpeedily to be executed, oppreſſed the imagination of O'Connolly. He attempted to convince Mac-Mahon of his perilous ſituation; but was anſwered with *tremendous denunciations of vengeance ſhould he preſume to betray the leaſt particle of the ſecret.* Mac-Mahon inſiſted on detaining him to the very hour of the aſſault; O'Connolly found it neceſſary to affect compliance; he was at once converted into a determined conſpirator; but pleading ſome caſual neceſſity of retiring, and leaving his ſword in Mac-Mahon's chamber, as if he were inſtantly to return, he ruſhed out in conſternation, and, intoxicated as he was by a carouſal with his friend, preſented himſelf to Sir William Parſons.

Temple.

With evident marks of diſorder and confuſion, he informed the lord juſtice of the deſperate deſign to be immediately executed, of his author, and the principal aſſociates. Parſons, prejudiced againſt his appearance, and the manner of his diſcovery, coldly recommended to him to return to Mac-Mahon, and to inform himſelf more particularly of the intended treaſon. On his departure, the lord juſtice was ſuddenly recalled to a ſenſe of danger. He ordered the caſtle and city to be guarded; he ſought his colleague, and informed him of the extraordinary incident. Borlaſe was more deeply affected; he condemned him for diſmiſſing the diſcoverer; ſummoned the privy counſellors; diſpatched ſervants through the city in ſearch of O'Connolly; they found him in the hands of the town watch; for as he had ſufficient recollection not to return to Mac-Mahon, he was ſeized in the ſtreets as a ſuſpicious perſon. He was ſtill diſordered by his terrour and exceſs; he was permitted to take repoſe, and then gave his information clearly and particularly. *Mac-Mahon was firſt ſeized*; lord Macguire was detected in his concealment; *Moore, Byrne*, and the other leaders, received timely intimation of their danger, and eſcaped. Mac-Mahon *, after ſome heſitation, freely confeſſed the deſign in which he had engaged; boaſted that the inſurrection of that day was too mighty and too general to be ſubdued; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that although he had fallen *into the* power of his enemies, his death would be *ſeverely revenged.*

Carte from MS. Memoirs.

HAPPILY for the ſtate of Ireland, *Sir Francis Willoughby*, governour of the fort of Galway, a privy counſellor, a ſpirited and experienced ſoldier, arrived at Dublin on this important evening. Finding the gates ſhut againſt him, and an unuſual agitation in the ſuburbs, and being informed that the juſtices and council were now aſſembled at Chicheſter houſe, on the Green leading to the college (for in this houſe Borlaſe now reſided) he haſtened thither, and learned the occaſion of their unſeaſonable meeting. *He comforted the council with an aſſurance, that through his whole journey from Galway the* country ſeemed in profound compoſure, nor had he diſcovered the leaſt *indication* of hoſtility. He informed them, however, that an unuſual number of ſtrange horſemen had all the night been pouring into the ſuburbs; and though denied admittance, ſtill hovered round the city. He obſerved the inſecurity of their preſent ſituation, and recommended to them to remove immediately to the caſtle. They obeyed. On entering the council chamber, they appointed Willoughby to the cuſtody both of the caſtle and the city; and drew up a proclamation, notifying the diſcovery of a dangerous conſpiracy formed by ſome evil affected Iriſh papiſts, recommending to all good ſubjects to provide for defence, and to diſplay their loyalty; and forbidding any levies to be made for foreign ſervice.

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* It was obſerved, that this conſpirator, while he waited in a hall, until the council ſhould examine him, with great appearance of compoſure, amuſed himſelf with chalking out the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or grovelling on the ground. It ſeems not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this might have ariſen from a ſudden recollection of that fate which he and his aſſociates were to expect, on the diſcovery of their plot. But men interpreted the frivolous incident agreeably to their paſſions. They looked with horror on the conſpirator who could wantonly indulge his imagination with the cruelties to be exerciſed by his aſſociates, and the horrid exceſſes of their rebellion.

Carte fro MS. Memoirs.

Such *was the defenceleſs ſtate of the caſtle of Dublin, that, although the conſpirators had been prevented from ſurpriſing it, they might have eaſily taken it by force, had they not been* diſmayed by the ſudden diſcovery of their deſign. The king's army, conſiſting of about two thouſand foot, and nine hundred horſe, was divided into ſmall parties, ſtationed in diſtant garriſons. The citizens of Dublin had objected to lord Strafford, that in violation of their charter he had billetted ſoldiers *in their city.* The preſent juſtices had ever affected to admi*niſter their government* on popular principles. They had quartered *no ſoldiers in Dublin. The caſtle, in which* was depoſited fifteen hundred barrels of powder, with a proportional quantity of match and bullet, arms for ten thouſand men, thirty five pieces of artillery, with all their equipage, was defended by eight infirm warders, and forty halberdiers, the uſual guard of the chief governours on all occaſions of parade. Willoughby loſt not a moment in ſecuring a place of ſuch conſequence againſt any ſudden attempt. The council table was his only couch. He could not venture to let down his drawbridge, without the attendance of his whole inſignificant guard, until the arrival of a part of his diſbanded regiment from Carliſle, enabled him to arm two hundred men, for defence of the caſtle; a body, ſoon reinforced by thoſe who fled for ſhelter to the capital, and by ſome detachments of the army recalled from their quarters by the lords juſtices.

Carte, from MS. Memoirs.

In the mean time the citizens of Dublin were without defence, alarmed at midnight with the clamour of treaſon and inſurrection; confirmed in their fears, by thoſe expreſſes which arrived on the ſucceeding day, notifying the ſucceſsful progreſs of the rebels; diſtracted by falſe rumours, and tales of imaginary danger. Some affirmed that the Iriſh were collected at Tarah to the number of ten thouſand, and in a few hours would ſtorm the city. Others inſiſted that they were on their march, and actually in view. Some of the privy council mounted the platform of the caſtle to diſcover the approaching enemy; ſome fancied that they perceived the motions of an army exiſting only in their fears. Thoſe proteſtant inhabitants, who, by their weakneſs, their age, or their ſex, were moſt ſuſceptible of terrour, ſwelled the crowds that waved tumultuouſly through the ſtreets, in ſearch of intelligence, and by their ſhrieks and clamours, encreaſed the general conſternation. A few ſwords were, by ſome accident, drawn in the midſt of a diſtracted populace. A perſon of ſome conſequence ſaw the glitter at a diſtance: he flew to the caſtle-gate, haſtily ordered the bridge to be drawn up; and with a tone and aſpect of deſpair aſſured the juſtices that the rebels had entered the city, and were furiouſly ruſhing through the ſtreets leading to the caſtle. Willoughby ſoon diſcovered the miſtake.

Temple.

A PROCLAMATION, iſſued by the lords juſtices, commanding all ſtrangers to depart from the city, on pain of death, had not allayed the general commotion. Many of the Engliſh inhabitants abandoned all hopes of defence, and ſuddenly prepared to eſcape to their native country. Some, who had already embarked, were detained by contrary winds, and choſe rather to endure

Carte.

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the extremities of diſtreſs and tempeſtuous weather, on ſhipboard, than to venture aſhore into the power of a barbarous enemy. A fleet of Scottiſh fiſhermen offered to detach five hundred of their crew to the ſervice of the ſtate; but ſcarcely had the overture been accepted, when a falſe alarm of danger drove them from the coaſt. Four hundred ſoldiers, embarked for the ſervice of Spain, but detained in the harbour by orders of the Engliſh parliament, were prohibited from landing, until they were on the point of periſhing by famine; and then were ſuffered to diſperſe through the country, to be enliſted by the rebel-leaders.

The ſtate, however, derived ſome advantage from the public alarm. *Sir John Temple, maſter of the rolls, collected the principal proteſtant merchants of the city;* he adviſed them for their better ſecurity, in this time of danger and diſorder, to depoſit their effects within the caſtle, engaging to anſwer for the value of whatever ſhould be applied to the public ſervice. Thus was a ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions obtained, at a time when the treaſury was totally exhauſted, and the magiſtrates of Dublin unable or unwilling to advance any money to the ſtate.

A few days allayed the confuſion of the capital, and enabled the *chief governours to take their meaſures, and iſſue their* orders with more compoſure. No intelligence of hoſtilities had been received but from the northern counties. Yet diſpatches were ſent to the lords preſidents of Munſter and Connaught (for theſe offices were ſtill continued) directing them to provide for defence. The earl of Ormond was required to repair to Dublin with his troop. Commiſſions were ſent by ſea to ſeveral loyal gentlemen of Ulſter, empowering them to proſecute the rebels, and to receive thoſe who ſhould ſubmit to the king's mercy. To prevent any dangerous concourſe in the city, the parliament appointed to aſſemble in November was ſtill farther

Temple.

farther prorogued, and the courts of law adjourned, except that of the exchequer, which was left open for receiving the king's rents. The ſheriffs of thoſe counties which compoſed the Engliſh Pale, were ordered to provide for the ſecurity of this diſtrict, where the power and numerous dependents of great lords, attached to the Romiſh cauſe, were evidently ſuſpected and dreaded by government. Nor were theſe apprehenſions quieted, when the lords Gormanſton, Nettervil, Fitz-William, Howth, Kildare, Fingal, Dunſany, Slane, appeared before the council, expreſſing their ſurprize and abhorrence of the conſpiracy. All, Romiſh and proteſtant alike, gave ſolemn aſſurances *of their loyalty, declared their readineſs to concur in the defence of the realm; but as they were entirely deſtitute of arms, required to be provided, for their own ſecurity,* as well as the annoyance of the enemy. The juſtices, in their puritanic hatred of popery, in a time of danger and ſecret treaſon, when all the enemies of government, and all the extent of their deſigns were not yet diſcovered, naturally regarded moſt of theſe lords with jealouſy and diſtruſt. To arm them, might be to enable them to join the rebels with greater ſtrength. To deny them arms, were to avow a ſuſpicion of their loyalty, which might provoke the wavering, and drive the determined to an immediate inſurrection. *In this embarraſſment, a middle way* was deemed the ſafeſt. The council aſſured them, that they had an entire reliance on their zeal and loyalty; that they would gladly ſupply them with arms, but were not yet aſſured that a ſufficient number could be ſpared from the neceſſary defence of the caſtle and city; that ſome, however, ſhould be ſpared. They accordingly delivered out a ſmall quantity of arms and ammunition to ſome of thoſe lords who, by their ſituation, ſeemed moſt expoſed to danger: reſolving, at the ſame time, not to arm the Pale effectually, unleſs the inſurrection ſhould become ſo general, as to oblige them to hazard every expedient for defence, however doubtful or precarious.

THE lords of the Pale probably had ſufficient diſcernment to diſcover, or ſuſpect, the real diſpoſitions of the ſtate, and the real motive for ſupplying them ſo ſparingly with arms. They could not diſprove the allegations of the council; yet their diſſatisfaction appeared in that readineſs with which they caught at the ſlighteſt occaſion of complaint. In a few days they again appeared before the council; they expreſſed a deep concern at a proclamation iſſued by the ſtate, and now publiſhed through the kingdom. It purported, that a deteſtable conſpiracy had been formed, *by ſome evil-affected* IRISH *papiſts.* They apprehended that this expreſſion might be ſo interpreted as to extend to their own perſons, and to contain an injurious reflection on their loyalty. It was deemed neceſſary to condeſcend to this affected delicacy. By a ſecond proclamation it was declared, that the words IRISH PAPISTS were only intended to include the mere Iriſh of Ulſter, not to convey the leaſt reflection or imputation of diſloyalty on the old Engliſh, either of the Pale or any other parts of Ireland.

IT was at the ſame time neceſſary, to ſend intelligence to the neighbouring kingdom of all theſe extraordinary events. Sir Henry Spotſwood was charged with diſpatches to the king, now reſident in Edinburgh; O'Connolly was the bearer of a letter to the earl of Leiceſter, who attended the parliament in London. It contained a diſtinct account of the diſcovery, the apprehenſion of Mac-Mahon and Macguire, the ſucceeding incidents, and the meaſures taken for public defence. The juſtices and council declare, that, as the lives and fortunes of his majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland, as well as his regal authority, are at ſtake, they muſt deviate from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law, but in putting thoſe to the rack, who might not otherwiſe diſcover their treaſon and accomplices: they point out the extreme danger of their ſituation, ſuppoſing the inſurrection to become ſo general as Mac-Mahon had de-

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clared, and the neceſſity of ſpeedy and effectual aid from England, unprovided as they were with money, unable to maintain their incompetent and ſcattered forces, and ſurrounded with ſecret enemies. They urge the neceſſity of the lord lieutenant's preſence in Ireland; or if this could not be obtained, that he ſhould appoint a lieutenant-general to command the army. But above all things, they deſire that the Engliſh parliament ſhould be moved to grant an immediate ſupply of money for the ſervice of Ireland, the only means to prevent the expence of blood and treaſure, in a long continued war.

The letter was cloſed by a poſtſcript, ſigned by Sir William Parſons, recommending O'Connolly, as a *perſon, who by his faith and loyalty, had deſerved ſuch a mark of royal bounty as might extend to him and his poſterity.*

In the mean time, the moſt affecting intelligences were hourly received of the progreſs of the northern rebels. Their operations had been duly concerted, their deſign concealed; and the confederates, faithful to their engagements, roſe at the appointed time, in different quarters. Sir Phelim O'Nial led the way: on the evening of the twenty-ſecond of October he ſurpriſed the caſtle of Charlemont, a place of conſequence in theſe days. Lord Caulfield, a brave officer, grown old in the royal ſervice, had been made governour of this fort. With the ſimplicity and love of eaſe natural to a veteran, he declined the honour of an earldom, when offered by king James, contented himſelf with an hoſpitable reſidence on his eſtate, and lived with his Iriſh neighbours in unſuſpecting confidence. Sir Phelim invited himſelf to ſup with this lord; he and his followers were received; on a ſignal given, they ſeized the whole family, made the garriſon priſoners, and ranſacked the caſtle. Hence O'Nial flew to Dungannon and ſeized the fort, while ſome of his adherents poſſeſſed themſelves of the town and caſtle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was ſurpriſed by the ſept of

Depoſition of Maj. Dory, MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

Rot. Canc. H.

Carte.

O'Hanlan; Newry, betrayed to Sir Conn Magennis and his train; and though the governour, Sir Arthur Tyringham, eſcaped, yet ſeveral Engliſh gentlemen were made priſoners; and, what was of ſtill greater conſequence to the inſurgents, they poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almoſt all Fermanagh yielded to the fury of Roger, brother to lord Macguire. Every place of ſtrength in Monaghan was ſeized by the ſept of Mac-Mahon. Derry, Colerain, Liſnegarvey, or Liſburn, and Carricfergus, were maintained againſt the boiſterous aſſaults of the rebels; Enniſkillen was ſecured by Sir William Cole.

In the county of Cavan, both the repreſentative in parliament, O'Reily, and the ſheriff his brother, were deeply engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unuſual regularity. The ſheriff ſummoned the popiſh inhabitants to arms; they marched under his command with the appearance of diſcipline; forts, towns, and caſtles, were ſurrendered to them. Bedel, biſhop of Kilmore, was compelled to draw up their remonſtrance of grievances, to be preſented to the chief governours and council; in which they declare their apprehenſions of perſecution on account of religion, expreſs their regret at being forced to ſeize the king's forts for his majeſty's ſervice, and profeſs their readineſs to make reſtitution for any outrages committed by their inferiour followers. In the county of Longford, the ſept of O'Ferghal had been particularly injured by the plantations of James; and were now impatient to avenge their injuries. The county, like that of Cavan, was ſummoned to arms by the popiſh ſheriff; every caſtle, houſe, and plantation of the Britiſh inhabitants was ſeized. Leitrim, another planted county, followed this example; ſo that within the ſpace of eight days the rebels were abſolute maſters of the entire counties of Tirone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal, and Derry (except of the places already mentioned, and ſome inferiour caſtles) together with ſome parts of the counties of Armagh and Downe.

Carte.
Temple.

Various Depoſ. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

THROUGH the whole open country of theſe diſtricts, the Engliſh inhabitants, who were all induſtrious and rich, found themſelves ſuddenly involved in the moſt deplorable calamities. They ſcarcely believed the firſt reports of an inſurrection; and the beginnings of hoſtilities ſerved rather to confound, than to excite them to any reaſonable meaſures of defence. Inſtead of flying to places of ſtrength, or collecting into conſiderable bodies, each made ſome feeble efforts for defending his own habitation; and thus fell, ſingle and unſupported, into the power of a ruthleſs enemy. The alarm of war, and hopes of plunder, quickly allured the Iriſh ſepts to the ſervice of O'Nial; ſo that in one week he is ſaid to have become the leader of thirty thouſand men. Parties of plunderers multiplied; by force or artifice they poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſes and properties of their Engliſh neighbours. Reſiſtance produced ſome bloodſhed; and in ſome inſtances private revenge, religious hatred, and the ſuſpicion of ſome valuable concealment, enraged the triumphant rebels to inſolence, cruelty, and murder. So far however was the original ſcheme of the conſpiracy at firſt purſued, that few fell by the ſword, except in open war and aſſault; no indiſcriminate maſſacre was as yet committed. The Engliſh were either confined in priſons, in perpetual terrour of deſtruction; or driven from their habitations, naked, deſtitute, expoſed to the rigour of a remarkable ſevere ſeaſon, fainting and dying in the highways, or crawling to ſome place of refuge, in the ghaſtlineſs of fear and famine.

THE leaders of rebellion as yet confined their attack to the Engliſh ſettlements, and, agreeably to their ſcheme, left the Scottiſh planters unmoleſted. The Engliſh were the objects of their deteſtation, and the meaſures of a puritanic government

ment the perpetual ſubject of their complaint. Their ignorant followers were aſſured, that the lords juſtices and council in Dublin, in conjunction with their friends of England, breathed the moſt deſperate vengeance againſt the Romiſh religion; that a conſultation had actually been held at Chicheſter-houſe for extirpating all of this communion from Ireland. Such ſuggeſtions gave new edge to the fury of the Iriſh. Every maurauding party thundered out their deteſtation of England, and Engliſh tyranny. They vowed not to leave one Engliſhman in their country; that they would have no king but one of their own nation; that they would deſtroy Charles, were he in their power; and hoped to drive out him and his children *to wander in a foreign land for ever.*

Various Depoſ. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

This *rancourous ſpirit was kept alive by falſe hopes* of aſſiſtance and ſupport. The rebels were ſometimes aſſured that the Scots had really concurred in the deſign of extirpating the Engliſh. Sometimes their leaders boaſted that they had riſen by inſtructions and commiſſion from the queen. In ſeizing Charlemont, O'Nial declared that he acted by authority of the Engliſh parliament. But theſe pretences were inſtantly laid aſide as dangerous to their cauſe. On the ſucceeding day the Iriſh leader *profeſſed that he had the king's commiſſion* for taking arms. *He produced a parchment, with a great ſeal* appending, which he affirmed to be this commiſſion; and though he would not ſuffer it to be inſpected, the bold aſſertion diſmayed thoſe proteſtants of the puritanic party, who entertained no favourable ſentiments of Charles, and who at ſight of the great ſeal, declared, at once, that they were a SOLD PEOPLE. The commiſſion ſoon appeared, drawn up in due form, and was notified with great ſolemnity to the Iriſh confederates.

Ibid.

Depoſition of Jane Bear, &c.

In this inſtrument the king is made to declare to his catholic ſubjects of Ireland, that for the preſervation of his perſon, he had long been obliged to take his reſidence in Scotland; oc-

Nalſon. Ruſhworth.

caſioned by the diſobedience of the Engliſh parliament, which had deprived him of his royal power and prerogative, and aſſumed the government and adminiſtration of the realm; that as theſe *ſtorms blow aloft*, and are likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemency of the PROTESTANT party, he hath given full power to his catholic ſubjects to aſſemble and conſult, to ſeize all places of ſtrength, except thoſe of the Scots, and to arreſt the goods and perſons of all Engliſh PROTESTANTS within the kingdom of Ireland—The firſt report of this commiſſion was inſtantly encountered by a proclamation of the lords juſtices, in which they warn the ſubjects againſt the deluſion of falſe and ſeditious rumours, derogatory to the honour of the crown; declare that they have full authority to proſecute the rebels; in the king's name command thoſe who have been ſeduced, to forſake all traiterous counſels; and denounce all the terrour of authority againſt thoſe who ſhall refuſe to accept the royal mercy.

AT this day, when the virulence of party has ſubſided, and men can diſpaſſionately review the characters both of Charles and his opponents, the very terms in which this inſtrument is conceived, may be ſufficient to diſcredit it; and indeed prove it to be a forgery, and a forgery precipitately and injudiciouſly deviſed. At the end of this unhappy war, the rebel leaders, their clergy, their agents, all uniformly declared that they had no commiſſion from the king, but had invented the tale to collect and animate their followers. The dying declaration of lord Macguire diſclaimed any commiſſion from the king. Sir Phelim O'Nial on his trial, and at his death, was tempted to confeſs that he had acted by authority of Charles, and to produce the proof of his commiſſion. On his trial, he peremptorily declared that *he never had received any commiſſion.* He explained the means by which his Iriſh followers were deceived; he declared, that in ranſacking the caſtle of Charlemont,

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mont, he found a patent of lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great ſeal, and affixed it to a forged commiſſion. At the hour of his execution he perſiſted in a ſolemn diſavowal of ever having received any commiſſion from the king, for levying or proſecuting the war of Ireland *.

THESE poſitive evidences are corroborated by ſome incidents already mentioned, though hitherto unnoticed by any hiſtorian; the declaration of O'Nial, on the ſurprizal of Charlemont, that he acted by authority of the Engliſh parliament; the ſudden change on the enſuing morning, and the new pretence of a royal commiſſion; a parchment diſplayed, but no inſpection ſuffered; a lapſe of ſeven days before the publication of an inſtrument ſo eſſential to the intereſt of the inſurgents. Another circumſtance has eſcaped the obſervation of the moſt zealous partizans of Charles, and yet ſeems not unworthy of notice. Scarcely had this pretended commiſſion been promulged, when, as if it had been conſidered as a mere temporary expedient for operating on the ignorant Northerns, another manifeſto appeared, in which there is not the leaſt mention of a point ſo material as a commiſſion from the king; and which is conceived in ſuch terms as ſeem purpoſedly calculated to correct the errors of the former publication. It is

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* It ſeems ſcarcely neceſſary to ſtrengthen this poſitive evidence, by an incident mentioned by Mr. Carte.—That about ſix years before the publication of his Life of Ormond, the very patent from which the great ſeal was torn, and which contained a grant of ſome lands in the county of Tirone, was produced on a ſuit of law, at the aſſizes of Tirone, by the late lord Charlemont, having on it evident marks of the ſeal being torn off, and an endorſement proving the fact; and was allowed by the judges as authentic.—The memory of this tranſaction is only preſerved in the general and unconteſted tradition of the county. I have not been able to procure any poſitive evidence of it. My dear and honoured friend, the preſent earl of Charlemont, has no patent in his poſſeſſion anſwering to this deſcription.

ſo different from the firſt declaration of the rebels, "that it "ſeems," ſaith Mr. Carte, "to be the work of Roger Moore, "who having eſcaped from Dublin, and fled into the county "of Wiclow, made all the haſte he could from thence to Sir "Phelim, who, he knew, wanted judgment to conduct an "enterprize of ſuch conſequence."

In this manifeſto the rebels complain of oppreſſions ſuffered by the Roman catholics, profeſſing, at the ſame time, an inviolable loyalty to the king. While they acknowledge to have enjoyed ſome indulgence by his princely goodneſs, they repreſent the parliament of England as wreſting the king's prerogative from his hands, denouncing utter extirpation on the catholics of Ireland, *encouraging petitions againſt the papiſts, and* PROTESTANT *prelates of this realm, to root out the one, and to depoſe the other.* They complain that the government of Ireland has been ſucceſſively committed to the hands of indigent and rapacious miniſters, who, by inventions of fraud and oppreſſion, had pillaged every order of ſubjects; ſo that their eſtates and conſciences were expoſed to the ſame tyranny. They declare, that as they have no hopes from his majeſty, oppreſſed and deſpoiled as he was, by the arrogancy of faithleſs and diſloyal ſubjects, they had of neceſſity taken arms, *in defence of themſelves and of the royal prerogative*; they had ſeized the ſtrongeſt forts of the kingdom, to be enabled to ſerve his majeſty, and to ſecure themſelves againſt the tyrannous reſolutions of their enemies; profeſſing that they were ready to yield up thoſe places at his majeſty's command, when a courſe ſhould be taken to ſecure them, and the PROTESTANTS of the kingdom, his only true and obedient ſubjects, againſt the factious and ſeditious puritans.

THIS manifeſto was evidently calculated to caſt that ſpecious colouring on their cauſe, which might ſtrike the more intelligent and leſs violent of the diſcontented party. In their pretended commiſſion from the king, they cenſure the conduct of proteſtants, and declare that they had taken arms againſt the proteſtant party. But this was ſoon diſcovered to be precipitate and injudicious; for the Iriſh catholics of thoſe days affected to conſider the word PROTESTANT as a deſignation peculiar to the members of the eſtabliſhed church. They deigned not to call the puritans by this title. So that in their firſt declaration, publiſhed in the king's name, no mention was at all made of thoſe whom it was their intereſt to conſider as their only enemies. In their manifeſto the errour is corrected. They repreſent their own religion, and that of the eſtabliſhed communion, expoſed to equal danger; and as they had for*merly united with the puritans in their* parliamentary tranſactions, and practices in London, ſo they now affect to form a new union againſt them, and to open their arms to every friend of prelacy and prerogative. The inſurgents of Longford proceeded yet farther. Inſtead of confining themſelves to formal expreſſions of loyalty, they tranſmitted to the ſtate an oath of allegiance which they had taken, together with their liſt of grievances, and their propoſitions for redreſs. They complained of the penal laws; the ſeverity of inquiſitions, and *avoiding of letters patent; the reſtraint* upon the mere Iriſh of purchaſing lands in the eſcheated counties; and the odious incapacity impoſed on papiſts, of enjoying the honours and immunities of free ſubjects, without violence to their conſciences. They propoſed that a general act of oblivion ſhould paſs, without any reſtitution, or account of goods taken in the preſent commotion; that the penal laws of Elizabeth ſhould be repealed by parliament, and an ample charter of denization granted to the mere Iriſh. Their demands, however unreaſonable, were explicit and defined; while the Ulſter rebels made no particular propoſitions, but left themſelves at liberty to prolong their war, by a perpetual ſuggeſtion of new dangers,

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gers, fears, and jealouſies. The immediate objects of their ſolicitude was to procure foreign ſuccours, and to engage the Pale in their rebellion. Richlieu amuſed them with magnificent promiſes of aſſiſtance. The negotiations of Roger Moore, and his practices with the inhabitants of the Pale, were as yet without effect.

Carte. Nor did the progreſs of their northern war correſpond with the rapidity of their firſt ſucceſſes. The Engliſh gentlemen in different parts of Ulſter quickly recovered from the firſt violent ſurprize, and took the neceſſary meaſures for defence. Carricfergus was the great northern aſylum for thoſe wretched fugitives who eſcaped the fury of the rebels, or were driven from their habitations. Chicheſter, the governour, collected, encouraged, and armed them. In other towns, not ſurpriſed by the rebels, meaſures were taken for defence; and the friends of government, though not as yet regularly authoriſed to command thoſe forces they had raiſed, yet ventured to march out againſt the enemy. At Liſburne, or Liſnegarvy as it was then called, a body of one thouſand was collected; and though not ſufficiently diſciplined or obedient, ſerved to terrify the ſcattered parties of the rebels. They were defeated in ſome ſkirmiſhes at Dromore; but recked their brutal vengeance on the inhabitants when the Engliſh were obliged to abandon this town. A commiſſion, received from the lords juſtices, empowered colonel Chicheſter and Sir Arthur Tyringham to command in the county of Antrim. They appointed a governour and garriſon for Belfaſt; they ſtationed a party at Liſburn; they ſupplied Sir William Brownlow with ammunition for the defence of his caſtle and the town of Lurgan; they ſtrengthened Derry, and ſtationed a garriſon in the caſtle of Augher, which gallantly ſuſtained a ſtorm, and repelled the rebels.

A MESSENGER, diſpatched by Chicheſter to the king, arrived before the expreſs of the lords juſtices, and returned with aſſurances of ſpeedy relief. Charles had immediately communicated his intelligence from Ireland to the Scottiſh parliament, in expectation that their zeal for religon, and abhorrence of popery, would at once rouſe them to the defence of their afflicted brethren in the neighbouring kingdom. But in this caſe, their zeal was not enlivened by intereſt or faction. Their general profeſſions were fair and plauſible, but attended with pretences of delay and doubt. They required more particular information of the Iriſh commotions: they affected to apprehend that the Engliſh parliament might be offended at their forwardneſs, ſhould they prepare for the relief of Ireland without their knowledge and concurrence; and therefore determined, in the firſt place, to treat with the parliament in London. Charles, however mortified at this coldneſs, contrived, by the aſſiſtance of ſome experienced officers lately diſbanded, to collect fifteen hundred of their old ſoldiers. Theſe were inſtantly diſpatched to his loyal commanders of Ulſter, together with arms, ammunition, and ſome money procured by the aſſiſtance of the duke of Lenox.

EVEN this ſmall ſupply ſerved to animate the northern gentry. They had received commiſſions from the king; ſo that they were now doubly authoriſed to command thoſe, whom at firſt they could but exhort to defence. Wherever the Engliſh inhabitants were embodied, their ſucceſs diſcovered the fatal errour of their conduct on the firſt ſurprize. In Fermanagh, the rebels were forced to raiſe the ſiege of Enniſkillen; and lord Macguire's own caſtle was taken by ſtorm. In Tirone, Sir Phelim O'Nial was driven with diſgrace and ſlaughter from the ſiege of Caſtle-Derrick. In Donnegal, he received another defeat; his forces were repelled in various attempts, and their leaders returned, in the vexation of repeated diſappointment, to his camp at Newry.

MS. Relation of the fight at Liſnegarvy.

YET, not humbled by theſe petty defeats, and confident in number of thoſe barbarous followers, whom the hopes of plunder were daily alluring to his ſervice, he ſtill determined to ſtrike at the very head of northern loyalty, by inveſting Carricfergus. For this purpoſe, it was previouſly neceſſary to reduce Liſburn, a powerful Scottiſh ſettlement, (for the pretence of leaving the Scottiſh ſettlers unmoleſted, was ſoon forgotten). Hither he detached a well appointed body of four thouſand. The town had already ſuſtained a violent aſſault: but, relying on the ſtrength of his party, and his intelligence with the Iriſh inhabitants, O'Nial was now confident of ſucceſs. Happily Sir Arthur Tyringham had brought a ſeaſonable reinforcement to the garriſon; and at the very moment of danger was aſſiſted in his diſpoſitions by the arrival of Sir George Rawdon, an eminent Engliſh ſettler and gallant officer. The attack was violent; it was ſuſtained and repelled with ſteadineſs and vigour; the repeated efforts of the beſiegers but encreaſed their confuſion, and ſwelled the numbers of their ſlain: and this body of rebels, the firſt that bore the appearance of a regularly formed army, was finally put to ſhameful flight, and with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the Engliſh boaſted that the number ſlain in the aſſault trebled that of the whole garriſon.

But ſuch ſucceſſes were attended with conſequences truly horrible. The Iriſh, incenſed at *reſiſtance*, carried on their hoſtilities without *faith* or *humanity*. Lurgan was ſurrendered by Sir William Brownlow, on terms of ſecurity to the inhabitants, and permiſſion of marching out unmoleſted with his family, goods, and retinue. All were inſtantly ſeized, and the whole town given up to plunder. But ſuch inſtances of perfidy are ſcarcely to be regarded, when the more enormous barbarities of the rebels obtrude themſelves on our view. At every inſtance of his ill-ſucceſs, Sir Phelim O'Nial was either tranſported to the utmoſt pitch of malicious phrenſy, or ſo alarmed at the well-known inſtability of his followers, that he determined, with an infernal policy, to plunge them ſo deep in blood as to render their retreat or reconciliation with government utterly impracticable. On the repulſe of his forces at the caſtle of Augher, he ordered his execrable agent, Mac-Donnel, to maſſacre all the Britiſh proteſtants in three adjacent pariſhes. The defeat at Liſburn provoked this ſavage and his barbarous followers to a degree of rage truly diabolical. Lord Caulfield, who had been conveyed to one of the houſes of O'Nial, was wantonly and baſely murdered. Fifty others, in the ſame place, fell by the poniards of the Iriſh. Their miſerable priſoners, confined in different quarters, were now brought out, under pretence of being conducted to the next Engliſh ſettlements. Their guards goaded them forward like beaſts, exulting in their ſufferings, and determined on the deſtruction of thoſe who had not already ſunk under their tortures. Sometimes they encloſed them in ſome houſe or caſtle, which they ſet on fire, with a brutal indifference to their cries, and a helliſh triumph over their expiring agonies. Sometimes the captive Engliſh were plunged into the firſt river, to which they had been driven by their tormentors. One hundred and ninety were, at once, precipitated from the bridge of Portadown. Iriſh eccleſiaſtics were ſeen encouraging the carnage. The women forgot the tenderneſs of their ſex; purſued the Engliſh with execrations, and embrued their hands in blood: even children, in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger againſt the helpleſs priſoners.

MS. Depoſitions.

THEY who eſcaped the utmoſt fury of the rebels, languiſhed in miſeries horrible to be deſcribed. Their imaginations were overpowered and diſordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery. In their diſtraction, every tale of horrour was eagerly received, and every ſuggeſtion of phrenſy and melancholy believed implicitly. Miraculous eſcapes from death, miraculous judgments on murderers, lakes and rivers of blood, marks of ſlaughter indelible by every human effort, viſions of ſpirits chaunting hymns, ghoſts riſing from rivers and ſhrieking out REVENGE; theſe and ſuch like fancies were propagated and received as inconteſtible.

AN enthuſiaſtic hatred of the Iriſh was the natural and neceſſary conſequence. The Britiſh ſettlers who were ſheltered in places of ſecurity, forgot that their ſuffering brethren had, in ſeveral inſtances, been reſcued from deſtruction, and protected by the old natives. Their abhorrence was violent and indiſcriminate: and it tranſported them to that very brutal cruelty which had provoked this abhorrence. The Scottiſh ſoldiers, in particular, who had reinforced the garriſon of Carricfergus, were poſſeſſed with an habitual hatred of popery, and enflamed to an implacable deteſtation of the Iriſh by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themſelves, and exaggerated, not only by the ſufferers, but by thoſe who boaſted and magnified their barbarities. In one fatal night they iſſued from Carricfergus into an adjacent diſtrict called ISLAND-MAGEE, where a number of the poorer Iriſh reſided, unoffending, and untainted by the rebellion. If we may believe one of the leaders of this party, thirty families were aſſailed by them in their beds, and maſſacred with calm and deliberate cruelty. As if the incident were not ſufficiently hideous, popiſh writers have repreſented it with ſhocking aggravation. They make the number of the ſlaughtered, in a ſmall and thinly-inhabited neck of land, to amount to three thouſand; a wildneſs and abſurdity into which other writers of ſuch tranſactions have been betrayed. They aſſert that this butchery was committed in the beginning of November; that it was the firſt maſſacre committed in Ulſter, and the great provocation to all the outrages of the Iriſh in this quarter. * Mr. Carte ſeems to favour this aſſertion. Had he

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* His words are theſe—"Whether the ſlaughter made by a party from Carricfergus, in the territory of MAGEE, a long narrow iſland running from "that town up to Olderfleet, (in which it is affirmed that near three thouſand "harmleſs Iriſhmen, women, and children, were cruelly maſſacred) happened "before

carefully peruſed the collection of original depoſitions now in poſſeſſion of the univerſity of Dublin, he would have found his doubts of facts and dates cleared moſt ſatisfactorily; and that the maſſacre of Iſland-Magee (as appears from ſeveral unſuſpicious evidences) was really committed in the beginning of January, when the followers of O'Nial had almoſt exhauſted their barbarous malice.

“ before the ſurrender of Loargan, is *hard to be determined:* the *relations* “ *publiſhed of facts* in thoſe times being very *indiſtinct and uncertain,* with “ regard to the *time* when they were committed; though it is *confidently aſſerted,* “ that the ſaid maſſacre happened in this month of November.”—The reader of Ireland, who may have curioſity to enquire after thoſe authorities, on which *I have ſtated this tranſaction differently and with more preciſion, will find them among the depoſitions of the county of Antrim, from the middle to the latter part of the volume.* *MSS.* Trin. Col. Dub.

CHAP. IV.

Conduct of the lords juſtices.—Intelligence of the rebellion received by the Engliſh parliament.—Their reſolutions.—Mode and ſpirit of their procedure.—Flame of rebellion extended.—State of Munſter.—Services of the Earl of Clanricarde in Connaught.—The lord juſtices recall the arms they had diſtributed,—repeat their proclamation againſt any reſort to Dublin.—Their inſidious manner of offering pardon to the rebels.—They oppoſe the meeting of a parliament.—Allow a ſeſſion of one day.—Tranſactions of the parliament.—Agents ſent to the king.—Private repreſentations of the lords juſtices.—The agents and their papers ſeized by order of the Engliſh commons.—Rebels elated.—Reject overtures of accommodation.—Directed by Roger Moore.—Frame their oath of aſſociation.—Provoked by the cruelties of Sir Charles Coote.—March to inveſt Drogheda.—Animated by their victory at Julian's Town Bridge.—Moore's practices in the Pale at length ſucceſsful.—Meeting and interview at the Hill of Crofty.—Seven noblemen and their adherents of the Pale declare for war.—Lords of the Pale ſummoned by the ſtate.—Their anſwer.—Replies.—Addreſſes of the lords to the king and queen.—They concert their operations.—Proclamations ſigned by the king.—Inſurrection in Munſter.—The leaders,—their procedure,—ſucceſs,—and diſſenſion.—Drogheda inveſted.—Defence of Drogheda neglected by the ſtate.—Unſucceſsful attempts to ſurpriſe the town.—Skirmiſh at Swords.—Ormond marches to Naas.—His ſpirited anſwer to lord Gormanſton's menace.—Reinforcements from England.—Diſtreſſes of the army.—Ormond commiſſioned to march to the Boyne.—Siege of Drogheda raiſed.—Ormond forbidden to purſue the rebels.—General diſpoſition of the Pale *to be reconciled to government.—Diſpleaſing to the lords juſtices.—Their priſoners racked.—Motives and conſequences of this procedure.—Inſurgents of the Pale driven to deſperation.—Battle of Kilruſh.*

DURING the progreſs of theſe northern commotions, the lords juſtices confined their attention to their own ſecurity, and that of the capital. The numbers of wretched fugitives who ſought ſhelter in Dublin, from their mercileſs enemies, exhibited a ſpectacle of affecting diſtreſs, and ſeemed to demand ſome vigorous meaſures for ſuppreſſing a rebellion conducted with ſuch virulence. The earl of Ormond, who was appointed lieutenant-general of the army, declared for marching inſtantly againſt the rebels, with ſuch forces as might be ſpared from the defence of Dublin. A conſiderable part of the army was aſſembled; new regiments and companies were raiſed; the royal magazines ſufficiently ſupplied; the main body of the rebels, which lay in the county of Louth, wretchedly provided and diſpirited. Yet the lords juſtices contented themſelves with diſpatching Sir Henry Tichburne, with his regiment, to ſecure Drogheda from any attempt of the rebels, who, to the number of four thouſand, lay at Athirdee, ſeven miles diſtant from this garriſon.

Temple.

Carte's Ormond, and Letters.

IRISH inſurrections had been frequently ſuppreſſed by ſuch numbers as Ormond now propoſed to employ, when the danger was encountered with ſpirit and alacrity. But the preſent chief governours were determined againſt every ſpirited meaſure. They pleaded a want of arms to furniſh the ſoldiery; a pretence ſo falſe and frivolous, that every military man ſtood aſtoniſhed at their ſupineneſs. Some imputed it to timidity, and a ſolicitude for protecting their poſſeſſions in the capital. Others imagined, that they envied the earl of Ormond, and dreaded that his ſucceſs might be rewarded with the lieutenancy of Ireland.

They who looked more nearly into their characters and principles, conceived, and not without reaſon, that they by no means wiſhed to cruſh the rebellion in its beginnings, but were ſecretly deſirous that the madneſs of the Iriſh might take its free courſe, ſo as to gratify their hopes of gain, by new and extenſive forfeitures. Nor did the deeper politicians ſcruple to inſinuate, that theſe cold and reſerved governours acted by directions from the reigning faction of England.

Ruſhworth. Nalſon. THEIR chief dependence indeed was on the Engliſh parliament. Owen O'Connoly had delivered his diſpatches to the earl of Leiceſter on the laſt day of October: they were communicated with great ſolemnity to the commons; and received with an affectation of terrour and aſtoniſhment. A meſſage from the king recommended the affairs of Ireland to his parliament; an expreſſion which they determined to accept in the moſt extenſive ſenſe. The important charge of ſuppreſſing a popiſh rebellion they aſſumed to themſelves: in the firſt ardour of zeal, they reſolved to ſupport the Iriſh war, by a ſupply of two hundred thouſand pounds. Fifty thouſand of this ſum were borrowed from the city of London; and out of this loan twenty thouſand pounds aſſigned for the immediate ſervice of Ireland. The commons farther *reſolved, firſt, that ſix thouſand, afterwards, that ten thouſand* infantry and two thouſand horſe ſhould be raiſed for the Iriſh war. Leiceſter was empowered to grant commiſſions for the immediate levy of a part of this force: but the commons inſiſted, that the liſt of officers to be employed, ſhould be firſt laid before the houſe for their approbation. They reſolved, that a convenient number of ſhips of war ſhould be ſtationed on the coaſts of Ireland; magazines formed, and tranſports provided for the conveyance of men, arms, and ammunition. To the king's council it was referred to conſider of ſome fit way for publication of rewards to thoſe who ſhould do ſervice in the Iriſh expedition; of pardon to thoſe rebels who ſhould ſubmit within a limited time, and of ſums of money to be given for the heads of ſuch of their leaders as ſhould be nominated. At the ſame time, they directed that all papiſts of diſtinction in England ſhould be ſecured; that ambaſſadours ſhould give up thoſe of their popiſh prieſts who were ſubjects of the king; that an account ſhould be taken of thoſe attendant on the queen; and that all ſtrangers, not of the proteſtant religion, ſhould immediately return their names, and time of their intended reſidence, or elſe depart from the kingdom.

BUT, inſtead of minutely detailing the proceedings of this famous aſſembly, it ſeems ſufficient for the preſent purpoſe to mark *their temper, the general mode and ſpirit of their procedure, and the influence of theſe upon the affairs of Ireland.*

FIFTEEN memorable years of conteſt between the unhappy Charles and his ſubjects, had gradually reduced the ſtate of England to a ſituation the moſt critical. The popular leaders had triumphed over the weakneſs and inſtability, and even the obſtinacy of the king. If grievances were redreſſed, they had experienced his inſincerity. If their own meaſures of oppoſition had been irregular, or *ſtrictly* illegal, they might hereafter feel the weight of power. They determined to ſeek their own ſecurity by poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſovereignty of the ſtate: they pleaded the neceſſity of effectually ſecuring the ſubject, not by circumſcribing, but aboliſhing the royal authority. An enthuſiaſtic paſſion for the preſbyterian diſcipline was countenanced and encouraged, diffuſed through all orders of the nation, mixed with all their concerns, and had an eſpecial and violent influence on their political purſuits. The king, who, from inclination and neceſſity, ſupported the hierarchy, became doubly odious; and the religious abhorrence of the hierarchy was encreaſed by that ſupport which it afforded to the royal authority. Both were now deſtined to deſtruction; and they who were more moderate politicians, or had not fully imbibed the faſhionable ſpirit of religion, were to be ſeduced to a concurrence with deſigning, artful, or fanatical leaders.

Every device was practiſed to confirm and enflame the ſuſpicions entertained of the king. The famous Remonstrance was prepared, in which the whole ſeries of miſconduct, the long detail of unconſtitutional meaſures adopted by Charles, were collected into one offenſive view. Rumours of danger, of conſpiracy, of invaſion, were induſtriouſly propogated. Pretended plots were diſcovered, and the moſt extravagant ſuggeſtions of fraud or credulity accepted and encouraged. A virulent abhorrence of popery, a dreadful apprehenſion of popiſh agents, and their deſigns, reſounded from every quarter. At the very moment when the more moderate part of the nation grew diſguſted at fictitious plots, and ſenſeleſs rumours, intelligence was received of a popiſh rebellion in Ireland: it was ſpread abroad with hideous aggravation, and ſeemed to realize the wildeſt ſuſpicions and reports of danger. The peculiar guilt of ſome Iriſh catholics was attributed to the whole ſect in both kingdoms. The people, ever accuſtomed to join the prelatical with the popiſh party, were eaſily perſuaded that this horrid inſurrection was the reſult of their united counſels. They heard that the Iriſh rebels pleaded the king's commiſſion for their violences. Bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, aſſented without ſcruple to the groſs impoſture, and loaded the unhappy king with the whole enormity of the contrivance. If the more ſober and conſiderate could not, at once, be perſuaded that Charles had actually given a commiſſion to deſpoil and murder his ſubjects, yet ſuch were their unfavourable ſentiments of this prince, that they ſuſpected that a rebellion, raiſed at ſuch a juncture, was not wholly owing to the diſcontents of the *Iriſh*, but had ſecretly been excited or encouraged by the king, to find the parliament employment, and divert them from their deſigns againſt his power. With ſuch impreſſions upon their minds, they ſaw danger in every propoſition made by Charles for ſuppreſſing the rebellion of Ireland. His ſolicitude for the welfare of his loyal ſubjects of this kingdom, was converted into an inſidious ſcheme of exhauſting England of its arms and treaſure, and involving the parliament in a war, expenſive and embarraſſing.

THE commons had frequently encroached on the executive power of the crown; but with regard to Ireland, they aſſumed *it at once, by virtue of that expreſſion* whereby *the king* recommended *to them the* care *of this kingdom*. Had Charles been able to conteſt this uſurpation, it muſt have expoſed him to the reproach of favouring the progreſs of the odious rebellion.

WHEN the leaders had once formed their project of farther innovations, it became a neceſſary conſequence, that their operations with reſpect to Ireland ſhould be conſidered as ſubordinate *to that* great deſign on which their power, their ſecurity, *and their very being entirely* depended. They affected the utmoſt *zeal* againſt the *Iriſh inſurgents*: but the Iriſh inſurgents ſerved as a pretence for ſecuring to themſelves a ſuperiority in thoſe commotions, which they foreſaw muſt ſoon be excited in England. If any violent point was to be gained, the Iriſh rebellion was a ready inſtrument of their purpoſes. If they were oppoſed in any favourite deſign, it was imputed to the influence of the malignant party, encouraged by the popiſh rebellion of Ireland. If recuſants were to be ſeized, if they were to continue guards about the houſe of commons, the Iriſh rebellion was the cauſe. It was the burden of every petition, for new modelling of religion, for ſubverting epiſcopacy, for putting the nation in a ſtate of defence, for removing evil counſellors, for guarding againſt papiſts and their adherents.

In the extremity of that contempt which the popular leaders entertained for the natives of Ireland, they conceived that it would be eaſy, at any time, to ſuppreſs their rebellion, and recover that kingdom; nor were they willing to relinquiſh by too haſty a ſucceſs, the advantage which that rebellion would afford them in their intended encroachments on the prerogative. By aſſuming the total management of the war, they acquired the dependence of every man who had any connexion with Ireland, or was deſirous of ſerving in this kingdom. They levied money, under pretext of the Iriſh expedition; but they reſerved it for purpoſes which concerned them more nearly. They took arms from the royal magazines, but with a ſecret purpoſe of employing them againſt the king. Whatever law they deemed requiſite for aggrandizing themſelves, was voted under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland. If Charles with-held his aſſent, the refuſal was imputed to thoſe pernicious counſels which had at firſt excited the popiſh rebellion, and ſtill threatened total deſtruction to the proteſtant intereſt throughout the king's dominions. And though no forces were for a long time ſent to Ireland, and little money remitted during the extreme diſtreſs of this kingdom, yet ſuch was the general attachment to the commons, that the fault was never once imputed to thoſe pious zealots, whoſe votes breathed nothing but deſtruction to the Iriſh rebels.

Carte. Orm.

In the mean time, the lords juſtices of Ireland waited within their walls, in expectation of ſupplies from England; while the flame of inſurrection began to ſpread more widely. The Iriſh inhabitants of the county of Leitrim, provoked at the extenſive Engliſh plantation formed on their lands, had ſoon followed the example of the Northerns. The ſept of O'Byrne, in the county of Wicklow, ſtill ſmarting with remembrance of the horrid injuſtice and perſecution they had ſuſtained from Parſons, united with their Iriſh neighbours in the adjoining counties of Wexford and Carlow. They ſeized forts, drove the Engliſh proteſtants from their dwellings, and extended their ravages to the walls of Dublin. The juſtices had thus an additional pretence for denying any aſſiſtance to the diſtant provinces. In Munſter, Sir William Saint Leger, the lord preſident, a ſoldier of activity and experience, and poſſeſſed even with an inveteracy againſt the Iriſh, could not obtain either arms or ſoldiers ſufficient for a time of peace, much leſs for a juncture of diſtraction and diſorder. Yet the ſtrength of the Engliſh proteſtants, *and the loyalty of the Iriſh gentry, as yet preſerved this province from any material diſorder.*

THE peace and ſecurity of Connaught were equally neglected by the chief governours, although the Engliſh power was inconſiderable in this province, and the Iriſh natives kept in continual alarm for twenty-five years, by the project of a general plantation, which, though ſuſpended, had not been formally relinquiſhed. Yet here too the good affections of the principal inhabitants ſtemmed the torrent of rebellion. Jones, lord Ranelagh, the *preſident* of Connaught, was effectually aſſiſted by *lord Dillon of Coſtello,* and *lord Mayo,* whom the rebels, in their firſt conſpiracy, had claimed as their partizan. But the moſt reſpected, moſt powerful, and moſt effectual friend to government in the weſtern province, was Uliac, earl of Clanricarde and Saint Alban's; who, with the old inhabitants, enjoyed the conſequence of a chieftain, and with the Engliſh, all the reverence and dignity of a great Engliſh nobleman, diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious connexions, by the favour of the king, but chiefly by his own excellent and exalted endowments. He had opportunely retired to his Iriſh manſion of Portumna, at the firſt riſe of the rebellion; and, poſſeſſed with the moſt delicate ſentiments

Carte. Orm.

ments of honour and loyalty, and particularly attached, by perſonal affection, to the king, he exerted himſelf with eſpecial zeal to preſerve the peace of his own county, Galway, and of the neighbouring diſtricts. He found the inhabitants poſſeſſed with dreadful apprehenſions, that the preſent commotions of the realm might be uſed as a pretence for with-holding the king's graces, and depriving them of that legal confirmation of their eſtates which they had ſo long expected from the royal promiſe. He laboured to diſſipate theſe apprehenſions, which might have a dangerous influence. He procured a declaration from the king, that all his former promiſes ſhould be fully performed to every loyal ſubject. He raiſed troops, ſtrengthened the fort of Galway, made a progreſs through the county, inſpected every poſt, encouraged the loyal, terrified the diſaffected. But the earl of Clanricarde, with all this zeal and activity, with all the exalted qualities which form a diſtinguiſhed character, was a Roman catholic, and therefore hated and ſuſpected by the ſtate. Every aſſiſtance was denied him, and every occaſion ſeized to mortify and diſguſt him.

The lords juſtices, and their puritanic adherents, were the more encouraged to reject the aſſiſtance of all thoſe who were not of their own party, by the ſpirited aſſurances of ſupport which they received from England. The declaration of the Engliſh commons for maintaining the war of Ireland, was received with joy, as an earneſt of immediate ſuccours, and ſpread triumphantly through the kingdom. In the inſolence of their expectations, the juſtices immediately recalled thoſe arms which they had entruſted to the nobles and inhabitants of the Pale. While they thus left them defenceleſs, they deprived the beſt affected of all hopes of refuge from the violence of the rebels and robbers; for they iſſued a new proclamation, whereby all perſons, except the ordinary inhabitants, were commanded, on pain of death, to depart from Dublin within twenty-four hours, and not to preſume to approach within two miles of the city. The pretence for this rigorous prohibition was, that by the great concourſe to the capital, the country was deprived of defence; its operation, if not intended, could ſcarcely be unforeſeen. It forced the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts to a perpetual intercourſe with the rebels, to ſupport them by contributions, and ſometimes to unite with them, in order to avert their cruelty.

In another inſtance, the conduct of theſe wretched governours was ſtill more ſuſpicious. The parliament of England had recommended the offer of a general pardon to ſuch rebels as ſhould ſubmit within a certain time, to be limited by the lords juſtices. No proclamation was publiſhed, no pardon offered, in conſequence of theſe inſtructions. To palliate this omiſſion, they pleaded the inefficacy of their former proclamations; the firſt of which only called on the king's ſubjects to abandon the rebels, without any poſitive aſſurance of mercy: the other offered a pardon, not to the rebels of Ulſter, where the inſurrection chiefly raged, but to thoſe of Longford and Louth, Meath and Weſt-Meath. In the two laſt counties no body of rebels had appeared. And, if any outrages or inſurrections were to be ſuppreſſed, the lords juſtices contrived to defeat the effect of their pardon, by exceptions and conditions. All freeholders of theſe four counties, all who had ſhed blood in any action, all who were in priſon for ſpoil or robbery, were expreſsly excluded from mercy. To others, it was tendered on condition of their ſubmitting within ten days after the proclamation, and of reſtoring all the property they had ſeized, which had quickly been diſperſed through various hands. Such a proclamation was evidently abſurd and inſidious. A pardon offered in the name of the Engliſh parliament, muſt have had greater influence than any act of an Iriſh miniſtry, deſpiſed and ſuſpected by the body of the nation. But the chief governours and their creatures were

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confident of ſupport, and experienced in the art of converting forfeitures to their own advantage.

AGREEABLY to the general tenour of their conduct, they obſtinately oppoſed the ſentiments of the wiſeſt and moſt moderate of all parties in the kingdom, in one particular of eſpecial moment. On the commencement of the rebellion, the Iriſh parliament, formerly adjourned to November, had been prorogued to the twenty-fourth day of February; a meaſure highly diſpleaſing to the catholics. They were impatient for thoſe laws which were to confirm them in their lands, and dreaded that this delay, and the ſtill encreaſing power of the popular party in England, might defeat the gracious intentions of the king. For this, the Iriſh inſurrection might afford a plauſible pretence. All of their communion were conſidered by the Iriſh parliament as involved in the guilt of rebellion. It was their intereſt to ſeize the earlieſt opportunity of making ſome ſolemn declaration of their loyalty and ſolicitude for the peace of Ireland: and whether they were ſincere or not, it was both equitable and politic to allow them this opportunity. They urged, that in a time of danger, the national aſſembly ſhould be immediately convened. Their lawyers ſuggeſted that the prorogation was illegal, and that unleſs the houſes ſhould hold a meeting on the day to which they had been adjourned, the parliament would be really diſſolved. The judges ſeemed to favour this opinion: the earl of Ormond, lord Dillon of Coſtello, and others of approved loyalty, though no favourers of the juſtices and their faction, contended for an immediate ſeſſion and continuance of the parliament. They urged the danger of enflaming the public diſcontents, and of driving numbers into rebellion by any farther ſuſpenſion of the royal graces; the eaſe and ſecurity with which the parliament might be aſſembled in a city now ſo well provided with forces as Dublin; the mortification

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and diſcountenance which the rebels muſt receive from any zealous declarations againſt their outrages, and any ſpirited reſolutions to oppoſe them; but above all, the eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, from the ſupplies which loyal ſubjects muſt chearfully grant on an emergency ſo critical, and which even the ſecretly diſaffected would not venture to oppoſe, leſt they ſhould betray their principles at the moment when they were actually in cuſtody of the ſtate.

Such remonſtrances had little weight with an adminiſtration indifferent to public jealouſies and complaints, and, if not averſe to ſuppreſſing the rebellion, at leaſt averſe to ſuppreſſing it by any reſources which Ireland might ſupply. They declared obſtinately *for adhering to the prorogation: yet the doubts expreſſed by the judges, and the force with which the* oppoſite opinion was defended, at length extorted a conceſſion, that the parliament ſhould be ſuffered to meet immediately, for one day, on condition of publiſhing a proteſtation againſt the rebels; and that they ſhould have liberty to depute ſome of their members to treat about an accommodation with the rebels, to receive their grievances, and to tranſmit them to his majeſty.

Such members of both houſes as could be immediately collected, were admitted into the caſtle of Dublin, when the *lords juſtices had firſt drawn out their guards, and taken* every ſcrupulous precaution to allay their own fears. The houſes proceeded directly to conſider the ſtate of the nation, and to frame their proteſtation againſt the REBELS. The leaders of the inſurrection, affected the utmoſt indignation and diſdain at this odious appellation. Thoſe members whoſe eſtates lay moſt expoſed to their depredations were not willing to exaſperate them: they who ſecretly favoured their enterprize, and they who were originally conſulted, and had aſſiſted in concerting it, all ſpoke with lenity and caution: they declared againſt deſcribing the inſurgents by any more offenſive deſignation, than that of

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Borlaſe, p. 50. Dub. Ed.

the DISCONTENTED GENTLEMEN; and by this ſuſpicious tenderneſs and indulgence, redoubled the terrour of the chief governours. But the proteſtant party was ſpirited and powerful, and by their interpoſition and ſupport, the declaration of parliament was drawn up with ſufficient force and preciſion. It declared, "their abhorrence of the DISLOYAL and REBELLIOUS "proceedings of perſons ill-affected to the peace and tranquility "of the realm; who, contrary to their duty and loyalty to his "majeſty, and againſt the laws of God and of the realm, have "TRAITEROUSLY and REBELLIOUSLY raiſed arms, ſeized his "majeſty's forts and caſtles, diſpoſſeſſed, ſpoiled, and ſlain his "ſubjects, and committed other cruel and inhuman *outrages*:" together with their *reſolution of maintaining* "*the rights of* "*his majeſty's crown and government of the realm*, againſt "the perſons aforeſaid, and their adherents; as alſo, againſt "all foreign princes and potentates, and other perſons and at-"tempts whatſoever; and in caſe the perſons aforeſaid do not "lay down their arms, and ſue for mercy, in ſuch time and "manner as by his majeſty, and the chief governours and coun-"cil of the realm ſhall be ſet down, that they will take arms, "and with their lives and fortunes ſuppreſs them and their "attempts, in ſuch a way as by his majeſty's, or the chief "governour's approbation, *ſhall be thought moſt effectual*."

Journ. Com. Irel. Append. Borlaſe.

HENCE they proceeded to nominate ſome members of each houſe to treat with the inſurgents. They were authoriſed, (directions from the king or the ſtate of Ireland being firſt received) to confer with the rebels of Ulſter, and other parts, touching the cauſes of their taking arms; to report all matters to the king, the council, or the parliament, and to proceed therein according to the king's pleaſure, or directions of the council. Theſe proceedings could not be completed in one day; a ſecond was, with difficulty, allowed: they petitioned for a longer ſeſſion, but the lords juſtices were inexorable. They promiſed, indeed, that the term of prorogation ſhould be ſhortened; but determined, by practiſing in England, to elude the performance even of this promiſe. The parliament was provoked; men of every order and party clamoured againſt this obſtinacy, which diſcovered a general ſuſpicion of all Iriſh ſubjects, and a contempt and diſdain of their ſervices. It was reſolved to aſſiſt the governours even againſt their will. The parliament empowered them to collect forces, and to aſſeſs and levy money for their ſupport.

At the ſame time, a conſiderable party, well affected to the king, ſenſible that the preſent inſurrection, however unwarrantable, had not been entirely unprovoked, and convinced *that it might be ſpeedily ſuppreſſed by a timely exertion of that force which Ireland could ſupply,* reſolved to convey their ſentiments to the royal ear, without the intervention of chief governours, whom they deſpiſed and ſuſpected. The lord Dillon of Coſtello was commiſſioned to preſent their memorial to the king, containing grievous complaints againſt the lords juſtices, and recommending that the earl of Ormond ſhould be ſubſtituted in their place; a meaſure moſt effectual to allay the fears and jealouſies of the nation, and to ſuppreſs the rebellion, *though no aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent from England.* They alſo, probably, recommended a ſpeedy confirmation of thoſe graces which were to ſecure the civil intereſts of the Iriſh ſubjects, with other meaſures for reſtoring public peace, not entirely agreeable to the views of their preſent governours, or the paſſions of the popular party in England.

The crafty Parſons, and his pliant colleague, were alarmed at this deſign, and determined to counteract it. Their agent was diſpatched to the leaders in the Engliſh commons. In a private letter to the earl of Leiceſter, ſigned only by themſelves and their junto, they declared that they could not depend on the other members of the council, nor open themſelves before

Carte, vol. 1. p. 227.

them with that freedom which ſuited their ſtation and duty. They deſired that no attention ſhould be paid to the inſtructions or repreſentations of lord Dillon, or to any counſels tending to poſſeſs the king with a perſuaſion, that his Iriſh ſubjects were ſufficient to reduce the rebels, a work only to be effected by Engliſh forces. They expreſſed their hopes, that the ſtate of England would not be deterred by the expence of an armament neceſſary to the very being of an Engliſh government in Ireland; an expence which would be fully repaid not only by the peace and reformation of this kingdom, but by the great encreaſe of revenue ariſing from the eſtates of thoſe who were actors in the preſent miſchiefs. Theſe repreſentations determined the fate of lord Dillon's embaſſy. He embarked together with lord Taafe; was driven by ſtorm to the coaſt of Scotland; haſted towards London; and was ſeized at Ware, by order of the commons, his papers taken away, and induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed. The two lords were committed to cuſtody, till it was of no conſequence to reſtrain them any longer; when, being negligently guarded, they contrived to eſcape, and attended the king at York, too late to offer their propoſitions.

The rebel leaders quickly diſcerned the advantage they derived from the prorogation, and were induſtrious to improve it. Roger Moore, who, with Brian Mac-Mahon, an Iriſh commander of ſome note, lay near Dundalk, at the head of about two thouſand five hundred ill-armed men, was particularly elevated at the proſpect of general diſcontent and clamour, ariſing from this repeated diſappointment of a people, impatient for a confirmation of the king's graces. The deputation of parliament addreſſed themſelves to him and his aſſociates. He received them with coldneſs and diſdain: the order of the houſes for their treaty with the rebels he tore to pieces, with an affected indignation at the injurious terms in which it was expreſſed; and proudly rejected every overture to an accommodation.

Carte, vol. i. p. 232.

dation. The ſtate even deigned to employ ſome Romiſh prieſts to mediate a peace; but, as they probably foreſaw, without any good effect. Moore, the great agent and director of the rebels, redoubled his aſſiduity. He cautiouſly adviſed them to ſuppreſs all national diſtinctions, all declarations againſt the Engliſh; to reſt the whole merits of their cauſe on the civil and religious rights of the king's ſubjects of Ireland, which were to be defended againſt their numerous enemies only by force of arms. He pointed out the danger which eſpecially threatened their religion. The virulence expreſſed againſt popery by the Engliſh parliament, their ſanguinary proſecution of popiſh eccleſiaſtics, their paſſionate declarations againſt any tolerance *of popiſh error, in any part of the king's dominions, the terrible denunciations againſt all of this communion* by particular zealots, *their intemperate menaces* of perſecution and extirpation, all ſerved to awaken the fears, and to enflame the reſentments of the Iriſh, and were all pleaded in defence of their hoſtilities. Moore now dignified his followers by the name of the CATHOLIC ARMY: and publiſhed an oath of aſſociation to be taken by all inſurgents, purpoſely calculated to poſſeſs the nation with favourable ſentiments of their cauſe, their motives, *and purſuits.*

NOR were the rebels leſs encouraged by the delay of Engliſh *ſuccours, and the ſcandalous timidity of the chief governours:* they had ſhrunk within their walls, and quietly beheld thoſe depredations which had been committed through the whole vicinity of the capital. They were at length forced to ſome exertion of their powers, by repeated inſults. Sir Charles Coote was a ſoldier of fortune, trained in the wars of Elizabeth, moroſe, inſolent, and cruel, provoked, particularly, by the ravages made in his eſtates, which he acquired by various projects, and impatient to avenge them on the Iriſh, againſt whom he had imbibed the moſt illiberal and inveterate prejudices.

dices. This man was employed by the chief governours to drive ſome of the inſurgents of Leinſter from the caſtle of Wicklow, which they had inveſted. He executed his commiſſion; repelled the Iriſh to their mountains; and, in revenge of their depredations, committed ſuch unprovoked, ſuch ruthleſs, and indiſcriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmoſt extravagances of the Northerns. The wanton cruelty, inſtead of terrifying, ſerved to exaſperate the rebels, and to provoke them to ſevere retaliation.

Carte, vol. i. p. 239.

UNDISMAYED, confident, and exulting, notwithſtanding their diſgraces in the northern province, they drew down a conſiderable force, in order to form the ſiege of Drogheda. Their numbers ſtruck a general terror, and were encreaſed by thoſe who were compelled to unite with them, in order to avert their outrages. A ſmall body of ſix hundred foot and fifty horſe, composed principally of the deſpoiled Engliſh, undiſciplined and inexperienced, was detached from Dublin to reinforce the garriſon at Drogheda. About three miles from the town, they were ſuddenly encountered by two thouſand five hundred of the rebels, and defeated with an inconſiderable loſs, except of arms and ammunition. The incident ſeems ſcarcely worthy of being recorded. Yet the defeat of Julian's-Town-Bridge, as it was called, had no inconſiderable effect. It gave reputation to the rebels, and added greatly to their numbers. They no longer doubted of reducing Drogheda, and marching with their united forces to inveſt the capital. Whole companies and regiments of the royal army deſerted, and joined their ſtandards. The Engliſh inhabitants of Dublin were in conſternation; the diſaffected party inſolent and elevated: men of ſpeculation contended, that if the rebels had collected their forces, and marched directly to Dublin, they muſt, in the preſent conſternation, have been ſpeedily maſters both of the city and caſtle. But they amuſed themſelves with inveſting the town of Drogheda; while

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while the juſtices, in their terrour, recalled Sir Charles Coote from his expedition into Wicklow. He forced his way through one thouſand of the ſept of O'Toole, who oppoſed his march, returned, was created governour of Dublin, and applied himſelf to ſecure this city againſt every poſſible attempt.

HITHERTO, the rebellion, however formidable, was confined to the province of Ulſter, ſome few counties in Leinſter, and that of Leitrim in Connaught; and carried on, entirely, by the mere Iriſh. The beginning of the month of December opened a more extenſive and alarming ſcene, by the defection of the inhabitants of the Engliſh Pale, as it was called.

IF the old Engliſh race ſettled in this diſtrict had not entirely *diſapproved the original ſcheme of taking* arms, they were more *refined,* and *therefore leſs* violent than the mere *Iriſh*: they were under the more immediate inſpection, and more acceſſible to the power of government; they were poſſeſſed of valuable eſtates, and, therefore, the more cautious of engaging in any enterpriſe of violence and hazard. But they had their prejudices and diſcontents. The lords juſtices regarded them with ſuſpicion, as Iriſhmen; with abhorrence, as Romaniſts. The manner in which they had granted them ſome arms was un*gracious; the recalling theſe* arms, *provoking*: and by excluding them *from* Dublin, *they left their perſons* and *poſſeſſions* defenceleſs againſt the rebels; and, at the ſame time, deprived them of refuge. To determine them to take arms, little more was neceſſary than to exaſperate and enflame their reſentments; and, for this purpoſe, Roger Moore was a powerful, an inſinuating, and indefatigable agent.

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HE addreſſed himſelf particularly to lord Gormanſton, a nobleman of eſpecial power and influence, and not unacquainted with the firſt conſpiracy. He had artifice to give the faireſt and moſt captivating colour to the cauſe in which he was engaged. He repreſented the danger which threatened all their civil and religious rights; the obſtinate determination of a puritanic faction to fruſtrate all the king's gracious intentions of indulgence to the religion, and ſecurity to the poſſeſſions, of his Iriſh ſubjects; the ſtill encreaſing power of this faction in England, and their gradual inroads on the royal authority; the inveteracy they expreſſed againſt all catholics; the inſolent and injurious excluſion of Iriſh ſtudents from the inns of court, by virtue of the late edict againſt foreign catholics; the horrid ſeverities exerciſed on their clergy in England; the imminent danger of ſome ſanguinary ſcheme to extirpate all of their communion. He inveighed, with a well-affected diſdain, againſt the inſolence and tyranny of the lords juſtices, thoſe wretched creatures of the king's enemies, who had filled their coffers by iniquity, were capriciouſly and wantonly veſted with power, and preſumed to look down with ſcorn upon the old nobility of Ireland. He enlarged on the juſtice, the glory, the neceſſity of riſing in defence of the king's prerogative, and the rights of the people; the fair proſpect of ſucceſs, from the encreaſing diſorders of England, which muſt deprive the puritanic juſtices of all ſuccours, and from the general diſcontent ſo juſtly conceived by all the Iriſh ſubjects.

SUCH repreſentations, urgently and repeatedly enforced, at length made their full impreſſion. The inhabitants of the Pale had already rendered themſelves obnoxious to the ſeverity of the law, by receiving and entertaining rebels: however they might plead the neceſſity ariſing from their ſituation and circumſtances, yet they deemed the preſent chief governours capable of ſeizing every rigorous advantage; and perſuaded themſelves, that their own ſafety required an immediate concurrence with the inſurgents. The defeat of the Engliſh convoy near Drogheda was an event ſufficient to confirm and haſten their reſolution. Lord Gormanſton, who took the lead in their proceedings, iſſued an order to the ſheriff of Meath to col-

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lect the inhabitants of this county. The lords Fingal, Gormanſton, Slane, Louth, Dunſany, Trimbleſton, Netterville, together with about one thouſand principal gentlemen, aſſembled on an eminence called the Hill of Crofty. Here they were met, agreeably to the plan concerted, by Roger Moore, and other rebel leaders, attended by a detachment of their forces. The Meathians advanced; and Gormanſton with great ſolemnity demanded, for what purpoſe they had entered the Pale in arms. Moore replied, that they had taken arms for maintenance of the king's prerogative, and to make the ſubjects of Ireland as free as thoſe of England. He was again required to declare, whether theſe were their real motives, without any private or ſiniſter views. On his earneſt aſſeveration of ſincerity, Gormanſton and his party declared, that they would unite with them for theſe purpoſes, and proſecute all thoſe as enemies who ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt their righteous cauſe. The interview was cloſed by the appointment of another meeting to be held at the Hill of Tarah.

Thus did the addreſs and aſſiduity of Roger Moore prevail over the weak counſels of the lords juſtices, and at length effected this important union, at the moment when the ſtate deigned to concert ſome meaſures for preventing it. About the time of this aſſembly, letters were diſpatched from the juſtices and council to the nobles of the Pale, requiring their ſpeedy attendance in Dublin, to confer upon the ſtate of the kingdom, in this time of danger, and *for no other end*; (as they added in their letters, with a manifeſt conſciouſneſs of being ſuſpected.) The juſtices, in their diſpatches to England, aſſign a reaſon for this ſummons; that, on the encreaſing power of the rebels, and the general weakneſs and conſternation of the loyaliſts, they hoped, that being for a while aſſiſted by theſe noblemen, they might gain ſome reſpite, until the arrival of their Engliſh ſuccours. That they really intended to employ them ſeems ſcarcely reconcileable Temple.

cileable to their former conduct. If, at ſuch a juncture, they meant to ſeize their perſons upon bare ſuſpicion, the conſequence was obvious, and muſt have been intended. The whole Romiſh party would have taken fire at once, and ruſhed into the moſt deſperate courſes. Poſſibly they acted with the inconſiſtency and inſtability of perſons who had no ſettled ſcheme of conduct. But whatever were their motives, the catholic lords had already taken their party; and affected to put the moſt malignant conſtruction on this ſummons. The principal buſineſs of their ſecond meeting was to return an anſwer to the ſtate. They declared, that their advice for the ſafety of the kingdom had been heretofore received *ſo unfavourably*, that they had reaſon to conceive their loyalty was ſuſpected: that they were now deterred from waiting on the lords juſtices and council, by information of certain ſpeeches uttered at their board by Sir Charles Coote, tending to a deſign of executing a general maſſacre on the catholics; which determined them to ſtand on their guard, until they might have aſſurance of protection; proteſting, however, that they would continue faithful adviſers, and reſolute furtherers of his majeſty's ſervice.

THIS anſwer was followed by a proclamation, utterly denying that any expreſſion had been heard, of this horrid import, from Coote or any other perſon; diſclaiming a deſign ſo odious, ſo impious, as that of maſſacre; repeating the ſummons to the lords, to repair to the council-board; and aſſuring them of ſafety and protection.

BUT theſe lords had already proceeded too far to retreat; and, for the intereſt of their cauſe, it was neceſſary to charge the lords juſtices with inſidious deſigns, and to inveigh againſt the inhumanity of Coote, their favourite agent. A detachment had been ſent to quell ſome ravagers at Santry, a village on the north of Dublin: they executed their orders with ſeverity; and killed ſome few, without diſtinction of the innocent and criminal: the cruelty was imputed to Coote. To chaſtiſe ſome plunderers at Clontarffe, he ravaged and burned the whole neighbourhood; and particularly ſet fire to the manſion-houſe of one King, at the very time he was ſummoned to appear before the ſtate, with an aſſurance of protection. It is ridiculous to compare ſuch ſeverities with the barbarous executions of the northern rebels; yet their new allies of the Pale exclaimed, in ſuch pathetic terms, againſt theſe acts of cruelty, that the ſtate deemed it neceſſary to publiſh a proclamation, to juſtify their conduct, and refute malicious calumnies.

The catholic lords, having thus renounced the authority of government, and determined to recur to arms, thought it *neceſſary, in the firſt place, to prepare an apology for their revolt, to be tranſmitted to the king. In this they enlarged on all the injuries they had received from his Iriſh governours, who had compelled them to unite with the Ulſter forces, a body of ſubjects, who, they were convinced, had taken arms only for defence of the royal prorogative, and the preſervation of the liberties, religion, eſtates, and perſons of his faithful ſubjects, the catholics of Ireland. To this they added a petition, that his majeſty would make no worſe conſtruction of their conduct, than their affection merited, no worſe than that of other ſubjects, who had taken the ſame meaſures, on occaſions leſs preſſing and afflicting.* They entreated him to grant them a free parliament, in which their oppreſſions might be manifeſted and redreſſed: and, in the mean time, to command a ceſſation of hoſtilities on either ſide. By another letter to the queen, they implored her mediation and good offices, for obtaining their juſt requeſt. They were, at the ſame time, obliged to take ſome notice of the laſt proclamation iſſued by the chief governours. Their manifeſto expreſſed the utmoſt reſpect to the ſtate. They acquieſced in the declaration, that Coote had not been

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been heard to expreſs any intentions of maſſacre; but inſiſted, that they had the utmoſt reaſon to apprehend the moſt dreadful conſequences from his cruelty. They declared their readineſs to attend ſuch commiſſioners as the lords juſtices ſhould appoint, (at any place ſufficiently removed from the power of Sir Charles Coote,) with whom they would chearfully confer, on the means for advancing his majeſty's ſervice, and reſtoring the peace of the kingdom. Hence they proceeded to raiſe their forces. Without deigning to march under the ſtandards of the Ulſter Iriſh, they levied troops for their own purpoſes, and choſe their own commanders. Lord Gormanſton was declared their general in chief; the earl of Fingal general of horſe; every barony of Meath was charged with levying and maintaining a number of ſoldiers; captains were choſen for each diſtrict; applotments ſettled for corn and cattle to be furniſhed to the army; the avenues to the capital were blocked up, and the farmers ſtrictly forbidden to carry their corn to Dublin.

Carte, Dec. 14.

THE lords juſtices, in their diſpatches to the earl of Leiceſter, expreſſed the utmoſt contempt of this defection of the Lords of the Pale, as an event which only added ſeven perſons to the rebels, and who by this open avowal of diſloyalty were become leſs dangerous than they might have proved by diſſimulation, and ſecret correſpondence with the Northerns. Yet, as the rebels had originally pleaded the king's commiſſion; and as their aſſociates now profeſſed ſuch zeal for his ſupport and authority, they propoſed that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued againſt the rebels immediately, in the king's name, but couched in ſuch terms as might not at once wipe away their offence, by laying down their arms; and that twenty copies of this proclamation, ſigned with his majeſty's name, and ſealed with his privy ſignet, might be tranſmitted, in order to be diſperſed through Ireland. The proclamation, in the moſt explicit terms,

terms pronounced the inſurgents to be rebels and traitors againſt the king, and enemies to the royal crown of England and Ireland; and twice the number required by the juſtices were ſigned and ſealed by the king, and returned to Ireland without any conſiderable delay *. Jan. 1.

But however the chief governours affected to deſpiſe the defection of theſe ſeven lords of the Pale, it was an event of moment. They did not, indeed, at once ruſh into the exceſs and outrage of the northern inſurrection; they did not even join the ſtandard of Roger Moore, and his leſs barbarous aſſociates: on the contrary, they laboured to retain their followers under the ſole guidance of lord Gormanſton. They profeſſed to take arms *only in ſelf-defence; to wiſh, and to ſolicit a ſpeedy and effectual accommodation.* But by this apparent temper and dignity of conduct, by their fair declarations of loyalty, by the zeal which they affected for the redreſs of grievances, they made a dangerous impreſſion on all the catholics of Ireland. Their manifeſtos were ſent into Munſter and Connaught, to all the trading towns and ſea-ports. Chiefly they inſiſted on the dangerous conjunction of the Iriſh governours with the popular party of England; and the dreadful ſcheme of extirpation *formed againſt all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to abandon the Romiſh communion. Indiſcreet and virulent* expreſſions uttered by the juſtices and their creatures, were induſtriouſly propagated, and made a violent impreſſion in the remote quarters of the kingdom.

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* The real nature of this tranſaction, which occaſioned ſuch a clamour in England, is here ſtated plainly and truely. The number of copies required by the lord juſtices, and even the number tranſmitted by the king, could by no means have anſwered the purpoſe of a general notification through the kingdom of Ireland. This the juſtices muſt have known: and the extraordinary care which Charles expreſſed, that not one copy more than forty ſhould be printed, was a circumſtance ſufficient to raiſe ſuſpicions in the minds of the Engliſh, even if they had not been ſo enflamed as at this juncture, and ſo diſpoſed to think unfavourably of the king's ſecret deſigns.

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THE contagion of rebellion was by theſe means quickly ſpread through Connaught; ſo that it required all the credit and power of the earl of Clanricarde to preſerve his county of Galway untainted. In Munſter, the firſt ſymptoms of commotion, appeared in ſome petty ravages and robberies, which were puniſhed by the lord preſident, Sir William Saint Leger, with a barbarous ſeverity. The diſaffected remonſtrated to Saint Leger on the rigour of his executions; were received with diſdain and inſolence; pleaded the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, and declared for war. Lord Mountgarret ſeized the city of Kilkenny: Waterford was yielded to his ſon: almoſt all the relations of the earl of Ormond were involved in the torrent of rebellion; and a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that the earl himſelf only waited a fair opportunity of declaring for the inſurgents, and had already taken their oath of aſſociation. Almoſt every fort and caſtle in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were in a few days reduced: while the county of Clare was over-run by the O'Brians, in defiance of their chieftain, the earl of Thomond.

Aphoriſmical Diſcovery. MSS. Trin. Col. Dublin.

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IN this ſudden and violent commotion, the ſouthern leaders, however provoked by the cruelties of Saint Leger, yet expreſſed a laudable ſolicitude to preſerve both the perſons and the fortunes of the Engliſh from any outrage. Yet the barbarity of their followers was not always effectually reſtrained; in the fury of revenge, in the rage of rapine, or the inveteracy of ſuperſtitious prejudice, ſome ſlaughters were committed. But neither the vices nor the virtues of humanity were confined to one party, or one profeſſion. The fanatic fury of Saint Leger and his train, was no leſs horrid than the moſt brutal outrages of the rude Iriſh. If, in the execution of martial law, he ſpared neither ſex nor age; his countrymen frequently expreſſed a generous indignation and horrour at his barbarity. If thoſe of better condition among the inſurgents ſometimes joined in the rapine of their followers, lord Mountgarret ſhot his friend to death, when he could not otherwiſe reſtrain him from plundering. If ſome popiſh eccleſiaſtics preached their horrid doctrines of blood and maſſacre, others were known equally zealous to moderate the exceſſes of war, to protect the Engliſh, and to conceal them from the fury of the enemy, even in their places of worſhip, and under their altars.

While the Iriſh forces over-ran almoſt the whole province of Munſter, and their leaders were providing for a regular and permanent war, the lord preſident was abandoned to his own reſources. He was, indeed, commiſſioned to raiſe a new regiment of foot, and two troops of horſe: but he was not ſupplied either with arms or proviſions. He kept at wary diſtance, without attempting to interrupt the progreſs of the enemy. Cork, Youghal, Kinſale, and all the richeſt and moſt important places of the ſouth, lay open to receive them. With the moſt flattering proſpect, and animated hopes of ſucceſs, they prepared to complete the reduction of Munſter; when, happily for the Engliſh intereſt, their leaders were ſeized with a ſudden ſpirit of diſunion and diſcontent. Maurice, lord viſcount Roche and Fermoy, a nobleman of power in the county of Cork, refuſed to be commanded by Mountgarret, inſiſted that his county ſhould have its particular general, and was ſupported in the demand by his numerous partizans. Lord Mountgarret retired in diſcontent to the county of Kilkenny. The nobility of Munſter, left to their own conduct, continued their competitions and diſunion, till Saint Leger gained time to arm and diſcipline his men, to collect and encourage the Engliſh, and thus to draw out, early in the ſpring, ſuch a body as oppoſed the enemy in the field, and ſaved the province.

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DURING theſe tranſactions of the ſouth, the Ulſter rebels, and thoſe who had united with them, from Leinſter, were engaged wholly in the ſiege of Drogheda. The ſucceſs of this enterprize was to open them a way to the walls of Dublin, and of conſequence, to decide the fate of Ireland. The town was by no means ſtrong, or well provided. On the firſt alarm from the North, the governour, Sir Faithful Forteſcue, had received a ſmall reinforcement from lord viſcount Moore; he prepared for defence, repreſented to the ſtate the neceſſity of an additional ſuccour, and offered even to raiſe ſoldiers at his own expence. His zeal was applauded, but he found his ſervices by no means acceptable. Diſcouraged, and diſappointed of ſupplies, he reſigned his command; and Sir Henry Tichburne, a more adventurous officer, was ſent to ſucceed him. The forces which attended the new governour, thoſe raiſed in the town, and thoſe which eſcaped from the defeat of Julian's-Town-Bridge, were ſtill thought incompetent for the defence of Drogheda. Lord Moore propoſed to raiſe and maintain ſix hundred men, until money ſhould be received from England, on condition that they ſhould be afterwards incorporated into a regiment under his command. Ormond approved the propoſal, but the lords juſtices rejected it; and Tichburne was left to maintain this important ſtation as he might.

HAPPILY, the Iriſh army commenced their enterprize in a ſeaſon of ſeverity. Neither their ſkill nor proviſions were ſufficient for the regular conduct of a ſiege. They wanted artillery, ammunition, and all the neceſſary inſtruments of war: they had no tents to cover their men from the inclemency of winter: they were, therefore, forced, inſtead of making an encampment, to quarter their army in the neighbouring villages, and there to wait any opportunity which accident or treachery might afford them, to ſurpriſe the town. This diſpoſition, how rude ſoever, was ſufficient to reduce the garriſon to the moſt afflicting diſtreſs. Twenty thouſand men encompaſſing the city, cut off all communication and ſupplies, at a ſeaſon when an extraordinary proviſion was required to qualify the ſoldiery for the hardſhips of their duty. The men deſerted; the officers were diſcontented. A ſmall ſupply of victuals and ammunition was at length ſent from Dublin, and received with ſuch an extravagance of joy, that a party of the beſiegers, after ſome fruitleſs efforts, was admitted into the town, by the treachery of ſome inhabitants. Had they proceeded with the neceſſary vigour, they might have eaſily overpowered a careleſs and intoxicated garriſon: but their own irreſolution gave time to Sir Henry Tichburne to collect his men, and to expel the enemy. A ſecond attempt was repelled with equal vigour: and the ſuperior numbers of the beſiegers were ſoon found to be leſs formidable, than the proſpect of famine, and thoſe numerous diſeaſes ariſing from unnatural and unwholeſome ſuſtenance. Sir Phelim O'Nial conceived the utmoſt hopes from the diſtreſſes of the garriſon, and haſtened to the North to provide forces and artillery for a ſtorm: Tichburne was reſolute to endure the utmoſt diſtreſs; active in ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, ſucceſsful in his excurſions for forage and proviſions; ſo as to be enabled to maintain the town, until a freſh ſupply of bread, and four companies of foot were ſent to his relief.

THE lords juſtices, in the mean time, were engaged by an object, to them more intereſting than the relief of Drogheda; the legal conviction of the lords and gentlemen engaged in the inſurrection; a meaſure previouſly neceſſary to the forfeiture of their eſtates. The arrival of Sir Simon Harcourt from England, with a regiment of eleven hundred men, encouraged them to a little more activity in their military operations. Coote was diſpatched to diſpoſſeſs a party of rebels ſtationed in the village of Swords. His ſkirmiſh was diſtinguiſhed by the fall of Sir Lorenzo Carte.

renzo Cary, younger ſon to lord Falkland, formerly the chief governour of Ireland. The rebels were routed, and the whole adjacent country waſted by fire and ſword. Coote fulfilled the commands of ſtate, to pillage, burn, and deſtroy, with an unfeeling rigour; and, in the execution of martial law, conſulted his reſentments more than the neceſſity of the public ſervice. Ormond was detached with two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, againſt the town of Naas, where the rebels of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, collected their chief force, and held their councils. He executed his orders with more humanity and prudence, yet with a ſeverity ſufficient to afford the rebel leaders a pretence for complaint. Lord *Gormanſton remonſtrated* by letter, *againſt the cruelty of his procedure: if continued, he threatened the earl, that his wife and children ſhould anſwer it.* The reply of Ormond is worthy to be recorded. By permiſſion of the council he wrote to Gormanſton; he reproached him with his diſloyalty; vindicated his own conduct from falſe aſperſions; boldly declared his reſolution of proſecuting the rebels at the hazard of every thing dear to him, and never to be terrified into any mean diſavowal of whatever he ſhould act, in purſuance of his majeſty's commands. "*My* "wife and children," ſaid he, "are *in your power.* Should "*they* receive *any injury from men, I ſhall never* revenge it "on women and children. This would be not only baſe and "unchriſtian, but infinitely beneath the value at which I rate "my wife and children."

A SECOND reinforcement from England, of fifteen hundred foot, and four hundred horſe, at length arrived in Dublin, after a tedious interval of expectation. The commanders, Sir Richard Grenville and colonel George Monk, brought neither money nor proviſions: ſo that the encreaſe of the army aggravated the diſtreſſes of the ſtate; diſtreſſes which the lords juſtices had partly occaſioned, by the havock made through all the diſtricts adjoining to the capital. The Engliſh ſoldiers, unuſed to ſeverities, oppreſſed with want, and diſeaſe, the conſequence of unwholeſome diet, deſerted in conſiderable numbers; the more patient and robuſt ſupplied their neceſſities by robbery and plunder. To prevent a dangerous mutiny, it was determined to employ them. Ormond was again commiſſioned to drive the rebels from a ſtation within ſeven miles of Dublin, called Kilſalaghen. His orders were to burn and deſtroy their haunts, and to kill all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms: but his proceeding was more moderate: nor were theſe petty excurſions deemed by military men ſufficiently intereſting, when the gallant forces of Drogheda were ſurrounded by enemies, and expoſed to the utmoſt ſeverities of toil and famine.

THE army was now deemed ſtrong enough to raiſe the blockade of Drogheda; and the diſgrace and danger of ſuffering the rebels to reduce this city were urgently enforced. The lords juſtices, ſtill averſe to any vigorous operations, affected to dread the numbers of the enemy, not compoſed of ordinary or mercenary men, but of noblemen, gentlemen, their tenants and dependents, all engaged voluntarily and zealouſly in the inſurrection. Such repreſentations were plauſible to the Engliſh officers, not ſo well acquainted as the chief governours with the real character of the Iriſh, their inſtability, and readineſs to abandon their leaders, on the leaſt reverſe of fortune. And if the attempt ſeemed dangerous, the conſequences of a miſcarriage were highly alarming. The juſtices, however, could not deny the neceſſity of ſending the ſoldiers from Dublin, to ſeek proviſion in the quarters of the enemy. It was reſolved, inſtead of making a formal attempt to relieve Drogheda, to try the effect of a diverſion. The earl of Ormond was commiſſioned to lead three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe towards the river Boyne, and to proſecute the rebels with fire and ſword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition; and he

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he was ſtrictly enjoined, on no account, to paſs the river. Scarcely had the juſtices granted this commiſſion, limited with ſuch abundant caution, when they repented; and employed their agent, but in vain, to perſuade the earl to relinquiſh the enterprize, and commit the ſoldiers to the guidance of Sir Simon Harcourt.

Whatever were the profeſſions of the chief governours, the only danger they really apprehended, was that of a too ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the rebels. The futility of their pretences and affected fears was inſtantly diſcovered. Sir Phelim O'Nial had been repeatedly foiled in his attacks, by the vigour of Sir Henry Tichburne: numbers of his men, and ſome *of his braveſt officers, had been loſt by the ſpirited ſallies of the garriſon: his hopes were confounded: his adherents diſmayed:* and the very firſt intelligence of Ormond's march determined him to raiſe the ſiege, and retire precipitately to the northern province. This extraordinary event was conveyed by Ormond to the lords juſtices. He repreſented the neceſſity of purſuing the rebels vigorouſly in this their conſternation; deſiring, for this purpoſe, that his commiſſion might be enlarged, and that he might be permitted to continue his march to Newry. The juſtices and their creatures received the *intelligence with evident vexation and diſappointment. They were provoked at the* overture of the earl of Ormond: they repeated the injunction, that he ſhould not paſs the Boyne, without deigning to offer any reaſon for this unaccountable reſtriction. On his arrival at Drogheda, he conferred with the officers of the garriſon: with their concurrence, he made another effort to be permitted to confirm the total overthrow of the rebels, and *to* cruſh their enterprize at once, by a vigorous purſuit: but the chief governours were inexorable. The rebels ſoon recovered from their conſternation, collected their men, regained the places they had abandoned; ſo that Sir Henry Tichburne was obliged, on the

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return of Ormond, to exert his utmoſt vigour to prevent Drogheda from being again inveſted. He defeated a conſiderable party of the enemy near Athirdee; and, as no poſitive reſtriction had been laid on his conduct, he marched to Dundalk, and drove the rebels from this town. The juſtices condeſcended to permit the earl to furniſh him on this occaſion with five hundred men; but denied him the proviſions neceſſary for purſuing his advantage.

THIS ſudden flight of the northern rebels was attended by a circumſtance highly diſpleaſing to the lords juſtices, and repugnant to the private ſchemes and wiſhes of their party. The inſurgents of the Pale had, for the moſt part, affected to ſtand *ſeparate from the Iriſh of Ulſter: they were offended at their inſolence, and ſhocked at their barbarities.* Their daſtardly retreat, at the very firſt alarm of danger, confirmed the ſuſpicions entertained of theſe allies. Several gentlemen of the Pale were ſuddenly awakened by this incident, to a ſenſe of their own temerity; reſolved to ſubmit, and ſolicited to make their peace with government. They addreſſed themſelves to Ormond, on his march to Drogheda. The earl in his diſpatches deſired inſtructions, in what manner he was to treat thoſe who *ſurrendered: and as the juſtices, in the proclamation whereby they declared certain perſons to be rebels,* had forborne to mention the names of any peers, he required a particular direction as to the execution of his orders for burning and deſtroying; and whether he was to ſhew the ſame deference to the ſeats and poſſeſſions of theſe lords, as the ſtate had already vouchſafed to their perſons. Carte.

EXTENSIVE forfeitures were the favourite object of the chief governours and their friends. The commons of England had very early petitioned, that the king would not alienate any of the eſcheated lands, that might accrue to the crown from the rebellion of Ireland: and they had lately proceeded in a ſcheme

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for raiſing money from the lands thus expected to eſcheate. A bill was framed for repaying thoſe who ſhould advance certain ſums, for ſuppreſſion of the rebels, (as was pretended) by veſting them with proportional eſtates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to a new Engliſh plantation. It evidently tended to exaſperate the malcontents, and to make all accommodation deſperate: but it was not on this account leſs acceptable to the popular leaders. The king foreſaw, and regreted theſe conſequences: but he was reduced to an humiliating ſtate of ſubmiſſion; and conſented to a bill which gave ſtrength to his opponents. Their creatures in the adminiſtration of Ireland proceeded, at the ſame time, indefatigably in procuring *indictments, not only againſt open rebels, but thoſe whoſe conduct had been at all ſuſpicious: and the fury of their proſecutions fell principally upon the gentlemen of the Pale* *.

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THEY who had not engaged in actual hoſtilities, they who were only accuſed of harbouring, or paying contributions to the rebels, crowded to the earl of Ormond, and claimed the advantage of the royal proclamation. The lords juſtices, who not only favoured the deſigns of their friends in England, but expected to have their own ſervices rewarded by a large portion of forfeitures, reſolved to diſcourage theſe pacific diſpoſitions. Ormond was directed to make no diſtinction between noblemen and other rebels, to receive thoſe who ſhould ſurrender only as priſoners of war, and to contrive that they ſhould be ſeized by the ſoldiers, without admitting them to his preſence. They who were ſent, in cuſtody, to Dublin, though men of reſpectable characters and families, engaged in no action with the rebels, ſome ſufferers by their rapine, averſe to their proceedings, *known protectors of the Engliſh, were all indiſcriminately denied acceſs to the juſtices, cloſely impriſoned,* and threatened with the utmoſt ſeverity of law.

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* If this ſeverity was not dictated by the popular leaders in the Engliſh commons, it was at leaſt highly acceptable to them, and favourable to their deſigns. Some reaſons, however, were to be aſſigned for it: and theſe are induſtriouſly collected, in a letter of the juſtices to the earl of Leiceſter, lord lieutenant. They are drawn from conſideration of the miſtaken lenity of the ſtate on former rebellions; the extent and inveteracy of the preſent; the averſion of the Iriſh to the nation and religion of the Engliſh; the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing the Britiſh power in Ireland upon a firm baſis, and of perfecting ſuch a general plantation through the whole kingdom, as had been eſtabliſhed by the late king in Ulſter. The letter, however, addreſſed to the lord lieutenant, was really intended for the Engliſh commons, and contained their favourite principles and topics with reſpect to Ireland. Theſe zealous reformers had formally accuſed lord Strafford of advancing that traiterous poſition, that Ireland was a conquered country. Now, it is urged and accepted, as an heinous charge againſt the Iriſh inſurgents, that to extenuate rebellion, they had preſumed to aſſert that Ireland was NOT a conquered country. Such is the eaſe with which ſtateſmen can affirm or deny the ſame general poſitions, juſt as their immediate purpoſe requires.

THERE is little doubt, but that Parſons at leaſt, the more active and intriguing governour, held a regular correſpondence with ſome popular leaders in the Engliſh commons, by means of a truſty agent diſpatched for this purpoſe to London. The war between Charles and his parliament was on the point of flaming out in all its violence. His adverſaries redoubled their aſſiduity *to alienate the affections of the people from this unhappy prince. He had repeatedly expreſſed the* utmoſt ardour for the ſervice of Ireland: he had propoſed to march in perſon againſt the Iriſh rebels. But what the noble hiſtorian acknowledges, did not eſcape the ſagacity of his enemies, that this overture was nothing more than "a ſtratagem, to compoſe the "houſes to a better temper, upon the apprehenſion of the "king's abſence, and the inconveniences that might thence "enſue." To efface the impreſſions made by his declarations of zeal, a bold effort was to be made, to revive the rumour of ſome commiſſion or allowance clandeſtinely granted to the rebels.

Clarendon, Reb. vol. I. p. 193.

The Iriſh chief governours were the willing agents in this deſign. They were, at the ſame time, impatient for ſome intereſting diſcoveries relative to the extent of the original conſpiracy, and, if poſſible, to involve the principal families of the Pale in the guilt of firſt contriving and concerting the inſurrection. For theſe purpoſes, they reſolved to ſupply the want of legal evidence, by putting ſome priſoners to the rack. They began with Hugh Mac-Mahon, who had been ſeized on the information of O'Connoly, and from whom they expected ſome important diſcoveries. But torture could force nothing from him eſſential to their great purpoſe. "He had been told that "application was to be made to the king for a commiſſion: *he* "*had been promiſed, that ſuch a commiſſion ſhould be pro*"*duced; but he had never ſeen any commiſſion:*" ſuch were the nature and ſubſtance of his anſwers. Sir John Read was then racked. He had been gentleman of the privy-chamber to the king, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army raiſed againſt the Scots. He had been choſen by the inhabitants of the Pale, on their taking arms, to convey their remonſtrance to the king; had given notice of his intended journey to the lords juſtices, was invited by them to repair to Dublin, and confer with the council; was the firſt to inform Ormond of the flight of the Northerns from Drogheda; had been conducted by his order to Dublin; but was inſtantly impriſoned: the letters addreſſed to his majeſty were ſeized, and carefully ſuppreſſed: and now he was importuned on the rack, with ſuch interrogatories as tended to criminate his royal maſter. The malice of the juſtices was again diſappointed; but not yet exhauſted or diſcouraged. Patrick Burnewal was their next victim; a gentleman venerable for his age, and reſpectable in his character. His only guilt was, that he had attended the meeting at the Hill of Crofty, and been appointed by the inſurgents to a command, without ever acting, or uniting with the rebels. He endured

MS. Clogher, Trin. Col. Dub.

Carte.

dured the torture with ſo ſteady an avowal of his innocence, and ſuch abundant evidence was offered in his favour, that the juſtices were aſhamed of their cruelty; and, to make ſome amends to the unhappy gentleman, he was permitted to reſide in Dublin, and his eſtate protected from the general havock of the ſoldiery.

ALTHOUGH the king's character and conduct had not been materially impeached by theſe ſevere proceedings, yet the popular partizans of England derived ſome advantage from them. The examinations of the priſoners, or ſuch parts of them at leaſt as the juſtices thought fit to be ſelected, were carefully tranſmitted to the Engliſh parliament. Rumours were ſpread abroad, that they contained intelligence of great moment, and highly reflecting on the king's honour. But no particulars were divulged. None of the king's friends in either kingdom could be admitted to a view of theſe examinations. His ſecretary applied in his name to the lords juſtices, for copies: but they were totally devoted to his enemies, and forbore to communicate them to the king. The people were, in general, too violent, and too prejudiced, to perceive that this extraordinary reſerve was really a proof that no charge of authorizing or countenancing the rebels had been eſtabliſhed againſt Charles.

IT was natural for the king, on ſuch an occaſion, to expreſs the greater zeal for the ſervice of his good ſubjects of Ireland. By a meſſage to the two houſes of parliament, he formally declared a firm reſolution of going with all convenient ſpeed to Ireland, to chaſtiſe thoſe deteſtable rebels; of raiſing a guard for his perſon, and even of ſelling or pledging his parks and houſes, if neceſſary, for this ſervice. The lords juſtices were alarmed: they ſent the moſt diſcouraging repreſentations to his majeſty of the weakneſs and diſtreſſes of the army of Ireland, and the exhauſted ſtate of the country, where, they plainly inſinuated, that the king could not appear with ſafety to his per-

Huſband's Collect.

ſon, comfort to his ſubjects, and terrour to his enemies. But the peremptory and inſulting anſwer of the Engliſh parliament, and the menaces with which they inſiſted that his deſign ſhould be relinquiſhed, had a ſtill greater effect. The king's declarations of marching againſt the rebels were no longer heard, but in his replies to the parliament.

THE laſt hopes which the gentlemen of the Pale conceived of an equitable accommodation with government, were from the expectation of the king's preſence in Ireland. Theſe hopes were now defeated. They had precipitately involved themſelves in the guilt of rebellion. Every poſſibility of retreat was rendered deſperate by the treatment of thoſe who had already ſurrendered. The favourite object both of the *Iriſh governours* and the *Engliſh parliament, was the utter extermination of all* the catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their eſtates were already marked out, and allotted to their conquerours: ſo that they and their poſterity were conſigned to inevitable ruin. Lord Gormanſton was ſo affected by the melancholy ſtate to which he had principally reduced himſelf, his family and friends, that grief ſoon put a period to his life. His aſſociates grew deſperate and violent, abandoned all thoughts of treaty or pardon, and relied ſolely on their arms. Carte.

THEIR Ulſter confederates had abandoned them: they, therefore, united with the lord Mountgarret and his aſſociates, and ſoon brought the courage of the royal forces to a trial ſeemingly dangerous and deſperate.

Ibid. THE earl of Ormond, with three thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and five field pieces, was detached into the county of Kildare, to deſtroy the poſſeſſions of rebels; to relieve the caſtles ſtill encompaſſed by their ſcattered parties; and to ſtrengthen the loyal garriſons. Such were the petty expeditions which ſuited the genius and views of the chief governours. On his return to Athy, he received intelligence, that Mountgarret,

attended

attended by the lords Dunboyne and Ikerrin, Roger Moore, Hugh Byrne, and other rebel-leaders of Leinſter, lay at the head of eight thouſand foot, and ſome troops of horſe, poſted to advantage, at a diſtance of four miles. It was reſolved in a council of war, that, as their numbers were diminiſhed by garriſons, harraſſed, encumbered, and ill-provided, they ſhould by no means hazard an engagement, unleſs the enemy ſhould oppoſe their march to Dublin. They proceeded on their march with the neceſſary precautions, and were ſo cloſely preſſed by the rebels, that an engagement became unavoidable. But the ſpirit of the Iriſh ſeemed exhauſted in the boldneſs of their attack. Their left wing was broken by the firſt charge: their right, animated by their principal leaders, maintained the conteſt for ſome time, retired in good order to a neighbouring eminence, but here broke at once, and fled precipitately. Seven hundred of their number were killed, with an inconſiderable loſs on the part of the Engliſh. The victory was rendered of conſequence, by the total diſperſion of the rebel-forces: but Ormond had neither proviſions nor ammunition neceſſary for improving it.

An account of this action, called the battle of Kilruſh, was tranſmitted to the Engliſh commons, and publiſhed with great ſolemnity. Their encomiums on the earl of Ormond were ſpeedily followed by an order of their houſe, that five hundred pounds ſhould be expended on a jewel to be beſtowed on his lordſhip; and that the lords ſhould be moved to unite with them in a petition to the king, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to create him a knight of the Garter.

CHAP. V.

Diſtreſs of the kingdom.—State of Leinſter,—of Connaught,—of Munſter.—Death of Saint Leger.—He is ſucceeded by lord Inchiquin.—Lord Forbes.—His procedure.—Battle of Liſcarrol.—Monroe and his Scottiſh forces arrive in Ulſter.—Cruelty and conſternation of the rebels. Inactivity of Monroe.—Earl of Antrim ſeized.—Sir Phelim O'Nial defeated.—Loyaliſts of Ulſter reſtrained by the earl of Leven.—Rebels diſtreſſed.—They prepare to abandon Ireland.—Prevented by the arrival of Owen O'Nial.—Arrival of the earl of Leven.—His ſudden return to Scotland.—Superiority of the rebels.—Arrival of Preſton and his forces.—Synods of the Romiſh clergy.—Their ordinances.—Supreme council, and general aſſembly of Kilkenny.—Their order of government, and oath of aſſociation.—They chuſe provincial generals.—They petition the king and queen.—Diſcontent and death of Roger Moore.—Loyalty of the earl of Clanricarde.—Earl of Caſtlehaven unites with the confederate Iriſh.—Practices of the Engliſh parliament with the army of Ireland.—Defeated by the earl of Ormond,—who is created a marquis.—Practices of the lords juſtices,—of Reynolds and Goodwin.—Diſcontents of the military officers.—Their complaints conveyed to the king.—Situation of Charles.—He is diſpoſed to an accommodation with the rebels.—His commiſſion for receiving their propoſitions.—Oppoſed by the lords juſtices.—Spirited orders of the king.—Ormond declines the poſt of lord lieutenant.—His firſt treaty with the confederate Iriſh.—Their pride.—They are made more tractable.—A meeting appointed at Trim.—Progreſs of the treaty diſpleaſing to the lords juſtices.—They project an expedition.—Ormond takes the command of it.—Battle of Roſs.—Diſtreſs of Dublin.—Interview

view at Trim.—Complaints and demands of the Iriſh.—Their remonſtrance tranſmitted to the king.—Oppoſed by the lords juſtices.—Their violences.—Sir William Parſons removed from the government.—The king orders a treaty of ceſſation.—Circumſtances of the kingdom juſtify this meaſure.—Expedient of the new juſtices for ſupport of the army.—Progreſs of the treaty with the Iriſh.—Cautious procedure of the marquis of Ormond.—He is diſguſted with the pride of the Iriſh.—Suſpends the treaty.—Endeavours to come to an engagement with Preſton,—but in vain.—The king renews his orders for a treaty of ceſſation.—Parſons and his aſſociates impriſoned.—The Old Iriſh averſe to any treaty.—The more moderate of the confederacy prevail.—Treaty of ceſſation ſigned,—odious to many in Ireland and England.—Declaration of the Engliſh parliament againſt the ceſſation.

EVERY part of Ireland was now expoſed to the miſeries of a waſting war, carried on in the uſual courſe of Iriſh wars, in times more remote and barbarous. The inſurgents in different quarters followed their reſpective leaders, without any general union, command, or direction, or any ſcheme of general enterprize. We are obliged to view them ſeparately in the different provinces: nor ſhall we find, in any of theſe ſuch extenſive and important operations as merit a particular detail. A. D. 1642.

IN Leinſter, the loyal inhabitants were ſtill harraſſed by detached parties of the rebels, who ravaged their poſſeſſions, and beſieged their caſtles. The arrival of lord Liſle, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, with nine hundred men, encouraged the chief governours to make ſome effort to repreſs theſe outrages. The lady Offaly * was relieved in her Borlaſe.

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* This lady was a daughter of the houſe of Kildare, and relict of Sir Robert Digby. The title of Offaly properly belonged to the eldeſt ſon of the earls of Kildare; but ſhe aſſumed it by ſpecial favour of king James. Her anſwer

caſtle of Geaſell; Sir John Gifford in Caſtle-Jordan; the rebels were driven from Trim: the ſtate reluctantly conſented to ſtation an inſufficient garriſon in this town, which was attacked by a numerous body of the rebels. In repelling them, Sir Charles Coote, their inveterate enemy, was ſlain; an incident not diſpleaſing to the chief governours, who dreaded his enterprizing ſpirit, and were ſtill anxious to prevent a too vigourous proſecution of the rebels. The extreme caution of their proceedings againſt a neceſſitous and frequently-defeated enemy, was encreaſed, and in ſome ſort juſtified, by the preſent circumſtances of their army. Every petty detachment ſent from England ſerved to aggravate the diſtreſſes of the ſoldiery, by leſſening their ſcanty proviſions. The officers clamoured for their arrears; the men, without pay or cloathing, weakened by unwholeſome diet, marching through hard and craggy roads, with their feet bare and bleeding, ſunk, in great numbers, under their miſery and fatigue. The more robuſt ſurvivors grew mutinous. The troops lately arrived ſhared the common diſtreſs, but with greater impatience. In the peeviſhneſs of diſappointment, they inſulted the old army; they reproached them as Iriſhmen and rebels; and ſuch vulgar pride frequently produced alarming quarrels. But as the ſtate could not pay their ſoldiers, it was impoſſible

Carte. Orm.

anſwer to the ſummons of the rebels was conveyed in a letter not unworthy to be recorded.

"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to ſack this my caſtle by his "majeſty's authority. I am, and ever have been, a loyal ſubject, and a good "neighbour among you, and, therefore, cannot but wonder at ſuch an aſſault. "I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little ſafety. And, "therefore, my reſolution is, that being free from offending his majeſty, or "doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently; and will do my "beſt to defend my own, leaving the iſſue to God. Though I have been, "and ſtill am deſirous to avoid the ſhedding of chriſtian blood, yet, being pro-"voked, your threats ſhall no whit diſmay me.

LETTICE OFFALIA.

impoſſilbe to reſtrain them within the bounds of diſcipline. In this ſituation of affairs, an Iriſh parliament ſat for three days in Dublin. By expelling the members actually in rebellion, and by excluding thoſe who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, they were reduced to an inconſiderable number. Yet they breathed the utmoſt fury againſt the Romiſh party, declared for a rigorous execution of penal ſtatutes, and urged, both to the king and Engliſh parliament, the neceſſity of new and ſevere laws againſt reſcuants. The Engliſh parliament echoed theſe ſentiments. The bills were prepared for tranſmiſſion, and the utmoſt vengeance denounced againſt popery; as if their ſole purpoſe were to exaſperate the inſurgents to the utmoſt, or as if they had been already completely reduced.

Carte. Orm.

CONNAUGHT had been kept tolerably quiet, by the prudence of lord Ranelagh, the preſident, and the authority and diligence of the earl of Clanricarde, till the defection of the Pale enflamed the diſcontented ſpirits of this province. Mayo and Roſcommon were now infeſted by inſurgents; a body of ſavage Iriſh iſſued from a mountainous tract, called Ire-Connaught, and harraſſed the loyal diſtricts: even the town of Galway betrayed its diſaffection, and, under pretence of injuries received from the governour, beſieged the fort, and reduced the Engliſh garriſon to diſtreſs. The earl of Clanricarde haſtened to their relief; and, although his force was utterly unequal to that of the citizens and their aſſociates, he yet contrived to terrify them into an accommodation. It was agreed, that all hoſtilities ſhould be ſuſpended, and that the town ſhould be taken under his majeſty's protection, until his royal pleaſure ſhould be known. This event ſerved to diſcourage the weſtern rebels, and diſpoſed them to deſire a like ceſſation; which was recommended by Clanricarde as a means of giving them ſome leiſure to reflect on their precipitate conduct, to recal them to their allegiance, and to prevent the deſolation of the kingdom.

But the chief governours were actuated by different motives. They ſeverely condemned the protection granted to Galway: their orders were expreſs and peremptory, that the earl ſhould receive no more ſubmiſſions: every commander of every garriſon was ordered not to preſume to hold any correſpondence with Iriſh, or papiſts; to give no protections, but to proſecute all rebels and their harbourers with fire and ſword. In the execution of theſe orders, the juſtices declare, that the ſoldiers ſlew all perſons promiſcuouſly, not ſparing the women, and ſometimes not the children *. A violent and poſitive agent of the parliamentary faction, laboured, by inſtruction, or at leaſt with the connivance of government, to break the late pacification of Galway, and to provoke the citizens to renew their hoſtilities. Clanricarde was irritated, but his diligence in the ſervice of the crown by no means relaxed. The inſurgents grew deſperate, and threatened the whole province with their tumultuous numbers. The lord preſident was beſieged in the city of Athlone. But a ſmall ſum of money, and ſome additional forces ſent from England, emboldened the lords juſtices to diſpatch the earl of Ormond to his relief. At his approach the enemy retired: the juſtices, who dreaded that the earl might proceed to ſome exploits of real moment, recalled him haſtily to Dublin.

In Munſter, Sir William Saint Leger, the lord preſident, was reduced to the moſt alarming difficulties: without arms or pro-

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* By ſuch ſeverities, the names of Grenville, Sir Frederick Hamilton, and others, became as odious to the Iriſh, (and with equal reaſon) as thoſe of O'Reily, Macguire, or O'Nial had been to the Engliſh. Among the ſeveral acts of public ſervice performed by a regiment of Sir William Cole, conſiſting of five hundred foot and a troop of horſe, we find the following hideous article recorded by the hiſtorian Borlaſe, with particular ſatisfaction and triumph.

Starved and famiſhed of the vulgar ſort, whoſe goods were ſeized on by this regiment—Seven thouſand.

viſions for his ſoldiers; and his ſoldiers, even if well appointed, yet utterly inſufficient to defend the province. The rebel-leaders had been reconciled, and joined by lord Muſkerry, a branch of the noble Iriſh family of Clancarthy. The preſident, notwithſtanding a reinforcement of one thouſand men received from England, was obliged to ſeek ſhelter in Cork, was beſieged, and on the point of being overwhelmed, when the action of Kilruſh ſerved to weaken and diſpirit his aſſailants. He ſallied out, and routed the beſiegers; but ſcarcely could provide ſubſiſtence for his ſoldiers, far from being enabled to lead them againſt a flying enemy. He heard of the reduction of the fort of Limerick by the rebels, a ſtation of the firſt conſequence in the kingdom. Mortified, diſappointed, and deſerted, he ſuffered his vexations to prey too violently upon his ſpirit. A lingering malady, the effect of anguiſh, at length put a period to his life; and the command of the province devolved on lord Inchiquin, a nobleman of the illuſtrious houſe of O'Brien.

Carte. Orm.

INCHIQUIN had the ſame difficulties to encounter, and the ſame zeal for the royal ſervice. He repeatedly ſolicited the Engliſh parliament for ſupplies; and, at length, received ten thouſand pounds, a ſum juſt ſufficient to keep his forces from periſhing, without enabling them to take the field. The arrival of lord Forbes at Kinſale with twelve hundred men, ſeemed to promiſe ſome auſpicious events. He had been appointed by the Engliſh parliament, without participation of the king, to command ſome forces raiſed by contributions of the adventurers. Fully poſſeſſed with the puritanic ſpirit, and influenced by the fanaticiſm of his chaplain, the famous Hugh Peters, he diſdained to unite with the Iriſh, however loyal, or with any not of the GODLY. After ſome depredations, in which he made no diſtinction between rebels and royaliſts, and after ſuſtaining ſome loſs and diſgrace in his excurſions, he re-embarked, and proceeded to the bay of Galway. With the utmoſt intemperance and extravagance of conduct, he pointed his hoſtilities chiefly againſt thoſe who were moſt diſtinguiſhed by their loyalty; he laboured to break the late pacification of Galway, and to reduce the citizens to a new ſpecies of ſubmiſſion; to acknowledge themſelves rebels, and to beſeech his majeſty to intercede with the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND for their pardon, and to admit no governours but ſuch as the king AND THE STATE OF ENGLAND ſhould appoint. But neither his intrigues nor his military operations were ſucceſsful. Without performing any ſervice againſt the rebels, or deigning to act in concert with the loyal commanders, he again retired, having firſt, ſaith Mr. Carte, defaced St. Mary's church, dug up the graves, and burned the coffins and bones of thoſe who lay interred, *with a ſenſeleſs fury, fit only to make his own memory deteſted, and afford occaſion for ſeditious ſpirits to enflame the people.*

IN the mean time, Inchiquin lay at Cork, ſtruggling with his difficulties, and ſcarcely able to procure ſubſiſtence for his garriſon; as the enemy proceeded to reduce the forts and caſtles of the province, he found himſelf in danger of being ſpeedily blocked up, and ſtarved in his quarters. To prevent it, he reſolved to hazard an engagement with the rebels, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority. With the troops of the earl of Cork, commanded by his ſons, the lords Kynalmeaky and Broghil, and the forces raiſed by the earl of Barrymore, he contrived to form a little army of about two thouſand; and, although his men were conſiderably weakened by their diſtreſſes, yet relying on that want of ſkill and diſcipline which generally prevailed in an Iriſh army, he ventured to march againſt the rebels. He found them poſted advantageouſly near a caſtle called Liſcarrol, which they had juſt reduced, to the number of ſeven thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. The conteſt was for ſome time ſupported with ſpirit, but at length decided in favour of the royaliſts. Their loſs was inconſiderable, though embittered by the fall of lord Kynalmeaky. The rebels were purſued without mercy; and, in their flight, ſpread a general conſternation through all their adherents. The only advantage which lord Inchiquin gained by this ſucceſs, was that of dividing his forces into ſeveral garriſons, and procuring them a miſerable ſubſiſtence.

We are now to return to the northern province, the firſt ſcene of commotion, and where the power of the rebels was ſtill conſiderable. The conteſts between the king and commons, the differences between the two houſes of parliament, and, poſſibly, the artifice of popular leaders who wiſhed to foment the Iriſh inſurrection, protracted the treaty for ſending Scottiſh forces into Ireland. At length, however, it was reſolved to accept the aſſiſtance of Scotland. Two thouſand five hundred men were deſtined for the immediate ſervice of Ulſter. On their arrival, the town and caſtle of Carricfergus was to be ſurrendered into their hands, and when the reſidue of ten thouſand men, the number ſtipulated with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, ſhould land in Ulſter; they were to be inveſted alſo with the town and caſtle of Colerain. To theſe conditions the king reluctantly ſubmitted: and to do the greater honour to thoſe auxiliaries, the ſole and uncontrouled conduct of the northern war was committed to the Scottiſh generals.

Carte. Orm.

About the middle of April, the firſt detachment landed at Carricfergus. Their commander, Robert Monroe, was inſtantly joined by ſome of the provincial forces, amounting to eighteen hundred foot and ſeven troops of cavalry. The whole body advanced to Newry: at their approach the rebels abandoned the town; and the reduction of the caſtle was ſpeedily effected. That of Carlingford was delivered up to Sir Henry Tichburne. The tumultuary followers of the rebel-leaders ſhrunk, with their uſual inſtability, from the firſt appearance of danger. Sir Phelim O'Nial finding it neceſſary to abandon Armagh,

Depoſitions, MS. Trin. Col. Dublin.

Armagh, in the rage of diſappointment ſet fire to the town, while his brutal train wrecked their barbarity on thoſe wretched Engliſh who were in their power. For the preſent, O'Nial retired to Charlemont, though with little hopes of maintaining this poſt, as he was deſtitute of ammunition. Many of his followers fled to the faſtneſſes of Tirone; and even ſeveral diſtinguiſhed rebels abandoned their houſes, and concealed themſelves in different retreats. Carte. Orm.

Monroe was earneſtly preſſed to ſeize the advantage of this general conſternation of the rebels, to purſue them vigourouſly before they ſhould recover from their terrour, and receive ſupplies from abroad. The ſpeedy and effectual ſuppreſſion of the northern rebels muſt have enabled the loyaliſts of Ulſter to relieve the other provinces, where the forces of government were weak and diſtreſſed, and the rebels better armed and ordered than in the North. It was an enterpize ſuited to the military genius of his nation. But Monroe had his ſecret inſtructions. Having put ſixty men and eighteen women to death at Newry, he left three hundred men to garriſon the town, and returned to Carricfergus. Hence he again made an excurſion into the county of Antrim. No enemy appeared: but the earl of Antrim, though zealous againſt the rebels, was a papiſt and a cavalier; reaſons ſufficient for waſting his lands, and ſeizing his perſon. The latter was effected in a manner not unuſual in the earlieſt and more barbarous times. Monroe, with an appearance of amity and reſpect, viſited the earl at his caſtle of Dunluce; was hoſpitably received; but, at the concluſion of an entertainment, gave the ſignal to his followers. The earl was made priſoner, his caſtle ſeized, and all his houſes committed to the cuſtody of the Scottiſh forces.

Ibid. Two months waſted in total inaction, or the moſt frivolous enterprizes, revived the ſpirit of the rebels, recalled them from their retreats, and enabled them once more to collect their forces. The charge of oppoſing them now devolved on the Engliſh forces of Ulſter; for the Scots were totally employed in ravaging the adjacent diſtricts, and exporting vaſt herds of cattle into Scotland. Sir Phelim O'Nial appeared once more at the head of an army; but was bravely encountered by Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart, two Engliſh commanders. After a ſharper action than had hitherto been fought in Ulſter, the rebels were driven to flight, with the loſs of five hundred ſlain, many wounded, and a number of priſoners. It was propoſed to proſecute this advantage, but the Engliſh were diſtreſſed and neceſſitous, and Monroe refuſed his aſſiſtance. Some loyal Engliſh officers, provoked at this unaccountable reluctance, reſolved to ſtruggle with their difficulties, and to try what might be *effected by their own efforts.* They reduced ſome forts occupied by the rebels, and were preparing to extend their operations, when their ardour was effectually repreſſed by a mandate from the earl of Leven, now preparing to embark with the main body of Scottiſh auxiliaries: his orders were, that no man ſhould beſiege any place, or ſtation a garriſon in any town of Ulſter, but by permiſſion of the Scottiſh commanders.

This apparent horrour of putting too ſpeedy a concluſion to the war, muſt immediately have been attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, had not the rebels been diſpirited by ill ſucceſs, and in want of every neceſſary for the proſecution of their enterprize. Such was their dejection, that when Monroe, in the month of July, at length ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to proceed more vigourouſly, the Iriſh chieftains held their council, and reſolved to abandon a cauſe rendered utterly hopeleſs by repeated defeats and diſappointments, and to fly to foreign countries, from the rage of their victorious enemy. In this moment of deſperation, intelligence was received that Owen O'Nial, whoſe arrival had been ſo long and ſo anxiouſly Carte. Orm.

expected, after a tedious voyage from Dunkirk, was landed in the county of Donnegal, with one hundred officers, and a conſiderable ſupply of arms and ammunition. Their hopes inſtantly revived; a body of forces was appointed to attend their favourite general, and conducted him triumphantly to the fort of Charlemont.

Carte. Orm.

OWEN O'NIAL had ſerved in the Imperial and Spaniſh armies with reputation. He was governour of Arras when the French beſieged this town in 1640; and, though obliged to ſurrender upon honourable terms, yet his defence gained him the reſpect even of his enemy. Experience had formed him to an able and ſkilful ſoldier; quick in diſcerning, diligent in improving any advantage offered by the enemy; more circumſpect than enterprizing; of a genius peculiarly ſuited to defence, and excellent at protracting a war; qualities of eſpecial uſe in that ſervice which he was now to undertake. His knowledge of the world, his prudence, his ſobriety and caution, appeared to greater advantage, as they were contraſted by the ignorance and rudeneſs, the intemperance and levity of Sir Phelim. To the ſecret mortification of this his kinſman, Owen was unanimouſly declared by the northern Iriſh, head and leader of their confederacy.

THE new general began with expreſſing his deteſtation of thoſe barbarities exerciſed by Sir Phelim O'Nial and his brutal followers. The remains of their priſoners he diſmiſſed in ſafety to Dundalk; he inveighed with unuſual warmth againſt thoſe who had diſgraced their cauſe by murder and maſſacre; he ſet fire to the houſes of ſome more notoriouſly guilty, and declared that he would join with the Engliſh, rather than ſuffer any ſuch wretches to eſcape their juſt puniſhment. As he expected to be ſpeedily beſieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make every preparation neceſſary for defence. But the Scottiſh forces ſtill lay inactive, and the Engliſh were not permitted to attack him;

ſo that he had full leiſure to collect and diſcipline his men. At length the earl of Leven arrived in the month of Auguſt, and encreaſed the Scottiſh army to ten thouſand men. The whole force of the province amounted to twenty thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe: ſo that Leven, who had the ſole command of this body, ſeemed to have nothing more to do, but march againſt an enemy unable to reſiſt him, to cruſh them at once, and hunt their miſerable remains from every part of Ulſter. He paſſed the Bann, and advanced into the county of Tyrone. Hence he addreſſed a letter to Owen O'Nial, expreſſing his concern, that a man of his reputation ſhould come to Ireland for the maintenance of ſo bad a cauſe. Owen replied, that he had better reaſons to come to the relief of his country, than his lordſhip could plead for marching into England againſt his king: and, as if this ſhort correſpondence had been the ſole object of his march, Leven again retired, and delivering up the army to Monroe, whom he warned to expect a total overthrow, if Owen O'Nial ſhould once collect an army, he returned to Scotland. A conduct ſo extraordinary was by the Iriſh naturally imputed to cowardice, and inſpired them with contempt of the Scottiſh enemy. Monroe remained inactive; O'Nial continued to form his forces; while the army which ſhould oppoſe him, Scottiſh and Engliſh, the troops raiſed by parliament, and thoſe commiſſioned by the king, were all alike neglected by England, and ſoon obliged to ſtruggle, in their reſpective quarters, with the miſeries of nakedneſs and famine.

Carte. Orm.

THUS were the rebels in every province of Ireland ſuffered to collect and encreaſe their force, to poſſeſs ſtations of ſtrength and conſequence, in ſome places to confine the Engliſh within narrow bounds, while they themſelves ranged at large, and had free poſſeſſion of the open country. The defeats which their parties received from the loyaliſts were of leſs prejudice to their cauſe, as the enemy could not improve their advantage, but ſuffered them to re-aſſemble and repair their loſſes. To encreaſe their confidence, a ſecond, and more important embarkation was made for their ſupport at Dunkirk. Wexford was in their poſſeſſion. Two veſſels firſt arrived in the port laden with arms and ammunition. Colonel Thomas Preſton, brother of lord Gormanſton, a ſoldier of experience and reputation, ſoon followed in a ſhip of war, attended by two frigates, and ſix other veſſels laden with ordnance for battery, field pieces, and other warlike proviſions, five hundred officers, and a conſiderable number of engineers. Twelve other veſſels fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, ſoon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, together with a conſiderable number of Iriſh officers and veteran *ſoldiers*, diſcharged from the French ſervice by cardinal Richelieu, and ſent into Ireland, thus amply provided, and aſſured of farther ſuccours.

The Engliſh were juſtly alarmed. While they laboured under various wants and diſtreſſes, the enemy was abundantly ſupplied with every neceſſary for war. They were maſters of the ſea; and by intercepting ſeveral ſhips laden with proviſions, as they paſſed through St. George's channel, gave a fatal interruption to the commerce between Cheſter and Dublin, and encreaſed the ſcarcity already felt ſeverely in the capital. It was expected that the rebels would immediately proceed to ſome vigorous operations; and ſupplies were inſtantly diſpatched to ſome forts more immediately expoſed to danger. But the Iriſh were, for the preſent, engaged in the execution of a ſcheme ſome time ſince concerted, to give a form of authority to their procedure, ſo as to unite their aſſociates in the ſeveral provinces, and to enforce obedience and ſubmiſſion. The authority of their clergy had been already employed. The popiſh prelate of Armagh firſt ſummoned his clergy to a ſynod. They declared the war of the Iriſh to be lawful and pious, and exhorted all perſons to unite in their righteous cauſe: at the ſame time, they made conſtitutions againſt plunderers and murderers. But it was ſoon deemed neceſſary to proceed yet farther. A general ſynod was convened of all the Romiſh clergy of Ireland, which ſat at Kilkenny in the month of May.

THE acts of this aſſembly were more numerous and ſolemn. Borlaſe. They began with declaring the war maintained by the catholics againſt ſectaries and puritans, for defence of the catholic religion, the prerogative of the king, the honour and ſafety of the queen and royal iſſue, the conſervation of the rights and liberties of Ireland, and of their own lives and fortunes, to be juſt and lawful. They diſclaim all belief or acceptance of any letters *or proclamations publiſhed in the king's name, until their own agents ſhould be aſſured of his real will and intentions.* They direct that all their confederates ſhould be united by an oath of aſſociation, and denounce ſentence of excommunication on all who ſhould refuſe to take it, againſt all neuters, againſt all who aſſiſted the enemy, againſt all who ſhould invade the poſſeſſions of any catholic, or any Iriſh proteſtant, *not adverſary to their cauſe.* They forbid all diſtinctions and compariſons between the old and new Iriſh; direct that exact regiſters be kept in *every province,* of the cruelties and murders committed by the puritans, *(for under this odious denomination they included all* the loyaliſts) and denounced their eccleſiaſtical cenſures on thoſe of their own people who ſhould commit the like exceſſes. They ordain, that provincial councils ſhould be compoſed of clergy and laity, and a general national council formed, to which the others ſhould be ſubordinate; that embaſſies ſhould be ſent from this aſſembly to foreign potentates; and that the emperour, the king of France, and the pope ſhould be particularly ſolicited to grant aſſiſtance to their cauſe. Theſe were the principal acts of the clergy. The nobility and gentry then reſident in Kilkenny, united with them in framing the oath of aſſociation, Carte. Orm. aſſociation, in naming the members of the ſupreme council, of which lord Mountgarret was choſen preſident, and in appointing a general aſſembly of the whole nation, to meet in that city in the enſuing month of October.

Ibid. THE time for this convention was now arrived. The popiſh lords, prelates, and clergy, popiſh deputies from the ſeveral counties and principal towns of every province, aſſembled at Kilkenny. With an affected humility they proteſted, that their aſſembly was by no means to be conſidered as a parliament, which the king's writ alone could convene, but a general meeting for the regulation of their affairs, until his majeſty's wiſdom ſhould ſettle the preſent troubles. It was, however, formed on the plan of a parliament, *conſiſting of two houſes; one compoſed of temporal peers and prelates, the other of repreſentatives deputed by counties and cities. Both ſat in the ſame chamber.* Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, already diſtinguiſhed by his activity in parliament, took his place, bare-headed, on a ſtool, as a ſubſtitute to the judges. Nicholas Plunket, another diſtinguiſhed partizan of the recuſant faction, was appointed ſpeaker of the aſſembly. The lords had their place of retirement for private conſultation; and Darcy communicated their reſolutions to the commons. Thoſe of the clergy who were not admitted to ſit among the lords, formed a convocation, in which they treated about the reſtoration and ſettlement of church poſſeſſion. The arrogance of their demands was treated by the lay-impropriators with contempt and ridicule, even while they profeſſed to be the zealous champions of the church.

IN the firſt place, however, they declared their reſolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic church, agreeably to the great charter. The common law of England and ſtatutes of Ireland they profeſſed to accept as their rule of government, ſo far as they were not contrary to the Roman Borlaſe.

Roman religion, or inconſiſtent with the liberties of Ireland. They commanded all perſons to bear faith and allegiance to the king, and to maintain his juſt prerogatives: at the ſame time, they utterly denied and renounced the authority of his Iriſh government adminiſtered in Dublin, by a "malignant party, to "his highneſs's great diſſervice, and in compliance with their "confederates the malignant party of England." The adminiſtration of public juſtice they aſſumed to themſelves. To each county they aſſigned a council, conſiſting of twelve perſons, who were to decide all matters cognizable by juſtices of the peace, pleas of the crown, ſuits for debts and perſonal actions, and to name all county officers except the high ſheriff. From theſe there lay an appeal to the provincial councils, conſiſting of two deputies out of each county, who were to meet four times in a year, to decide ſuits like judges of aſſize, with ſome particular limitations of their juriſdiction. From theſe again there lay an appeal to what was called THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND; an aſſembly conſiſting of twenty-four perſons, choſen by the general convention. Of theſe, twelve were to reſide at Kilkenny, or in ſome other convenient town: no fewer than nine were to compoſe a council; and of the ſitting members, two thirds were to decide on every meaſure. This council was to chuſe ſheriffs out of three nominated by the county-council; to command all military officers and civil magiſtrates; to determine all matters left undecided by the general aſſembly; to hear and judge all cauſes criminal and civil, except titles to lands; to direct the conduct of war, and every matter relative to the intereſt of the confederacy. For the greater honour and ſecurity of this important aſſembly, a guard was aſſigned, conſiſting of five hundred foot, and two hundred horſe.

As this ſcheme of a ſupreme council had been adopted from the eccleſiaſtical ſynod, ſo alſo was the oath of aſſociation taken Borlaſe.

from their form; with a retrenchment of one part only, in which the clergy bound their votaries never to conſent to peace, until the church ſhould be amply inveſted, not only with all its powers and privileges, its ſplendour and magnificence, but with all its ancient poſſeſſions, which no zeal for religion could induce the preſent poſſeſſors to reſtore. The aſſembly were contented with directing, that all perſons ſhould ſwear allegiance to the king, ſhould engage to defend his prerogative, the power and privilege of the parliament of Ireland, the fundamental laws, together with the free exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion, to obey the orders of the ſupreme council, to ſeek for no pardon or protection without conſent of the *major* part of this council, and to proſecute and maintain the common cauſe.

Carte. Orm. THE order of government once adjuſted, the provincial generals were choſen; Owen O'Nial for Ulſter, Preſton for Leinſter, Garret Barry for Munſter, colonel John Burke for Connaught, with the title of lieutenant-general; as they hoped that the earl of Clanricarde would unite with them, and accept the chief command of this province. Scarcely had they ſworn to maintain the king's prerogative, when they proceeded to an open and outrageous violation of it, by aſſuming a power of regulating the coin; and raiſing its value. Their ambaſſadours were diſpatched to foreign courts to ſolicit ſuccours. At the ſame time, to demonſtrate their pacific diſpoſitions, they prepared two petitions to be preſented to the king and queen, together with a repreſentation of thoſe grievances which they alledged as the occaſion of their confederacy.

BUT amidſt all this appearance of ſtate and authority, the aſſembly of confederate Iriſh felt their ſecret diſſenſions and mortifications. Ibid. The more moderate among them affected to abhor the cruelty of the original inſurrection. They wiſhed to obliterate the memory of all tranſactions previous to their convention,

vention, and to conſider the civil war as but now commenced. Hence, in the diſpoſal of their offices, ſeveral of the firſt conſpirators were purpoſely neglected. Sir Phelim O'Nial was diſappointed and provoked: even Roger Moore, whoſe temper was more generous, and more abhorrent of barbarity, found his zealous ſervices unnoticed and unrewarded. He had ſpirit, abilities, and activity, to render him a formidable malecontent, but, for the preſent, he was ſoothed and flattered: his death, which happened ſoon after this convention, at Kilkenny, was an incident poſſibly not diſpleaſing to the confederates.

To their utter mortification, Clanricarde ſteadily rejected all their overtures; unſhaken in his loyalty by the ſolicitations, the menaces, and the excommunication of their clergy. To conſole them, however, in this diſappointment, they now gained a new aſſociate of dignity and conſequence, Touchet, earl of Caſtlehaven, and baron Audley of England.

Carte.
Orm.
Clanricarde's Mem. fol.

On the firſt intelligence of the rebellion, this lord had haſtened from Munſter to Dublin, and made a tender of his ſervices to government. As he was a Roman catholic, they could not be accepted: he deſired a paſſport to go to England; this alſo was denied. He was not even admitted to reſide in Dublin; and, therefore, retired to one of his ſeats in the county of Kildare, where he lived inoffenſively, and, as he aſſerts, was ſerviceable in relieving and protecting the Engliſh of his neighbourhood. His character and ſtation induced the lords of the Pale to uſe his mediation with the juſtices, that they might be allowed to aſſemble, and prepare a repreſentation of their grievances to the king. He tranſmitted their letter, and, at the ſame time, repeated his requeſt of permiſſion to depart the kingdom. This was unaccountably denied: he was ſeverely reprimanded for his correſpondence with the rebels; and warned to be cautious of his conduct for the future. Slight rumours and ſuſpicions of the diſloyalty of this lord were eagerly receiv-

Caſtlehaven's Memoirs.

ed and entertained by the chief governours; and, on the moſt futile evidence, he was ſoon indicted of high treaſon. Conſcious of his innocence, he haſtened to Dublin; but, without being heard, was committed to cloſe cuſtody. His brother embarked privately, and petitioned the king, now reſident at York, that the earl might be tried by his peers. The king referred him to the parliament: the parliament refuſed to interfere, without the king. In the mean time, Caſtlehaven contrived to eſcape from his confinement; fled to Kilkenny, in the utmoſt rage and indignation, and was readily perſuaded to unite with the confederates. He was created an additional member of the ſupreme council, and appointed to command the Leinſter horſe, under general Preſton.

Carte. Orm.

WHILE the confederacy of the *Iriſh was thus gaining ſtrength*, and riſing gradually *to conſequence*, the *Engliſh*, in *the midſt* of their diſtreſſes, were divided in affection and intereſt, by the important conteſt of the neighbouring kingdom. The governours and their creatures zealouſly engaged on the ſide of parliament: the army, influenced by the earl of Ormond, for the moſt part favoured the king. From the moment that a civil war appeared inevitable, the parliament deemed it a point of moment to eſtabliſh an intereſt in Ireland. Their agents were employed in Dublin, to *ſolicit* the officers of the army to ſign a petition to his *majeſty*, beſeeching him to comply with his parliament. To men who had been ſhamefully neglected and abandoned by this aſſembly, the application was ungracious. The opinion of their commander was firſt to be obtained. Ormond received the petition; he propoſed, that another ſhould be addreſſed to the commons; but, in the drafts of both, he made ſuch alterations, as manifeſted his attachment to the king, and were utterly diſagreeable to the parliamentary agents. They adhered to their own form; the earl ſteadily rejected it; ſo that the ſcheme of a petition was defeated; which Ormond

took

care to repreſent to the king as an inſtance of the good affections of his army of Ireland. At the ſame time he pathetically repreſented their diſtreſſes, his inability to engage in any ſervice of real conſequence, and the embarraſſments he experienced from the juſtices, in their obſtinate averſion to proſecute the rebels with vigour and effect.

THE juſtices, on their part, ſeized every occaſion of mortifying the earl of Ormond. They ſcrutinized his conduct with ſeverity, and repreſented it maliciouſly. The earl of Leiceſter, ſecretly attached to the parliament, and too ſolicitous for their ſervice to aſſume his government of Ireland, regarded Ormond with ſuſpicion and diſguſt, as the rival of his power. On every vacancy in the Iriſh army, he endeavoured to appoint ſuch officers as were moſt agreeable to his party. Hence there naturally aroſe ſome ſharp contentions between the lord lieutenant and the general. They were ſubmitted to the king; and the king readily decided in favour of a zealous royaliſt. He enlarged Ormond's commiſſion as commander of the army in Ireland, and rendered it independent of the earl of Leiceſter. As this nobleman profeſſed an intention of repairing to his government without delay, the king deemed it neceſſary to protect Ormond, his friend, from every poſſible oppreſſion or mortification. He gave him licence to reſort to England at his pleaſure, without any prejudice to his offices and entertainments in Ireland; and to grace ſo good a ſervant ſtill farther, of his own motion he created him a marquis. Carte. Orm.

THE civil war of England was now declared. The king laboured to gain the army of Ireland, by his favours to their general. The parliament, ſtill more aſſiduous, endeavoured not only to ſecure an intereſt in the ſoldiery, but to direct the whole adminiſtration of this kingdom. Reynolds and Goodwin, two members of the Engliſh commons, were ſent for theſe purpoſes to Dublin, and brought with them ſome ammunition, together Ibid.

with twenty thouſand pounds, a ſupply utterly inadequate to the neceſſities of the army, but ſuch as ſerved for a momentary relief, and gave them hopes of farther ſuccours. The parliamentary agents were aſſiduous, and experienced in the artifices of faction: the lords juſtices, and their creatures of the council, were their zealous partizans. Every rumour diſadvantageous to the king and his cauſe was received with joy, and induſtriouſly propagated. The pulpit was employed, as in England, to enflame men's minds; and the moſt abſurd illiterate brawlers, encouraged by thoſe in power, vented their crude deciſions on a conteſt infinitely tranſcending their wretched intellects. One of theſe inſtruments of faction proved ſo outrageouſly offenſive, as to engage *the attention of an Iriſh parliament: and his friends, the chief governours, ſcreened him from* puniſhment, by ſuddenly *proroguing this aſſembly.*

Reynolds and Goodwin, together with lord Liſle, who had imbibed the ſpirit and principles of his father Leiceſter, were admitted into the privy council, without any warrant from the king, whoſe authority was deſpiſed by the governours of Ireland, from the moment that his ſword was drawn. Inſtead of acting againſt the public enemy, theſe men ſeemed ſolely intent on embarraſſing and mortifying thoſe who were attached to the king. Every meaſure was purſued to render the marquis of Ormond diſſatisfied with his command. Clanricarde was abandoned to his diſtreſſes: every particular of his conduct was interpreted malignantly; and, poſſibly, the juſtices and their creatures entertained ſome ſecret hopes, that a popiſh lord, of ſuch extenſive property, might, at length, be ſeduced from his allegiance by the ſolicitations of the rebels, and the efforts of their clergy. Lord Ranelagh, the preſident of Connaught, quitted his government in vexation and deſpair, and haſted to Dublin, with a reſolution of laying before the king a full account of the diſtreſſes of his province, and the pernicious con-

Carte. Orm.

duct of the juſtices. But his deſign was quickly defeated. On his arrival, he was inſtantly accuſed as author of all the extremities which the troops had experienced in Connaught. A charge, conſiſting of ſeventy-four articles, was exhibited againſt him to the council. He was not allowed a copy, or a view of theſe articles: he petitioned for licence to make his defence before the king, to whom they were tranſmitted: but this alſo was denied.

Carte. Orm.

IT was a point of eſpecial moment to the lords juſtices, and their party, that no accounts of Ireland, and its affairs, ſhould be tranſmitted either to the king or Engliſh parliament, but through the medium of their own repreſentations. But this policy was at length defeated, by the bold and ſpirited conduct of the royaliſts. The officers of the Leinſter army had been long expoſed to the ſevereſt neceſſities, by the with-holding of their pay, and the wretched proviſions made for their ſubſiſtence. They were many of them perſons of diſtinction of the Engliſh nation, and ſupported and joined in their complaints by the earl of Kildare. They had addreſſed themſelves for relief to parliament, but with no effect. They repeated their addreſs to the privy council, in a manner ſo bold and peremptory as was alarming to government. Hopes and promiſes were laviſhed on theſe dangerous complainants: expedients were deviſed for their immediate relief, it was even agreed, that every one ſhould bring in half their plate[*] for the preſent ſupply of the army: but the ſum thus raiſed proved totally inſufficient. The clamour was renewed; and the officers having now prepared an affecting addreſs to the king, demanded licence for their agent to repair to England, and convey it to his majeſty.

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[*] Anthony Martin, biſhop of Meath, had been pillaged by the rebels in the firſt inſurrection, and deprived of all his ſubſtance. As a member of the privy council, he was now required to ſend in his plate. The prelate anſwered, that he had none, nor any property whatever, but a *few old gowns.* It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a petty tyranny more provoking and contemptible than that of the juſtices, who, for no other offence, but that of a reply delivered in plainneſs and ſimplicity of heart, committed the poor prelate to cloſe cuſtody, and obliged him to petition the throne for relief.

The juſtices and the agents of the Engliſh parliament were alarmed at this deſign. They endeavoured to terrify the officers; they aſſured them, with an affectation of deep concern, that ſuch an addreſs muſt infallibly deprive them of all future ſuccours from the commons of England: they entreated them to ſuſpend their deſign, at leaſt until the effect of thoſe repreſentations already made to parliament ſhould be diſcovered. When this artifice proved ineffectual, Reynolds and Goodwin perſuaded the juſtices, *not only to deny licence of departure to the agent choſen by the officers, but to lay an embargo on all* veſſels in the harbour. The officers, not yet diſmayed, inſiſted on their demand of a licence. Thoſe of the province of Leinſter avowed and united in the addreſs prepared in Dublin, notwithſtanding the inceſſant efforts of the two agents, who viſited every fort and garriſon, to gain the officers to their party. The juſtices found it neceſſary to take off the embargo. The addreſs was conveyed to the king; who could but expreſs his grief at the diſtreſſes of ſo *eminent and meritorious a body,* and his *thanks for their ſervices and attachment.*

This was not the firſt intimation which Charles had received of the diſtreſſes of his army in Ireland. Sir James Montgomery, Sir Hardreſs Waller, colonel Arthur Hill, and colonel Audley Mervyn, had already attended him at Oxford, with a petition in favour of his Iriſh ſoldiery; and though avowed parliamentarians, and though their application was permitted and directed by the parliament, they were graciouſly received. The preſent petition came from men better affected to his perſon and intereſt, and was attended with ſome uſeful informations relative to

Clarendon.

the governours of Ireland, their principles, their connexions, and procedure.

THIS prince was now unhappily involved in a civil war, deſperately maintained, and of uncertain event. On the firſt operations of this war, each party was convinced of the neceſſity of trying every expedient, and ranſacking every quarter for aſſiſtance. In deſpight of the inveterate averſion againſt popery, which it was faſhionable to expreſs, and which Charles was particularly intereſted to affect, he found it neceſſary, about the time of the engagement at Edge-hill, to accept the ſervices of papiſts, and particularly to arm thoſe of Lancaſhire. The parliament inveighed againſt this impiety: the king recriminated, and accuſed them of employing numbers of the ſame profeſſion *in their army*. The parliament declared their reſolution of *inviting the Scots to aſſiſt againſt the enemies of the proteſtant religion*. *Charles juſtly* dreaded the ſpirit of his northern ſubjects, and ſaw the neceſſity of ſtrengthening himſelf againſt an union ſo formidable. For this purpoſe he ſeems to have turned his eyes to Ireland, with an attention ſtricter than the diſtractions of England had hitherto admitted. The inſurrections of that kingdom had proved of moſt eſſential ſervice to his enemies. Could *they* be allayed, the power with which he had unwarily *inveſted the parliament*, of aſſuming the conduct of the war in *Ireland, would be rendered uſeleſs and void*: they would be deprived of one great popular pretence for raiſing men and money, and an army of royaliſts might in due time be tranſported from Ireland to join the king's ſtandard. Whitelock.

Carte, Ormond, and Letters.

THE profeſſions of the Iriſh inſurgents were not unfavourable to ſuch views. They had repeatedly ſolicited for liberty to lay their grievances before the king, and for a ceſſation of hoſtilities, until their complaints ſhould be heard and decided. They had employed the mediation of the earl of Caſtlehaven without effect: the earl of Clanricarde had warmly recommended their propoſitions to the ſtate; but the lords juſtices were inexorable: they again applied to Ormond, who reſolved to tranſmit their petition to the king. The juſtices, when they found that it could no longer be ſuppreſſed, at length conſented to convey a copy of it to Charles, attended with their own remarks, and an earneſt deſire that it might be rejected, as the granting the requeſt of the petitioners would be "inconſiſtent with the means "of raiſing a conſiderable revenue to the crown, and eſtabliſh-"ing religion and civility in Ireland." The only anſwer they received was that of a ſevere reprimand for their diſreſpect in tranſmitting a copy of the petition, and a peremptory order that they ſhould ſend the original. This occaſioned a delay; ſo that the general aſſembly at Kilkenny once more repeated their application to the throne.

It can ſcarcely be doubted, but that from theſe overtures the king derived ſome hopes of compoſing the diſſenſions of Ireland, and drawing ſome aſſiſtance from this kingdom. Nothing, indeed, could be more unpopular than any act of indulgence to the Iriſh inſurgents. They were the avowed defenders of popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, objects of abhorrence to the popular party, and ſuch as the king neceſſarily profeſſed to regard with abhorrence. Yet the urgent neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to attend to every argument in favour of theſe obnoxious rebels. He conſidered their repeated applications for peace, and permiſſion to explain their grievances; the ruin with which Ireland was threatened; the neglect of this kingdom which the parliament had diſcovered; his own inability to protect his Iriſh proteſtant ſubjects; and the encreaſing ſtrength of the rebels. He ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould not receive the propoſitions of the Iriſh, as he had formerly condeſcended to the Scots, and was ſtill ready to treat with his Engliſh rebels. Thus reconciled to a meaſure which promiſed ſome advantage, Charles iſſued a commiſſion under the great ſeal of England, to the marquis

Carte, Ormond and Letters.

marquis of Ormond, the earl of Clanricarde, earl of Roſcommon, viſcount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Euſtace, and Thomas Burke, eſquire, to meet the principal recuſants, to receive, and to tranſmit their propoſitions.

Such a manifeſt overture to peace was provoking to the juſtices, and alarming to Goodwin and Reynolds, the committee of parliament, (as they were called.) Parſons doubted whether he ſhould not ſtop the execution of this commiſſion. Burke, who conveyed it into Ireland, was ſaid to be a fomenter of rebellion, and a known agent of the rebels. The committee flew through the army and the inhabitants of Dublin, ſoliciting them to ſign a remonſtrance againſt the commiſſion, but with little ſucceſs. The king was informed of their proceedings; and, encouraged by the apparent proſperity of his affairs, reſolved to purſue his ſchemes in Ireland with greater vigour. He wrote to the lords juſtices in terms of great ſeverity, commanding that Goodwin and Reynolds ſhould be removed from the privy council. He ſoon after tranſmitted his warrants to the juſtices and Ormond, for ſecuring their perſons, and committing them to cloſe cuſtody. But theſe agents had already fled from the kingdom in confuſion and diſgrace. It is natural to expect, that Charles ſhould, in the next place, remove the preſent lords juſtices, and commit the government of Ireland to ſome perſon of approved attachment. He, indeed, propoſed to create the marquis of Ormond lord lieutenant, leaving it, however, to his own choice, either to accept or decline this ſtation. Whether Ormond diſcovered ſome marks of irreſolution in this propoſal; whether he imagined, that in his preſent character he could ſerve the king more effectually, and with greater ſecurity to himſelf; or whatever were his motives, he humbly adviſed his majeſty to "delay the ſending him an authority to take that "charge upon him;" and proceeded to the treaty with the Iriſh inſurgents. Carte. Lett.

Carte. Orm.

In conjunction with the other commiſſioners, he ſent a ſummons to the lords Gormanſton, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and ſeven others, who had ſigned the petition to the king, requiring them to ſend their agents to Drogheda, where the commiſſioners would be ready, on a day appointed, to receive their propoſitions, in order to tranſmit them to his majeſty. The Iriſh were conſiderably elated by their preſent advantages. Their general, Preſton, had taken ſeveral places of ſtrength, and though, in an encounter with Monk, his party was defeated, yet he ſtill extended his petty conqueſts. In moſt diſtricts the inſurgents were ſuperior, and exulted in the diſtreſſes of the royal forces. Their vanity and inexperience magnified this ſuperiority, and their clergy, of all others the moſt vain and inexperienced, encouraged and enflamed their inſolence. The commiſſioners, apprehending the preſumption of this order, required that the committee to be ſent to Drogheda ſhould conſiſt entirely of laymen. They limited their number to thirty, and demanded that they ſhould be ready at the place of meeting to receive the commiſſioners, with due reſpect to the king's authority. But what was ſtill more offenſive, in the ſafe-conduct granted by the juſtices to their committee, the recuſants were ſtyled *actors or abettors in an* ODIOUS REBELLION.

Carte, Letters, vol. III. No. cxxxii.

An anſwer was inſtantly returned by the ſupreme council, in the firſt violence of pride and indignation. They expreſſed their ſurprize, that a commiſſion founded on an application made by the catholics, in the month of Auguſt, ſhould be unaccountably concealed until the ſucceeding month of February. They declared it neceſſary for them to a have view, or copy of this commiſſion. They reſented the indignity of preſcribing a mode of demeanour to their agents, as if they were to be informed of the reſpect due to the king. But, above all things, they diſdained the offenſive appellations inſerted in the ſafe-conduct, and inſerted by the juſtices, (as they affected to ſuppoſe) without

out *authority*; and declared their firm and unanimous reſolution to abandon all thought of accommodation, until the odious and unmerited imputation of REBELLION ſhould be retracted. In this caſe, they profeſſed themſelves ready to concur in every pacific meaſure, provided they were not reſtrained in the number and quality of their agents, and that an indifferent and ſecure place be aſſigned for their meeting, as they had melancholy experience of the danger of relying on a proclamation, much more on any ſafe-conduct granted by the lords juſtices. "If "theſe our juſt and reaſonable demands," ſay they, "ſhall be "denied to us, we muſt again employ ſome zealous and well-"minded man, who in behalf of juſtice, dare hazard the "RACK, by whom we may addreſs our humble requeſts to the "*fountain of juſtice, his ſacred majeſty*, whoſe moſt faithful and "moſt humble ſubjects we are *."

Carte. Orm.

THE commiſſioners heſitated whether they ſhould take any notice of this letter, or proceed any farther in their negociations with men of ſuch a ſpirit. Their zeal for accompliſhing a treaty eſſential to the king's intereſt at length prevailed; they condeſcended not only to return an anſwer, but to encloſe a copy of their commiſſion. In this, the king expreſſed "his extreme "*indignation at the odious* REBELLION, which the recuſants of "*Ireland had, without ground or colour*, raiſed againſt his "perſon, crown, and dignity." So that, as it now appeared, the juſtices had but copied his majeſty's expreſſions. At the ſame time, the earl of Caſtlehaven laboured to inſpire his aſſociates at Kilkenny with greater moderation. At his inſtances they wrote in humbler terms to the commiſſioners, expreſſing their ſolicitude, that his majeſty's gracious intentions towards them ſhould not be fruſtrated, and their readineſs to obey his royal commands, in diſpoſal of their men and arms, with ſuch zeal as ſhould prove them NO ACTORS OR ABETTORS IN AN ODIOUS REBELLION, expreſſions, which, they ſtill inſiſted, ſhould not be uſed in any inſtrument addreſſed to them. The ſecond letter of the commiſſioners brought them to a ſtill more tractable diſpoſition. They now contented themſelves, with zealous proteſtations of their loyalty, and the integrity of their intentions. And thus, by pliancy on each ſide, and the efforts of men of temper and moderation, it was at length agreed, that ſix agents of the ſupreme council, all laymen, ſhould be authoriſed to attend the king's commiſſioners at TRIM, on the ſeventeenth day of March. A.D. 1642-3.

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* Signed, MOUNTGARRET. HUGO ARDMACHANUS. GORMANSTON. JOHANNES CLONFERTENSIS. NICHOLAS PLUNKET. RICHARD BEALING. PATRICK DARCY. GERRALDE FENNEL. GEORGE COMIN. GEFFERY BROWNE.

IT had been propoſed in the *privy council, that a ceſſation of* arms ſhould take place during the negociation. But this the lords juſtices peremptorily oppoſed: and they, who againſt all the inſtances of military men, had ſo long kept the ſoldiery in a ſtate of inaction, now, at length, found it neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the forces, to employ them in an expedition which might retard, or defeat the treaty with the Iriſh. Their deſign was to reduce the towns of Roſs and Wexford, an enterprize which Ormond had earneſtly recommended before the arrival of Preſton, but which government had as earneſtly oppoſed, on the frivolous pretence of reſerving the honour of it for the lord lieutenant, whoſe arrival was expected, but who was detained in England by the king's command. The juſtices now reſolved to employ lord Liſle; and great preparations were made, and unuſual efforts exerted to ſupport him in his expedition. Ormond ſuſpecting ſome concealed purpoſe in this appointment of a general, ſignified to the lords juſtices, that, as he was particularly entruſted with the army, he deemed it his indiſpenſable duty to take upon himſelf the command of this expedition. In a moment, their zeal was cold; the army was ready to march; there was no pretence for ſuſpending the expedition; the command could not be denied to the marquis; they ſuffered him to proceed; but with-held the proviſions neceſſary to his ſucceſs.

IN his progreſs, he drove the rebels from ſeveral of thoſe places they had occupied; and relying on the arrival of the ſtores which the lord juſtices engaged to ſend by ſea to Duncannon, he formed the ſiege of Roſs. No ſtores arrived: the enemy could not be prevented from throwing two thouſand men into the town: his forces were expoſed to the ſeverity of a dreary ſeaſon, and threatened with famine. The governour of Duncannon afforded him a ſmall ſupply of bread and ammunition, which encouraged him to attempt the town by ſtorm, conſcious that he could not continue to inveſt it for any time. A breach was made, the aſſault given, the garriſon was numerous and well ſupplied; they repelled their aſſailants with ſome ſlaughter. Ormond had a ſcanty proviſion of three days for his army, at a diſtance of ſixty miles from the capital: a ſudden retreat was the only meaſure to be purſued. But now, Preſton with ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred and fifty horſe, occupied a defile through which he muſt of neceſſity paſs in his return to Dublin. Carte. Orm.

NOTHING more was neceſſary to complete the ruin of the Engliſh forces, but that Preſton ſhould continue to occupy this impregnable ſtation. His enemy was reduced to the miſerable alternative of periſhing by famine, or marching to a deſperate and hopeleſs attack. In the moment when the gallant marquis was thus on the point of falling, by the neglect or treachery of the juſtices, Preſton happily reſcued him from deſtruction. With a precipitation unpardonable in a ſoldier, he ruſhed forward into the plain, in full confidence of an eaſy victory, over an inferiour enemy, enfeebled by their wants. Ormond eagerly ſeized the advantage. His charge was ſpirited and ſkilful. The Caſtlehaven's Mem. Carte. Orm.

Iriſh horſe was at once thrown into confuſion by his artillery: their foot, without any conſiderable reſiſtance, fled, one diviſion after another, and, though they attempted to rally, were preſſed ſo vigorouſly, that their rout was ſpeedily completed. Five hundred of the Iriſh were loſt in this engagement, and all their baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

Carte. Orm.

The Leinſter rebels muſt have been entirely deſtroyed, had the marquis been enabled to continue the purſuit, by ſome troops of horſe. But the whole Engliſh cavalry, having routed that of the rebels, rode off, without returning to the field; an incident which raiſed ſuſpicion of ſome ſiniſter motive in lord Liſle, their leader. The only advantage, therefore, which Ormond derived from his ſucceſs, was that of purſuing his march to Dublin, and not without apprehenſions of being harraſſed by the enemy, whoſe loſs was not conſiderable, and who might ſoon recover from their conſternation. But as Preſton, in his flight and terrour, had broken down the bridge over the river Barrow, he could not lead his forces back to annoy the enemy, nor prevent them from ranging freely over the country to ſupply their neceſſities. The marquis, fired with indignation and reſentment, returned to the capital, which was now a ſcene of calamity and diſcontent. The inhabitants were exhauſted and oppreſſed by the maintenance of the ſoldiers: the ſoldiers, exaſperated by their diſtreſſes, repeatedly amuſed by aſſurances of relief, and repeatedly diſappointed, were turbulent and mutinous. Strangers were expelled from the city; thouſands of deſpoiled Engliſh, whoſe very ſubſiſtence became an intolerable burden, were tranſported into their own country. Merchants were rifled and deſpoiled of their commodities, to ſupply the neceſſities of the ſtate. Such wretched expedients ſtill proved inſufficient, and the army was ſtill diſtreſſed and clamourous.

In the mean time, four of the king's commiſſioners met the agents of the confederate catholics at Trim, and received their remonſtrance of grievances and petition for redreſs. In this inſtrument they made a ſolemn proteſtation of their loyalty, pleaded their former merits, in granting extraordinary ſubſidies to the king, and apologized for their preſent inſurrection, or rather pleaded a neceſſity for taking arms, from the oppreſſions they had long endured, from the diſqualifications and ſeverities of the penal ſtatutes of the ſecond year of queen Elizabeth, (which they repreſented as entirely unnoticed and unknown, until revived by their enemies, as an inſtrument of perſecution,) from the denunciations of the malignant party in England againſt their religion, and the cruelties exerciſed on their eccleſiaſtics. *Nor did they forget the ordinance againſt* bowing at the name of *Jeſus, at which they affected the utmoſt* horrour and amazement. The offenſive conduct of the lords juſtices, before and ſince the firſt diſcovery of the inſurrection, was fully ſtated; their devices for exaſperating the old natives and perpetuating the war, their arbitrary and cruel meaſures for defeating every attempt of the catholics to convey their grievances to the throne. They charged them with horrid perfidy and barbarity, *with tyrannical* proceedings in the court of wards, iniquitous *meaſures for avoiding letters* patent, and depriving the loyal ſubjects of *their juſt poſſeſſions*. They inveighed with particular warmth againſt the acts lately paſſed in England in favour of adventurers, whereby they were declared rebels, unſummoned and unheard, and deſpoiled of their lands, without exception, diſtinction, or any poſſibility of relief. Theſe acts they repreſented as forced on the king, to the great prejudice of his rights and prerogatives, ſubverſive of the fundamental laws of Ireland, and inconſiſtent with the rights and privileges of Iriſh ſubjects: who, from the time of Henry the Second, had parliaments of their own, and by right were to be bound, only by acts framed

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or accepted in theſe aſſemblies.—To remedy theſe grievances, they propoſed, that inſtead of the preſent Iriſh parliament, chiefly compoſed of the creatures and menial dependents of the chief governours, the king would be pleaſed to appoint a free parliament, to be convened at ſome indifferent place, before ſome perſon of approved loyalty, and acceptable to the people of Ireland, to deliberate without controul, by a ſuſpenſion of the LAW OF POYNINGS; and that no catholics be, on any account, excluded from ſitting and voting in this parliament.

Cox. Append. No. iv.

IN oppoſition to this remonſtrance, which Ormond tranſmitted to the king, the lords juſtices, in a long declamatory letter, laboured to diſſuade him from any accommodation with the Iriſh. They recalled to view the inſolences and cruelties of the firſt rebellion, and the futility of the pretences urged in its juſtification. As the old Engliſh affected to ſtand diſtinguiſhed from the Northerns, they affected to confound and involve both in the ſame guilt. They obſerved, and not without reaſon, that the aſſembly at Kilkenny had oppoſed the royal authority by erecting a new ſyſtem of government, and diſclaimed it by their oath of aſſociation, and by addreſſing themſelves to foreign powers. They acknowledged their own want of every means to ſupport a war: but, if ſupplied in due time, they doubted not to "take ample vengeance on the rebels, to "reduce them to ſuch a ſtate, as they ſhould not eaſily relapſe "into their commotions, and to find a way to a peace which "ſhould not be attended with a lingering ruin, but be ſuitable "to his majeſty's greatneſs, and eſtabliſh the future ſafety and "happineſs of his poſterity, and of the kingdom."

Carte. Orm.

ORMOND conſidered the propoſitions of the confederates as totally inadmiſſible: at the ſame time, he condemned the repreſentations of the lords juſtices, as tending to countenance a ſcheme of extirpation, iniquitous in the attempt, and impoſſible to be executed. The zeal of each party, thoſe who favoured, and thoſe who oppoſed an accommodation, grew gradually violent. Ormond, the head and patron of the royaliſts, accuſed the juſtices of concealing the true ſtate of Ireland from the king, and inſiſted on acquainting him with the whole detail of diſtreſs endured by his ſubjects of this kingdom. The lords juſtices, although they pathetically lamented their preſſing difficulties to the Engliſh parliament, yet were induſtrious to ſuppreſs all clamour and complaints at home, which might be pleaded in favour of an accommodation with the rebels. When the officers of the army petitioned the Iriſh parliament, repreſenting their ſufferings, and the iniquities of ſome agents, who, in the wretched dividends occaſionally made for their ſupport, had defrauded them by light and adulterated coin; they even recurred to the odious method of a ſudden prorogation, to prevent the examination of their cauſe. To expreſs their contempt and defiance of the rebels, they ordered ſome priſoners taken in battle, to be immediately executed by martial law. Several perſons of diſtinction, who, on ſubmitting, in conſequence of the royal proclamation, were rigorouſly confined in the caſtle of Dublin, had petitioned, and now repeated their application to be admitted to bail; but this the juſtices obſtinately refuſed. They had exerted themſelves ſo vigourouſly, that indictments of treaſon were found againſt theſe, and above a thouſand more, in the ſpace of two days; and, with a ſhameleſs outrage on decency, a memorial was publicly read at the council board, from a friend of Sir William Parſons, repreſenting his merits in expending ſums of money, for procuring witneſſes on theſe indictments.

Men of ſuch a temper were evidently unfit to be entruſted with government: and the ſituation of the king's affairs, which every day became more critical, made it neceſſary for him to ſmooth the way to ſuch a treaty, as might enable him to draw ſome aſſiſtance from Ireland. Any violent change, however, in Iriſh adminiſtration, might raiſe a clamour among his enemies in England; he, therefore, contented himſelf, for the preſent, with removing Parſons. Borlaſe, as in himſelf harmleſs and inſignificant, was continued in the government, and Sir Henry Tichburne appointed for his new colleague, a man of unexceptionable character, and zealouſly devoted to the king's ſervice. At the ſame time, Charles, with a caution now unneceſſary, commanded the Iriſh privy-council, not to execute any warrant, nor to pay obedience to any orders, without his own ſpecial allowance and approbation.

THIS change of government was ſoon followed by an order *to the marquis of Ormond, to treat about a temporary ceſſation of* arms with the rebels; *as a treaty of final peace, upon moderate* and equitable terms, required *more time than the king's affairs* and the neceſſities of Ireland could allow. And whatever were the primary motives of the king, involved as he was in a deſperate civil war, which obliged him to ſeek reſources from every quarter; yet, the melancholy plea of neceſſity never could be urged with greater force than on the preſent occaſion.

DUBLIN, from whence all Leinſter and Connaught were to be ſupplied, as well as Derry and Colerain, had long ſince been reduced to the moſt miſerable extremities; the inhabitants plundered to ſupply the ſoldiery; the ſoldiery impatient of their diſtreſſes; the officers repeatedly threatening to recur to the firſt principle of nature, that of ſelf-preſervation. The province of Connaught was reduced to almoſt total deſperation. The integrity and activity of the earl of Clanricarde had the virulence of the Roman clergy to encounter, (who denounced all their terrours againſt thoſe who ſhould refuſe the oath of aſſociation) as well as the practices of thoſe Engliſh officers who were devoted to the parliament. The rebels every day encreaſed in ſtrength: they became maſters of the important fort of Galway,

way, and prepared to reduce thoſe caſtles of the county of Roſcommon, which (with Clanricarde's towns of Loughrea and Portumna) were all that held out in the weſtern province. In Munſter, lord Inchiquin, unaſſiſted by the ſtate, and abandoned by the Engliſh parliament, tried every miſerable expedient for the relief of his ſoldiers, and was ſtill on the point of total ruin. To preſerve his forces from famiſhing, he was obliged to draw them from their garriſons, and to divide them into parties, to range over the country for ſubſiſtence. To encreaſe his calamity and conſternation, one of thoſe parties, commanded by Sir Charles Vavaſor, an Engliſh officer, was attacked and defeated by the rebels, under the conduct of Caſtlehaven and *Muſkerry*; his cannon, baggage, and ſeven hundred arms, taken, and ſix hundred of his men ſlain on the field of battle. In Ulſter, the Britiſh power ſeemed moſt predominant. Yet, Monroe, for a while ſupplied from Scotland and England, at length found himſelf deſerted by both; and, to ſupport his troops, was obliged to rouſe them from their inactivity. He attempted to ſurpriſe Owen O'Nial in his quarters, but was foiled, and forced to retire with ſome loſs: and though this rebel-general was defeated by Sir Robert Stewart, yet he ſoon recruited his forces, received a ſupply of arms and ammunition from the ſupreme council, and extended his excurſions, unmoleſted by an enemy weakened and diſpirited by their diſtreſſes.

The new lords juſtices and council had a deep ſenſe of this miſery to which the ſeveral provinces were reduced. They applied by letters, they diſpatched their agents, to the Engliſh parliament for relief; yet without any conſiderable effect. As the laſt effort to keep the army from diſbanding or periſhing, they recurred to an expedient, of which the commons of England had already ſet the example; and, without conſulting, or receiving any warrant from the king, eſtabliſhed an EXCISE.

But,

But, although this obnoxious tax amounted to half the value of the commodity, yet, ſuch was the poverty of the kingdom, that the money thus raiſed, proved utterly inadequate to the neceſſities of the ſtate.

In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, Ormond thought himſelf fully juſtified in proceeding to a treaty with the confederate Iriſh, agreeably to the king's commands. The affair was delicate, and required addreſs and caution. For the honour of his royal maſter it was neceſſary, that the firſt overture for a ceſſation ſhould be made by the rebels: and, for this, his agents were employed to confer with the aſſembly at Kilkenny. The Iriſh clergy, who derived their extravagant hopes of power, riches, and ſplendour, from the confuſions of the kingdom, were averſe from every meaſure tending to reſtore the public peace. But theſe men and their partizans were, as yet, borne down by the more intelligent and temperate of their party. They conſidered, that to decline a ceſſation, would be to refute all their ſpecious profeſſions of loyalty, and their pretences of a neceſſity for taking arms. They had formerly expreſſed their earneſt wiſhes that hoſtilities ſhould be ſuſpended, that they might repreſent their grievances, and prepare a way for the ſettlement of a diſtracted kingdom: and the majority of the aſſembly now determined to act conſiſtently. They agreed to a ceſſation of twelve months, on certain conditions to be propoſed by their agents to the marquis of Ormond.

As a preliminary to their conference, it was expected on the part of the Iriſh, that they ſhould have a new and free parliament. The legality of the preſent was diſputed; and, altered as it was ſo eſſentially, ſince its firſt convention, it ſeemed not well calculated for the important work of peace. On the other hand it was highly dangerous to ſummon a new parliament, while the confederate Iriſh were maſters of moſt great towns and counties, had the elections abſolutely in their power, and thus might make laws, and decide upon their own actions. Ormond, therefore, deemed it neceſſary to declare, that he had no aſſurances from the king, that a new parliament ſhould be convened, but that in this point the confederates muſt rely entirely upon ſuch favour as his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to grant, upon humble and ſeaſonable propoſitions offered by their agents. He demanded as a preliminary, on his part, that if the ceſſation took place, the confederates ſhould contribute in ſome reaſonable proportion, to the maintenance of the king's forces in Ireland. After ſome debate and delay, they not only conſented to recede from their expectations of a new parliament, but agreed in general, to the propoſition of a ſupply, leaving the particular ſum to be aſcertained by their agents; who were now commiſſioned to attend the marquis, at ſuch time and place as he ſhould appoint, in order to conclude the treaty of ceſſation.

Ormond was ſenſible how odious this treaty muſt prove to the parliamentarians of England; how ſeverely his conduct would be ſcrutinized by their partizans in Dublin; how neceſſary it was for him to guard his reputation from the reproach of enemies who held their ſecret correſpondence with the neighbouring kingdom; whoſe repreſentations would be received with favour, and propagated with zeal. He applied to the privy-council; he moved, that if the members of this board judged a ceſſation to be diſhonourable to the king, or dangerous to his proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, they ſhould ſignify it to his majeſty, and propoſe ſome other way for the preſervation of the kingdom; in which caſe, he engaged to proceed no farther, but at his own peril to break off the treaty of ceſſation. When no other way could be propoſed, he then moved, that if ten thouſand pounds might be raiſed, one half in money, the other in victuals, he would continue the war, and endeavour to reduce Wexford. The magiſtrates and citizens of Dublin pronounced it impoſſible to raiſe ſuch a ſupply. The marquis, therefore, proceeded to meet the Iriſh agents at Caſtle-Martyn, in the county of Kildare.

He received them with a ſtately dignity; and examined their propoſitions with the freedom of a ſuperiour. They demanded, in the name of the confederates, that the exerciſe of their government ſhould continue during the ceſſation; they required that a free parliament ſhould be convened: the marquis rejected theſe demands. They deſired to be at liberty to uſe hoſtilities againſt the king's enemies; and that a way might be preſcribed to diſtinguiſh between the royal party, and that of the malignants. To theſe particulars he declined any explicit anſwer. To ſome of their propoſitions he conſented, with ſome qualification or reſtriction: *but, above all things, he demanded a ſupply for maintenance of the king's forces, previous to the ceſſation.* They obſerved, that this demand was not warranted by the king's commiſſion; they refuſed to bind themſelves by any previous ſtipulation, but declared their intentions to grant his majeſty a free gift, on concluſion of the truce.

Ormond ſuppoſed that their preſent confidence aroſe from the proſperous ſituation of their armies, and particularly from the ſucceſsful progreſs of Preſton, who had re-aſſembled his troops, taken ſeveral places, and over-run the province of Leinſter. Any advantage gained by the king's forces muſt abate their pride: he, therefore, determined to ſuſpend his negociations; and, if poſſible, to force Preſton to an engagement. This general cautiouſly retired before him: Ormond was not ſufficiently provided to purſue him: the dread of famine ſoon forced him to lead his army back to Dublin; abundantly convinced by this experiment, that the army and the proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland were to be reſcued from deſtruction only by a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

The king was impatient for this event. It was not only the ill-ſucceſs of the treaty at Oxford, it was not only the various events of war, in which he was exhauſted, equally by his victories and defeats, that now determined him to ſeek reſources in Ireland. Scotland had diſcovered a turbulent and dangerous ſpirit. The practices and negociations of the Engliſh parliament with their brethren of the North, had produced extraordinary commotions; and Charles expected the irruption of a Scottiſh army to aſſiſt his enemies. He renewed his orders and inſtructions for a ceſſation: he now deemed it neceſſary to ſhew ſome condeſcenſion to the Iriſh confederates: he expreſſed an *inclination to call a new parliament in Ireland, and to permit their agents to treat with him on this buſineſs, and whatever elſe might conduce to a juſt, honourable, and perfect peace.* To terrify and confound all oppoſition to his favourite ſcheme, Parſons, Temple, Loftus, Meredyth, the great partizans of Engliſh parliament, were accuſed of high crimes and miſdemeanours, and, by his order, committed to cloſe cuſtody. A commiſſion paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, empowering the marquis of Ormond to treat for a ceſſation of arms for one year, on ſuch terms as he ſhould judge neceſſary, to conclude *or break off the treaty as he ſhould ſee cauſe; with an indemnification to him, and all who ſhould aſſiſt him, from all trouble or damage on account of this tranſaction.*

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Ormond was now to renew his treaty, with men naturally proud, tranſported by good fortune, and in the full career of ſucceſs. Lord Caſtlehaven had taken ſeveral forts in the Queen's county, and that of Carlow. Owen O'Nial had advanced to Weſt-Meath; Preſton extended his irruptions almoſt to the capital; and both were buſily employed in ſecuring the harveſt, and filling their magazines. The king's forces grew ſo mutinous and diſorderly from their diſtreſſes, that the country-people who uſed to live under their protection, now fled from their outrages. Drogheda, Dundalk, and other neighbouring garriſons, were ready to be abandoned through want. Monroe refuſed to act againſt O'Nial: Monck and lord Moore were ſent to oppoſe him. Moore was killed in a fruitleſs attack; Monck was forced to return to Dublin, for want of bread; and Caſtlehaven took all the places he had abandoned. In the remoter provinces the Iriſh enjoyed the ſame ſuperiority; and, in Munſter particularly, the diſtreſſes of lord Inchiquin were extreme.

The aſſembly of Kilkenny were not inſenſible to the advantages of their cauſe. Peter Scaramp, a father of the congregation of the oratory, appeared in this city, as miniſter from the pope. He had brought ſupplies of money and ammunition to the rebels; letters from the holy ſee to the ſupreme council, the provincial generals, and the Romiſh prelates, and above all, a bull granting a general jubilee, and plenary abſolution to thoſe who had taken arms for the catholic religion. The old Iriſh crowded round him with peculiar attachment: he taught them to regard their countrymen of the Engliſh race as impious temporizers, and betrayers of the faith, to look with horrour on any treaty in which was no expreſs ſtipulation for the free, public, and ſplendid exerciſe of the Romiſh worſhip; he inſiſted on the flouriſhing ſtate of their affairs, the diſtreſſes of the Engliſh, the proſpect of their final ruin, the certain aſſurance of ſupport from foreign powers, if the confederates ſhould perſevere, and not betray their glorious cauſe in a juncture ſo critical: he remonſtrated againſt ſupplying the king with money to be employed againſt themſelves. As if the very being of their confederacy did not depend on a continuance of the diſorders in England, as if they and their claims could find the leaſt regard, ſhould the king be ſubdued by the parliament, this ignorant prieſt ſpirited up his partizans to move that the treaty of ceſſation ſhould be deferred until the pope had been conſulted, and had given his directions in an affair of ſuch moment to religion.

BUT the more ſenſible and moderate of the catholic party, were by no means diſpoſed to pay implicit obedience to this miniſter. They urged the dangers of delay; the ſcandal of refuting their own pacific declarations and profeſſions of loyalty; the propriety and neceſſity of ſupporting the king. They juſtified a ſupply, which would be amply compenſated by ſaving the country from plunder; they contended for a ceſſation, which would relieve a harraſſed kingdom from numbers of deſperate troops, and particularly of the rapacious Scots. The earl of Clanricarde was earneſt in remonſtrances to his friends and kinſmen, not to reject this favourable opportunity of ſaving themſelves and their country: lord Caſtlehaven was indefatigable in inſpiring his aſſociates with ſentiments of moderation and peace: and the inſtances of ſuch men proved at length ſucceſsful.

AFTER much conteſt and delay, it was at length reſolved, that the agents of the confederacy ſhould treat with the marquis of Ormond at Sigginſtown, near Naas. They appeared moderate and complying, and, particularly, receded from the demand of an immediate diſſolution of parliament. Yet the treaty was neceſſarily protracted, by the difficulties which aroſe about ſettling the quarters of both parties during the ceſſation. When this point was at length adjuſted, the Iriſh agreed to grant the king thirty thouſand pounds, one half in money, to be paid at ſeveral periods, the other in cattle. When the articles had been finally adjuſted, Ormond communicated them, in form, to the lords Clanricarde, Roſcommon, Dungarvan, Brabazon, and Inchiquin, ſome privy counſellors, and principal officers of the army, who had all attended and aſſiſted in the treaty. They ſubſcribed a declaration, that, conſidering the circumſtances of the kingdom, they conceived it neceſſary for

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his majeſty's honour and ſervice, that the ceſſation ſhould be finally concluded, on the articles now laid before them. On the fifteenth day of September, the treaty was ſigned by the marquis and the Iriſh commiſſioners. It received the ratification of the juſtices and council; and was notified by a public proclamation to the whole kingdom.

SUCH was the concluſion of this treaty, which, however juſtified by the neceſſities and diſtreſſes of the king's affairs in Ireland, was yet received with diſcontent and clamour, in this, and in the neighbouring kingdom. That party of the Iriſh confederates who had oppoſed the ceſſation, affected to lament the obſtinate blindneſs of their aſſociates, who, by an unſeaſonable and injudicious truce, had firſt broken their power and union, ſtopped the current of their victories, and allayed their ardour for war. Thoſe of the proteſtants who were moſt deeply impreſſed with a horrour of popiſh barbarity, diſdained to ſee the men whoſe hands yet reeked with the blood of their brethren, left to enjoy the fruits of their inhuman outrages. They, whoſe imaginations had been long poſſeſſed with the proſpect of forfeitures, were impatient to find their hopes ſuſpended, if not totally fruſtrated.

BUT the Engliſh parliament, above all others, were provoked at an event, which deprived them of a popular pretence for raiſing money to ſupport their own conteſt, and was purpoſedly contrived to give aſſiſtance to their adverſary. From the very moment that they firſt received an intimation of the intended treaty, the marquis of Ormond became the object of their reſentment. They who had declared to the Iriſh agents, ſent to ſolicit relief, that if five hundred pounds might ſave their kingdom, it could not be ſpared, now affected the utmoſt commiſeration for their proteſtant brethren of Ireland. New ſchemes of raiſing money for the Iriſh ſervice were deviſed; and the utmoſt indignation expreſſed by parliament, that the diſtreſſes of this *kingdom ſhould* be imputed to their neglect. Before they had been certainly informed of the concluſion of a treaty, they iſſued a ſolemn declaration againſt a deſign ſo impious. In this, they aſcribe the diſorders of both kingdoms to one cauſe, the *influence* of jeſuitical practices, and a horrid ſcheme of deſtroying the proteſtant religion. They *magnify their zeal for* the ſervice of Ireland, and *aſſume the merit of* every advantage gained againſt the rebels. "God hath been pleaſed," ſay they, "to bleſs our endeavours with ſuch ſucceſs, as that thoſe furious "blood-thirſty papiſts have been ſtopped in the career of their "cruelty; ſome part of the proteſtant blood, which, at firſt, "was ſpilt like water upon the ground, hath been revenged; "*their maſſacres, burnings, and famiſhings, have, by a divine* "*retaliation, been repaid into their boſom.*" They impute the deſign of a *ceſſation to the artifice of the rebels,* who were in a far worſe condition than the proteſtants, reduced by "the re"markable judgment of God," even to feed one upon another; and who laboured a treaty of ceſſation, in order to gain ſome reſpite for reaping the harveſt, and receiving their expected ſupplies without moleſtation. They acknowledge their apprehenſions of the king's deriving ſome aſſiſtance from ſuch a treaty, or, *to uſe their own* language, of the Iriſh forces uniting with the *popiſh party of England.* They complain, that the lords and commons, to whom the care of Ireland had been committed, had not been conſulted on this intended treaty. To the rumours of ſuch a treaty, they boldly impute thoſe diſtreſſes of the proteſtant army, pleaded as a pretext for the ceſſation; rumours, which had diſcouraged adventurers, and ſtopped contributions: they, therefore, pathetically call on all thoſe who are well affected to the proteſtant religion, thoſe who, by their adventures, have embarked their particular intereſts in the public ſervice of Ireland, to obviate this plea of neceſſity, by their liberal contributions, as "the cry of much proteſtant blood, the great in-

Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 555.

"digence of many ruined families, and the danger of their religion, almoſt exiled out of Ireland, call for this laſt act of piety, charity, juſtice, and policy."

THE falſehoods by which this declaration is diſgraced are indeed flagrant, but, poſſibly, not altogether intentional. It is certain, that the great partizans of the parliament in Dublin, were, about this time, detected in tranſmitting the moſt ſcandalous miſrepreſentations of the ſtate of Iriſh affairs. The people of England, in general, had neither leiſure nor diſpoſition to enquire accurately into the circumſtances and tranſactions of Ireland. The barbarities of the rebels ſeem to have poſſeſſed them with an indiſcriminate averſion to the whole kingdom, and enflamed their deteſtation of popery. They knew not the *ſtrength* of the popiſh party in Ireland; and when a *great* and *formidable* majority of inhabitants were treated by a *feeble government* with any degree of moderation, they were ſcandalized at the condeſcenſions ſhewn to impious and barbarous idolaters. Several of the king's adherents aſcribed the ceſſation to the counſels of the queen and her favourites. Some regarded it as a contradiction to thoſe ſolemn proteſtations, which Charles had repeatedly made againſt popery; and declared, that after this fatal diſcovery of his real ſentiments, they could no longer continue to ſupport his cauſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Forces ſent from Ireland to the aſſiſtance of the king.—Their ill ſucceſs.—Ormond created lord lieutenant.—His embarraſſments from the Scots, and from the Iriſh.—Adventures and undertakings of Antrim.—He is created a marquis, and commiſſioned to raiſe forces in Ireland.—His diſappointments.—He takes the oath of aſſociation, and accepts a command from the confederates.—Final iſſue of his negociations.—Attempts of Ormond to break the Iriſh confederacy.—Affairs of Ulſter.—The covenant eagerly taken by the Britiſh forces of this province.—New commiſſion ſent to Monroe.—He ſeizes Belfaſt.—His treaty with the Engliſh forces.—They declare againſt the ceſſation.—Iriſh alarmed.—The command of their forces offered to Ormond.—They demand that he ſhould proclaim the Scots and their adherents rebels.—He evades their demands.—Iriſh treaty at Oxford.—Inſolence of the popiſh agents.—Their final demands.—Extravagant requiſitions of ſome proteſtant agents.—Propoſitions offered by thoſe of the Iriſh privy council.—Charles embarraſſed.—His anſwer to the Iriſh agents.—His ſpeech on their departure.—He transfers the treaty to the marquis of Ormond.—Difficulties of this lord.—Lords Inchinquin and Eſmond revolt to the parliament, and declare againſt the ceſſation.—Ormond commences his treaty.—The propoſitions of the Iriſh and his anſwers. Their proceedings adjourned.—Gradual condeſcenſions of the king, diſagreeable to Ormond.—He offers to reſign his government.—Charles refuſes his offer,—labours to conciliate both the popiſh and proteſtant party in Ireland.—Practices of the confederates in foreign courts.—Their military operations.—Duncannon taken by the Iriſh.—Progreſs of lord Caſtlehaven.—Treaty renewed with Ormond.—Earl of Glamorgan, and the nuncio Rinunccini expected in Ireland.—

Temper and proceedings of the Iriſh clergy.—New demands of the confederates.—Arrival of the earl of Glamorgan.—His commiſſions, and ſecret treaty.—The negociations with Ormond apparently concluded.—The king unhappily defeats his own purpoſes.

Carte, Letters, vol. III. No. clxxiii.

CHARLES avowed that the ceſſation was preparatory to a peace with the Iriſh: at the ſame time, he declared againſt conſenting to any peace, but on terms agreeable to conſcience, honour, and juſtice: yet his preſent ſituation forcibly tempted him to a relaxation of theſe principles, and to accommodate his political conduct to his difficulties and diſtreſſes. A. D. 1643. The Scots, whom, from experience of their temper and reſolution, he juſtly dreaded, were united with their brethren at Weſtminſter, by that formidable bond of confederacy the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. Their forces were preparing for a deſcent on England, to ſupport rebellion, as the royaliſts expreſſed it; but in the bold language of the Northerns, for the help of the LORD, and his ſervants the parliament and their adherents.

THE zealous profeſſions of the confederate catholics of Ireland, as they were now ſtyled, the ſanguine aſſurances of powerful ſupport laviſhed by their agents in England, the vigilance of Ormond in keeping the proteſtant forces of Leinſter firmly attached to the royal cauſe, all contributed to poſſeſs the king with confident expectations of aſſiſtance from an Iriſh army. Ibid. No. clxix. He had directed the marquis of Ormond, that as ſoon as the ceſſation ſhould be concluded, he ſhould ſend over ſuch forces as could be ſpared. Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 471. About two thouſand effective men were choſen from the Leinſter army. Proviſions for their embarkation were made with difficulty. They landed in North Wales; while lord Inchiquin, with equal difficulty, contrived to tranſport ſeveral regiments from Munſter, to the weſt of England. The troops thus deſtined to the king's ſervice were proteſtants; many of them Engliſhmen by birth, who conſidered their return to their native country as a happy eſcape from the calamities they had endured in Ireland: all were bound by a ſolemn oath to defend the proteſtant religion as eſtabliſhed in Borlaſe. the church of England, to maintain the king's perſon and prerogative againſt all his enemies, and particularly the earl of Eſſex and his forces. Yet, ſcarcely had the troops landed in Wales, when the whole country was alarmed with the dreadful intelligence of four thouſand Iriſh rebels, ſtill reeking with the blood of proteſtants, now arrived on the coaſt, and impatient to extend their barbarous fury into England. Sir William Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 471. Brereton, who commanded in theſe quarters for the parliament, was not aſhamed to tranſmit this intelligence to London, at the very time when, by his letters to the officers of theſe troops, he extolled their bravery in defence of the proteſtant religion, and laboured to ſeduce them from their attachment to the king. In London his repreſentation was implicitly received, and induſtriouſly propagated. They who did not think it neceſſary to affect the moſt ghaſtly conſternation, obſerved, with ſcorn, that Whitelocke, p. 75. the Iriſh rebels were now to join the popiſh armies of the king and queen, and in conjunction with theſe aſſociates, to ſettle the religion and liberties of England.

Brereton, as if he believed his own fiction, fled precipitately before the troops of Ireland. They were reinforced by thirteen hundred foot, and one hundred and forty horſe, ſent by the marquis of Ormond. Lord Byron, the general, iſſued from Cheſter, took ſome caſtles, routed Brereton, purſued him to Namptwich, and laid ſiege to the town. But here, after ſome ineffectual efforts, he was attacked and defeated by Sir Thomas Fairfax: almoſt all the principal officers were made priſoners, with twelve hundred private men. All the artillery, baggage, Borlaſe. Carte. and ammunition of the army fell into the hands of the enemy. And the zealous royaliſts had the motification to find, that in the battle, ſome of their men deſerted to Fairfax, notwithſtanding their ſolemn oath; and numbers of the priſoners were perſuaded to take arms for the parliament. Byron, with the remains of his army, retired to Cheſter, where he was ſeaſonably reinforced by ſome additional detachments from Ireland.

Carte, Lett. vol. III. No. cxcii.

IT had been debated whether the marquis of Ormond ſhould not be called to England, to command the Iriſh forces; but the circumſtances of Ireland ſtill ſeemed ſo critical, the management of this kingdom ſo eſſential to the king's intereſts, and the fidelity and authority of the marquis ſo conſpicuous, that it it was not only reſolved that he ſhould continue in his preſent reſidence, but that he ſhould be appointed chief governour, with the more honourable title of Lord Lieutenant.

Carte, vol. I. p. 485.

HE was to enter on this office amidſt a variety of difficulties, ſupported only by that enthuſiaſtic loyalty, by which Ormond was diſtinguiſhed. In the northern province the Scottiſh general, Monroe, diſclaimed the ceſſation. And though, when he had firſt ſlaughtered ſome unoffending Iriſh peaſants, he conſented to wait the orders of the ſtate of Scotland, or parliament of England, before he ſhould proceed to farther acts of hoſtility, yet he ſoon received inſtructions to carry on the war, without regard to the king's chief governour. The Iriſh confederates, who commanded in moſt parts of the other provinces, were ſtill turbulent and factious. The ſubſidies they had engaged to pay were irregularly and ſlowly remitted: they infringed the articles of ceſſation, and committed various outrages: nor were the Engliſh ſufficiently reſtrained from plundering. Orders were iſſued in ſome places, that the Iriſh ſhould hold no intercourſe or traffic with them: thus ſeveral Engliſh garriſons were in danger of being abandoned, from the apprehenſion of famine. Various diſputes aroſe about quarters; ſo that the attention of the chief governour was conſiderably engaged in hearing the accuſations, and compoſing the violences of each party.

Borlaſe. Cox.

What was *ſtill* more alarming, when the king had expoſed himſelf to the odium of ſeeking aſſiſtance from the Iriſh, notwithſtanding all their magnificent promiſes, the Iriſh refuſed to ſend any forces into England; although they promiſed the emiſſaries of France and Spain, that levies ſhould be allowed for the ſervices of their reſpective courts. In vain did the marquis of Ormond repreſent the danger of delay, the duty and the policy of ſending effectual aſſiſtance to the king, before their common enemy ſhould finally prevail, or his majeſty be enabled to regain his authority without their aſſiſtance. The confederates were unalterably poſſeſſed with a notion that the encreaſing diſtreſſes of the king muſt oblige him to purchaſe their aſſiſtance, by conceſſions *ſtill* more liberal and important: ſo that they could not be *prevailed on, even to ſuffer* arms and ammunition to be purchaſed *in their quarters for* the royal ſervice.

Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 474.

In the mean time, Charles was perpetually amuſed with vaſt hopes of aſſiſtance from Ireland, not only againſt his Engliſh enemies, but thoſe of Scotland. The earl of Antrim had eſcaped from the cuſtody of Monroe, paſſed into England, and was received with peculiar favour in the queen's court. The preparations for war in Scotland rouſed his enterprizing genius. He *inſtantly* formed the deſign of raiſing forces in Ireland for the *aſſiſtance of Montroſe againſt the Covenanters.* On his firſt landing to execute this project, he had the misfortune of falling again into the hands of Monroe. After ſome months confinement, (the king having in vain demanded that he ſhould be ſet at liberty) he again contrived to eſcape from the caſtle of Carricfergus; and was conducted to the quarters of Owen O'Nial. A catholic lord, of conſiderable power at the court of England, ſuppoſed to be not at all averſe to the cauſe of the confederates, was received by this general with deference. Hence he proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was treated by the ſupreme council with equal deference. They offered him an honourable

p. 477.

Carte, vol. III. No. clxi.

Vol. I. p. 477.

command in their army, and urged him to take the oath of aſſociation. But as ſuch a ſudden engagement was not ſuited to his projects, he waited on the king, to whom he magnified his intereſt with the confederates, and openly avowed his deſign of being choſen generaliſſimo of the whole popiſh party in Ireland. He ſecretly flattered himſelf with hopes of being advanced to the lieutenancy of this kingdom; and to purchaſe this honour, propoſed to lead ten thouſand Iriſh into England for the king's ſervice, and to detach three thouſand into Scotland againſt Argyle.

Carte, vol. III. No. cclxix. THE ſcheme of raiſing, arming, and maintaining ten thouſand men by the intereſt and authority of a ſingle nobleman, was juſtly regarded as extravagant and hopeleſs: and even the more practicable deſign of ſending three thouſand into Scotland, was not entirely unexceptionable. It was apprehended that ſuch an attempt might call away Monroe and his forces to their own country, at a time when the king's ſervice required that they ſhould be detained in Ulſter, and prevented from bringing any aſſiſtance to the Scots. But it was ſoon found that the Scots could effect their invaſion of England without the help of their aſſociates in Ulſter; which made this caution leſs neceſſary. It was urged, that it muſt even prove highly advantageous to the king's cauſe that Monroe ſhould be forced from Ireland: as in this caſe, the Iriſh, relieved from the apprehenſions of a powerful enemy, would be the better enabled and diſpoſed to ſerve the king: and although the earl of Antrim ſhould not ſucceed to the full extent of his ſanguine expectations, yet ſome good conſequences might attend his practices with the Iriſh; particularly he might contrive to attach numbers among them to the king's cauſe, in caſe of a new rupture. Theſe arguments, aſſiſted by the ſolicitations of the queen, prevailed on Charles to grant him a commiſſion for commanding ſuch forces as he ſhould raiſe. To enliven his zeal, he was promoted to the dignity

No. ccxxxii.

No. ccxlv.

Vol. I. p. 478.

dignity of a marquis, and his ambition was farther flattered with hopes of being created duke of Argyle, if he could ſuppreſs the preſent lord of this name and his adherents. By a letter from the queen he was recommended to the favour and ſupport of Ormond; and thus embarked on his enterprize, attended by Daniel O'Nial, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, who was deemed a perſon fit to adviſe and correct the levity of the new marquis.

Carte, vol. III. No. clxxiii.

Vol. I. p. 479.

He arrived at Kilkenny, and addreſſed himſelf to the ſupreme council, from whom he expected the utmoſt attention and ſupport. His requiſition of ten thouſand men for the ſervice of the king in England they abſolutely rejected. He treated for the purchaſe of arms and ammunition for prince Rupert: the council conſented to ſupply them, but objected to every practicable mode of payment. He demanded three thouſand troops for the Scottiſh ſervice: they replied, that if he would raiſe them from his own northern clan, they would aſſiſt him with ſome arms, ammunition, and proviſions, on condition that a convenient port in Ulſter ſhould be aſſigned for their reception, and be commanded by an officer named by them; a demand which manifeſted their purpoſe of ſecuring the poſſeſſion of ſome northern port; and which Ormond could not grant, yet contrived to evade, without giving any pretence to the Iriſh for denying or ſuſpending their ſupplies.

Vol. III. No. ccxlii.

Antrim was impatient of difficulties and delays; and flattered himſelf, that by forming a ſtricter connection with the confederate Iriſh, he ſhould remove them. At the Engliſh court he had boaſted his vaſt power and conſequence in Ireland; to diſappoint the expectations he had thus raiſed, was intolerably mortifying: at the hazard, therefore, of his own danger, and the utmoſt ſcandal to the king's cauſe, he accepted the oath of aſſociation, by which he became a party with the confederates, was ſworn a member of their ſupreme council, and appointed lieutenant-

Vol. I. p. 480.

lieutenant-general of all their forces; engaging to make uſe of no other commiſſion but theirs, and to tranſport no troops without their conſent. All the confidence of Antrim ſeemed now to revive; but ſerved only to expoſe him to new mortifications. Some Iriſh parties, who affected to act independent of the confederates, he undertook to perſuade from their revolt; but ſoon found it neceſſary to leave them to the arms of lord Caſtlehaven. He entered into a negociation with Monroe, imagining, that he could prevail on this general to ſubmit the Scottiſh forces to his lordſhip's direction: but here again he proved the vanity of his expectations. What was ſtill more alarming, when he had contrived to levy ſome forces among his followers, *the ſupplies promiſed by the confederates were ſtill delayed. When Ormond had, with great difficulty, procured tranſports, the ſhips* of the Engliſh parliament lay ready to intercept them.* At length, however, on the taking of Liverpool by the king's forces, theſe ſhips quitted their ſtations; and all the vaſt projects of the marquis of Antrim ended in tranſporting about two thouſand men to Scotland, long after he had aſſured Montroſe of an immediate and powerful reinforcement.

A. D. 1644. DURING theſe tranſactions, the marquis of Ormond experienced various difficulties in ſupporting and regulating his army, preſerving the public peace, and managing the proud and intractable ſpirits of the Iriſh confederates. His favourite object was, to break their union; and, for this purpoſe, he deſired a power of granting pardons to ſuch particulars as ſhould return to his majeſty's obedience. The demand was diſcovered to the confederates; nor were they inſenſible of its dangerous tendency: yet Ormond was not diſcouraged. He held his correſpondence with ſome of their principal leaders; he flattered their ambition; he hinted, that by zealouſly exerting themſelves in the king's ſervice, they might hereafter be preferred to ſuch places of truſt and honour as ſuited their birth and quality, and enjoy that conſequence in Ireland which their inferiours of Engliſh birth had hitherto obtained. Many conſiderable places were now vacant, which were eagerly ſolicited by various competitors about the court of England. Theſe he recommended to be ſtill kept unfilled; at leaſt, that they ſhould be conferred on moderate Iriſh proteſtants, as the method to which neither party could juſtly except, and the ſafeſt to be purſued for allaying national diſcontents.

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* A remarkable inſtance of barbarity is recorded of Swanly, a commander of one of theſe ſhips. He had taken a tranſport veſſel, with one hundred and fifty men, bound for Briſtol. The Engliſh parliament in their firſt indignation againſt the deſign of engaging Iriſh forces to fight againſt them in England, voted that no quarter ſhould be given to theſe forces, or in the leſs offenſive language of their own reſolution, that "they ſhould be tried by martial law in the place where they ſhould be taken." It was a reſolution which could not be executed, without expoſing their own adherents to the like ſeverity; yet Swanly ſelected ſeventy of his captives, who were of Iriſh birth, and although they had faithfully ſerved the king, yet the mercileſs wretch inſtantly plunged them into the ſea. Carte, Vol. I. p. 481.

Carte, vol. I. p. 483.

But the affairs of Ulſter were of all others the moſt embarraſſing to the chief governour. Owen O'Connoly, now the creature of the Engliſh parliament, had been made bearer of their letters to the Britiſh colonels in this province, recommending to them to diſclaim the ceſſation, and to take the covenant. On theſe conditions, they were aſſured of their arrears, and full proviſions for their future maintenance. Monroe's officers, and thoſe of the old Scottiſh regiments, were all eager for the covenant, and had already ſent to Scotland for a copy of that famous engagement. The Engliſh regiments under the command of Ormond, were better affected to the royal cauſe. But their neceſſities were urgent; and their hopes of relief depended on complying with the orders of parliament. Ormond adviſed their colonels, inſtead of precipitately violating the ceſſation,

tion, at leaſt to imitate the example of Monroe, and to deſire time to conſider, and to receive directions from the ſtate. He urgently repreſented the iniquity of the covenant, and furniſhed them with a proclamation iſſued by the Iriſh government, forbidding all perſons to tender or accept it. But ſuch were their apprehenſions of the Scottiſh general, of the ſpirit of his forces ſo violently inflamed againſt all oppoſers of the covenant, and of the diſpleaſure of the Engliſh parliament, that they refuſed to publiſh this proclamation at the head of their regiments. They contented themſelves with ſecretly perſevering in their attachment to the king; at the ſame time, they returned ſuch anſwers * to the parliament as might conciliate their favour, and procure ſome ſupplies.

Carte, vol. I. p. 488.

ALTHOUGH the forces of Monroe had ruined the eſtates of theſe Engliſh officers, and diſtreſſed them in their quarters, yet, agreeably to their inſtructions, they laboured to detain this army in Ulſter. But when the oppoſition of the marquis of Newcaſtle had alarmed the Scots, orders were diſpatched from Scotland to recall Monroe to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen. The old Scottiſh ſoldiers and inhabitants of the northren

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* They declared a great willingneſs to proſecute the war, with the conſent of the king and parliament. *This Mr. Carte imputes entirely to motives of policy. But he himſelf hath obſerved,* that in their final agreement for carrying on the war, they declared, that in their conſciences they were ſatisfied of the juſtice of this meaſure (vol. I. p. 495.) And this ſeems to be the truth. Their province was beſt provided with forces; they were, therefore, leaſt ſenſible to the arguments of *neceſſity* for an accommodation with the Iriſh. They had been witneſſes, and ſome of them ſufferers, from the outrages of the firſt inſurgents. They were the moſt deeply impreſſed with the horrour of their barbarities. Whatever, therefore, were their profeſſions to the marquis of Ormond, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that in their hearts they condemned a ceſſation which left the northern Iriſh not only unpuniſhed, but in full poſſeſſion of the advantages gained by their brutal cruelty.

province were diſtracted at the thoughts of being abandoned by their brethren. Levies were made from all orders and parties indiſcriminately for the ſervice of Scotland: and abundance even of the moſt barbarous Iriſh rebels engaged to fight againſt the king. The people grew clamourous; they complained, that the country was in danger of depopulation, that the peaſants had abandoned their huſbandry, and that a general famine was approaching. The Engliſh officers laboured to allay theſe terrours, when other orders arrived countermanding the departure of the Scots. So that the Engliſh and Iriſh levies only were tranſported, together with ſome Scottiſh regiments who grew impatient at the delay of their ſupplies, and inſiſted on returning to their aſſociates of Scotland.

BUT ſcarcely had the province recovered from this agitation, when ten thouſand pounds, ſome cloathing, and proviſions, were remitted to Monroe from Scotland, together with four miniſters of the kirk to enforce and tender the covenant. Theſe miſſionaries travelled with indefatigable zeal, through every pariſh of the counties of Downe and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with enthuſiaſtic ardour. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peaſants, all flocked round them, all contending for the glory of running foremoſt in the godly cauſe, and firſt accepting an engagement ſo precious, and ſo eſſential to the welfare of their ſouls. The prohibitions and menaces of government, the proclamation againſt the covenant, which ſome Engliſh colonels, at length, ventured to publiſh to their regiments, only ſerved to enflame the general fervour. Private men and ſubalterns, who had ſecretly taken the covenant, now boldly avowed it, and bad defiance to their commanders. They who refuſed to be united with the godly by this holy vow, were regarded as impious wretches, unworthy of the rights of humanity: nor would the inhabitants ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They who had ever appeared moſt attached to the royal

Carte, vol. I. p. 490.

royal cauſe, now caught the popular contagion. Audley Mervin, ſo noted for his nauſeous harangues, inveighed with ſuch vehemence againſt the covenant in the parliament of Dublin, expreſſed ſuch loyalty to the king, and declaimed ſo copiouſly againſt the Engliſh commons, and their neglect of Ireland, that the marquis of Ormond deemed him a proper perſon to be entruſted with the government of Derry. Scarcely had he entered on his new office, when he was prevailed on to take that engagement which had been the object of his ſevereſt cenſure.

Carte, vol. I. p. 493. MONROE, and his officers, had taken the covenant with great ſolemnity in the church of Carricfergus. Yet this general affected the utmoſt moderation, leaving it entirely to the kirk-miniſters to prevail, by pious exhortations, without attempting any violence againſt thoſe who refuſed this oath. But the Engliſh officers of the royal party were not deceived by this apparent lenity. They every moment expected an order from the Engliſh parliament for impoſing the covenant by force; and their apprehenſions were confirmed, when a commiſſion from the Engliſh houſes, under their broad ſeal, was received by Monroe, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulſter, Scottiſh and Engliſh, in their name, and under their authority, and to carry on the war againſt all the enemies of the covenanted party. The royaliſts aſſembled at Belfaſt to reſolve on an anſwer to be returned the Scottiſh general, when he ſhould require them to ſubmit to his command. In the midſt of their conſultation, Monroe contrived to ſurpriſe the town. Hence he marched to take poſſeſſion of Liſburne, but was foiled in his attempt by the ſpirit and vigilance of the Engliſh officers. The Ulſter forces were thus on the point of declaring war againſt each other. The ſuperiour numbers of the Scots were formidable to the Engliſh; the reſolute ſpirit of the Engliſh was alarming to the Scots; an amicable agreement was the intereſt of both; and a ſtipulation was ſoon framed and ſubſcribed. It was agreed, that the Engliſh ſhould not be forced to take any oath contrary to their conſciences and the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they ſhould firſt addreſs themſelves to the Engliſh parliament, and repreſent their reaſons and ſcruples to the contrary; that their regiments ſhould be furniſhed with the ſame proviſions, and have the ſame privileges and appointments with the Scots. On theſe conditions, they engaged to join with Monroe in a vigorous proſecution of the Iriſh rebels, unleſs his majeſty's command ſhould hereafter contradict their farther proceeding.

THE ſeizure of Belfaſt, and the union of the Ulſter forces, were incidents both alarming and provoking to the confederate Iriſh at Kilkenny. Their forces were ſcattered, their generals divided by frivolous competitions. Their pride was inflamed by that conſequence which they had gradually acquired. While they detached Caſtlehaven to the aſſiſtance of Owen O'Nial, they made private overtures to the marquis of Ormond, that he ſhould accept the ſupreme command of all their forces, and march againſt the ſtubborn Northerns with the whole united power of the royaliſts; for in this party the Iriſh affected to be ranked. At the ſame time, they required that he ſhould proclaim the Scots rebels, in conſequence of their outrageous infringement of the ceſſation. Carte, vol. I. p. 496.

IT was obvious for Ormond to reflect, that by accepting the command of the Iriſh, he muſt blend the rightful power of the king with the uſurped authority of the rebels, in a manner odious to every proteſtant ſubject, diſgraceful to his royal maſter, and really dangerous to himſelf, however the bold meaſure might be recommended by ſome preſent advantages. To iſſue a proclamation againſt the Scots, and to brand their adherence to the parliament with the name of rebellion, appeared equally dangerous and obnoxious. It muſt afford them a fair pretence for their oppoſition to the king, furniſh them with plauſible arguments for ſeducing others, and provoke numbers of proteſtants, puritans at leaſt, if not ſecretly favourers of the covenant. The marquis, therefore, could not, conſiſtently with the plaineſt rules of prudence, irritate the Engliſh parliament, already his enemies, and hazard the revolt of almoſt all his forces. On the other hand, it was dangerous to diſoblige the Iriſh. They might find pretences for with-holding that part of their ſubſidy which remained unpaid. They had promiſed to ſupply him with corn and cattle: they might retract this promiſe: they might cut off all commerce and freedom of markets. The ſcanty and precarious remittances from England, if not intercepted by the ſhips of parliament, yet were utterly inadequate to the neceſſities of government. So that *his hopes of ſubſiſtence depended on the Iriſh, who, if once provoked, might reduce him to ſudden famine.*

Carte, vol. I. p. 498.

In this ſituation, Ormonde reſolved, inſtead of returning a peremptory denial, to amuſe them with a treaty tending to their own purpoſe, but in a different manner. He pleaded the want of direction from the king, and the impropriety of declaring againſt the Scots, before he had received explicit orders. In the mean time, he propoſed that the Iriſh ſhould make proviſion for the payment and maintenance of ſix thouſand *foot, and ſix hundred horſe of his majeſty's forces. With this body, thus effectually ſupplied,* he engaged to reſtrain the Scots from violating the ceſſation, or annoying the provinces. The Iriſh were ſenſible, that by proclaiming the Scots rebels, the king muſt in effect avow, that he depended entirely on their confederacy for the ſubſiſtence of his power and government in Ireland; and in the fullneſs of their pride inſiſted on this meaſure. For the ſame reaſon, Ormond, ſtrenuouſly, yet artfully, oppoſed their deſires. Some time was neceſſarily ſpent in propoſitions, anſwers, and replies: and, in this interval it appeared, that the Scottiſh general, notwithſtanding the violence of his declarations, and ſome attempts to re-commence hoſtilities, was really not inclined, or not enabled to proſecute the war with vigour.

WHILE the marquis of Ormond thus contended with the wants and diſtreſſes of the ſtate, the arrogance of the popiſh confederates, and the virulence of the northern covenanters, Oxford was an important ſcene of Iriſh negociation. By the articles of ceſſation, the confederates were allowed to ſend agents to the king, and to treat about a final peace: that event, on which Charles reſted his hopes of a powerful reinforcement from Ireland, and for which he was, of conſequence, particularly ſolicitous. The commiſſioners of the popiſh party were choſen in November, of the year 1643: but by the diverſity of opinions in their aſſembly, the difficulty of adjuſting their inſtructions, and the propoſitions to be offered from their body, theſe commiſſioners did not appear before the king until the twenty-third day of the enſuing month of March. Their firſt propoſitions diſcovered the confidence and vanity of their party. Beſides the public eſtabliſhment of the popiſh worſhip, they demanded a repeal of the acts for encouragement of adventurers, which they muſt have known that the king could not procure. They required that no ſtanding army ſhould be maintained in Ireland; and, at the ſame time, that their own ſupreme council ſhould be continued, until all their grievances were redreſſed by parliament, and even for ſome time after. They inſiſted, that all offices whereby any titles to lands were found for the crown, ſince the firſt year of Elizabeth, all attainders ſince that period, all grants and leaſes from the crown in conſequence of ſuch attainders, ſhould be reviewed in a free parliament. Thus, they in effect required the extinction of the Engliſh power in Ireland: the king and his miniſters were juſtly provoked; and by expreſſing a determination to break off all conference with men ſo intractable and extravagant, ſoon

Carte, vol. I. p. 499.

reduced the Iriſh agents to leſs imperious terms. They withdrew theſe obnoxious propoſitions, and offered others which they ſtyled moderate and reaſonable, and the very loweſt which they could deviſe, conſiſtently with the freedom of Iriſh ſubjects.

Of theſe their moderated demands, the moſt important were, the freedom of their religion, by a repeal of all penal ſtatutes; a free parliament, with a ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, during it's ſeſſion; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Iriſh parliament ſince the ſeventh day of Auguſt 1641, the date of that fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all ſubſequent diſorders; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries in prejudice of Iriſh catholics, ſince that day; a releaſe of debts, and general act of oblivion; the vacating all offices found for the king's title to lands ſince the year 1634, and an act of limitation for the ſecurity of eſtates; the eſtabliſhment of an inn of court, and ſeminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of catholic ſubjects; a free and indifferent appointment of all Iriſh natives without exception, to places of truſt and honour; that no perſons not eſtated and reſident in Ireland, ſhould ſit and vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act ſhould paſs, formally declaring the *independency* of their parliament on that of England; that the juriſdiction of the Iriſh privy-council ſhould be limited to matters of ſtate; that no chief governour ſhould be continued above three years, and that during his government, he ſhould be diſqualified to purchaſe any lands in the kingdom, except from his majeſty. To theſe, and other articles of leſs conſequence, they added, with an affected indignation, at the charge of cruelty urged againſt their party, that a parliamentary enquiry ſhould be made into all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and inhuman barbarities committed on either ſide, and that the offenders ſhould be excluded from the act of oblivion, and brought to condign puniſhment.

punifhment. On the grant of theſe propoſitions, they declared their readineſs to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's ſervice; and, particularly, to contribute ten thouſand men towards ſuppreſſing the unnatural rebellion of England.

However inadmiſſible many of their demands appeared, yet Charles accepted the whole memorial as a foundation for a treaty, and ſuch as, with due diſcuſſion, and ſome conceſſions on each ſide, might produce no very offenſive peace. But whatever was the king's impatience for this event, he found the progreſs of it grievouſly retarded by the contention of Iriſh parties, popiſh and proteſtant, both irritated and violent, and both alike unreaſonable in their demands. He had directed that ſome experienced men ſhould be ſent from the privy council of Ireland to aſſiſt in this treaty. They nominated archbiſhop Uſher, and eight others, of whom the king ſummoned four to his aſſiſtance. But a number of zealous proteſtants, not acquainted with this tranſaction, or not entirely confiding in the nomination of the council, aſſembled at the houſe of the earl of Kildare, and choſe four perſons, by whom they deſired, and were permitted, to preſent their petitions to the king. To this number, Sir Charles Coote, and an officer of the name of Parſons, were afterwards added; by what authority ſeems not very material to enquire, as they were received as agents from the proteſtants of Ireland by the king. The whole party was of the puritanic caſt; poſſeſſed with a violent averſion to popery, enflamed againſt the profeſſors of this religion, by a painful recollection of the late diſorders in Ireland, ſuſpicious of the king; and Coote and Parſons, at leaſt, who took the lead in their tranſactions, devoted entirely to the intereſt of the Engliſh parliament. In the alacrity of their zeal, they had contrived to preſent themſelves at Oxford, before the agents nominated by the Iriſh council, and ſummoned by the king, had yet arrived.

Carte, vol. I. p. 499.

They

Borlaſe. Cox, vol. II. p. 140. and Append. No. xxi.

THEY were received with ſufficient grace, and immediately preſented the petition of that body of proteſtants from whom they derived their authority. The king expreſſed a tender ſenſe of their diſtreſſes; and acknowledged, that they had truely ſtated the iniquity of the firſt popiſh inſurgents; intimating, however, that ſome diſtinction ſhould be made between theſe and the gentry of the Pale, who, he ſeemed willing to believe, had been forced into rebellion by the Iriſh chief governours. Provoked at any tenderneſs expreſſed towards the popiſh party, and much more at the attention and reſpect with which their agents were received at a court, where the influence of the queen was too predominant, theſe men grew importunate and bold. They demanded permiſſion to enter into a particular *confutation* of the Iriſh remonſtrance framed at *Trim: they required a copy* of the propoſitions lately *preſented by the Iriſh agents: they* were reproved, yet not diſmayed; they exhibited a copious anſwer to this remonſtrance, together with a collection of propoſitions from the Iriſh proteſtants, dictated by the ſpirit of triumphant pride, as *if they* had already vanquiſhed and ſubdued the whole popiſh party.

THEY required the moſt rigorous execution of the ſtatutes againſt recuſancy, and the immediate baniſhment *of all the* Romiſh *clergy, with a full reſtitution of churches and their revenues to the proteſtants; that the preſent* parliament ſhould be continued, and the uſurped power of the confederates immediately diſſolved; that their whole party ſhould be diſarmed, compelled to repair all damages ſuſtained by proteſtants, and brought to condign puniſhment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, releaſe, or diſcharge: that the oath of ſupremacy ſhould be ſtrictly and univerſally impoſed on all magiſtrates, and that they who refuſed it ſhould be incapable of ſitting in parliament, in which nothing ſhould be attempted derogatory to the law of Poynings, the great bulwark of the royal power, and protection of the proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland; that the *king* ſhould take all forfeited eſtates into his own hands, and after ſatisfaction made to ſuch as claimed by former acts of parliament, diſpoſe of the reſidue entirely to Britiſh planters.

The peremptory manner in which theſe, and ſome other propoſitions of the like import, were enforced, was aſtoniſhing to the king and his miniſters. It was ſuggeſted, that they had been framed in London, to render any attempts to an accommodation with the Iriſh odious, and, perhaps, to provoke them to a ſudden violation of the truce. The agents were told, that demands impoſſible to be enforced by the whole power of their party, though ſupported by the royal authority, could not poſſibly be *dictated by the proteſtants of Ireland*. They were deſired to explain *how* the war could be carried on, if the Romaniſts ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch ſevere conditions of peace: they were reminded of the king's embarraſſed ſituation, and exhorted to accommodate their demands to the exigences of preſent times and circumſtances. But they continued intractable and obdurate. They inſiſted, that they were duly authoriſed to offer theſe propoſitions: and a committee of the *Iriſh parliament*, (ſo were a few members ſtyled) teſtified, that *they delivered the ſenſe of the whole proteſtant party*. "They "were entirely ignorant of the *king's* circumſtances; they "were but to propoſe the ſentiments of his good ſubjects, and "to prove their allegations. They thought it better that the "proteſtants ſhould even abandon Ireland for a time, than "make a deſtructive peace." At the ſame time, if we may believe Mr. Carte, they diſcovered their real ſentiments, and with a provoking inſolence declared, that the king had nothing more to do, but to ſubmit to the terms of peace propoſed by the Engliſh parliament, and then there would be no want of ſupplies for the *Iriſh* war.

Cox.

Borlaſe.

Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 505.

The commiſſioners deputed by the Iriſh council were now arrived. They condemned the extravagance of theſe propoſitions, and ſolicited Coote and his aſſociates to withdraw them. But theſe men were immoveable: and when their own ſcheme of an accommodation came to be conſidered, their demands, though not ſo arrogant, were yet found utterly inconſiſtent with the king's circumſtances, and impoſſible to be enforced. They particularly repreſented it as eſſential to the ſecurity of all proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland, that recuſants ſhould be diſarmed, and the penal laws ſtrictly enforced. It was in vain for the king to propoſe to the Iriſh agents, that their party, ſuperiour as they were in power, and poſſeſſed of more than three parts of the kingdom, *ſhould conſent to reſign themſelves, unarmed, to the mercy of thoſe whom they had ſo grievouſly provoked.* And even in times of peace, the penal laws were too odious to be ſtrictly executed; much more at the preſent juncture, when the catholics, in their pride and confidence, demanded ſuch conceſſions in favour of their religion, as would reduce the eſtabliſhed church merely to a ſtate of precarious toleration. It was, therefore, evident, that no treaty could be concluded upon the terms propoſed by the proteſtants; it was ſcarcely leſs evident, that the moſt violent of this party laboured to obſtruct a treaty upon any terms. Charles had a lively feeling of his own neceſſities: and his impatience for a peace, which was to give him ſuch a powerful body of Iriſh troops, was enflamed by the ſuggeſtions of the queen; who, in the conflict of parties, poſſibly believed, that all but the catholics were infected with what was called in her court the ſpirit of rebellion; and gradually wrought her unhappy conſort into a perſuaſion, that his catholic ſubjects only were worthy of his confidence. Whether he was as yet fully poſſeſſed with this prejudice or no, he treated the agents of the confederate Iriſh with particular attention, and anſwered their propoſitions with that courteſy and condeſcenſion which he had been taught by his misfortunes.

Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 506.

SOME of their demands he had conſented to grant, previous to the Iriſh inſurrection; and, in theſe points, he made no difficulty to repeat his promiſes. In others, it was neither odious nor unreaſonable to comply. The diſcuſſion of that delicate point, the independency of Ireland, as it was called, he was willing to refer to both parliaments, to be temperately and equitably decided. He agreed to paſs an act for removing any incapacity from the natives of Ireland to purchaſe lands or offices; and was ſatisfied to allow recuſants their ſeminaries of education. Inſtead of reverſing acts of parliament, indictments, and attainders, he propoſed to grant a general pardon, and to *aſſent to ſuch an act of oblivion as ſhould* be recommended by *the lord lieutenant* and *council. He was* content to call a new parliament in Ireland, *but* without ſuſpenſion of the law of Poynings. To their propoſition for a repeal of penal ſtatutes, he replied, that as theſe ſtatutes never had been rigorouſly executed, ſo his recuſant ſubjects, on returning to their duty and loyalty, ſhould have no reaſon to complain that they were treated with leſs moderation than in the two former reigns: and that *ſuch of them* as manifeſted their affection to his ſervice, ſhould receive ſuch *marks* of favour in offices and places of truſt, as would *plainly ſhew* his acceptance and regard of them.

THE Iriſh agents, flattered and conciliated by the condeſcenſions of the king, demeaned themſelves with modeſty and ſubmiſſion. They confeſſed, that his majeſty, circumſtanced as he was, could not, in their opinion, make any farther conceſſions, and hoped that the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, when informed of his ſituation, would moderate their demands, though they themſelves had no preſent authority to recede from them. The king diſmiſſed them with a pathetic admonition, to conſider his

Clarendon. Iriſh Reb. Dub. Ed. p. 21.

circumſtances and their own: “ that the exiſtence of their nation and religion depended on the preſervation *of his* juſt rights and authority in England: that if his *catholic ſubjects* of Ireland would conſent to ſuch conditions as he could ſafely grant, and they accept with ſecurity to their lives, fortunes, and religion, and haſten to enable him to ſuppreſs his enemies, it would then be in his power to vouchſafe ſuch grace to them as ſhould complete their happineſs; and which, he gave them his royal word, he would then diſpenſe in ſuch a manner as ſhould not leave them diſappointed of their juſt and full expectations. But if, by inſiſting on particulars, which he could not in conſcience grant, nor they in conſcience neceſſarily demand; and ſuch, as though he might *concede, yet, at preſent, would bring that damage on him which all their ſupplies could not counter*vail, and yet might be hereafter granted with equal benefit: if they ſhould thus delay their ſuccours, until the power of the rebels had prevailed in England and Scotland, then they would quickly find their power in Ireland but an imaginary ſupport for his intereſt or their own; and that they who with difficulty had deſtroyed him, would without oppoſition root out their nation and religion.”

Such were the declarations of *a prince who had repeatedly* proteſted againſt *tolerating popery,* and particularly againſt repealing the penal laws of Ireland. His zealous advocate, Mr. Carte, was ſo ſcandalized at the moſt obnoxious part of this addreſs, that he has thought proper to ſoften, if not to miſrepreſent the expreſſions recorded by the noble hiſtorian. Yet with all this apparent ſtrength of language, Charles ſeems, in a manner not unuſual to him, carefully to have avoided that real preciſion, which might confine him in his future conduct. It was his preſent purpoſe, to perſuade the Iriſh, that a full and free eſtabliſhment of their religion would prove the reward of their ſervices. But without any ſpecial and explicit engagement, he leaves it in his own power hereafter to decide whether ſuch a conceſſion were included in the number of their JUST expectations, or neceſſary to *complete their happineſs*. Some important conceſſions, he knew, were of neceſſity to be made, before the Iriſh would conſent to take arms in his cauſe. To accept of their aſſiſtance upon any terms, rendered him doubly odious to his enemies, and to his friends was only reconciled by the diſtreſs of his affairs. To what terms he might yield, without offending and alienating his own party, was a point of delicate and critical diſcuſſion. The king could not decide it: his miniſters would not adviſe him. Should they recommend too favourable *conceſſions, they were expoſed to the reſentment of the popular party: ſhould they declare againſt indulgence to the Iriſh,* the queen was offended; and her creatures accuſed them of indifference to the royal cauſe. In this perplexity, the king readily yielded to ſuch plauſible arguments as ſtateſmen can at any time ſuggeſt for any meaſure favourable to their private purpoſes, and reſolved to lay the whole burden and odium of treating with the Iriſh on the marquis of Ormond. He received a *commiſſion to make a full peace with the catholic ſubjects of Ireland, on ſuch conditions as he ſhould judge agreeable to the public welfare, and might produce ſuch an union in that kingdom that his majeſty might derive aſſiſtance from it, to ſuppreſs the rebels of England and Scotland.*

Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 508.

ORMOND was ſenſible of the danger and difficulty attending ſuch a commiſſion. He was to ſettle terms of accommodation, which the king and his miniſtry could not, or would not venture to adjuſt. If the people of England were averſe to any peace with the Iriſh, the Engliſh inhabitants of Ireland had felt their outrages, and were particularly provoked. Should he grant any conceſſions to the popiſh party; his delegated authority might be queſtioned and oppoſed, and he would naturally be accuſed of partiality to his kinſmen, of whom many had united with the Iriſh confederates. Should he refuſe ſuch conceſſions, theſe kinſmen would reproach him as the partizan of their inveterate enemies, men who ſought the utter ruin and extirpation of their race. But the power and inveteracy of the Engliſh parliament were ſtill more formidable; an aſſembly which would infallibly denounce the utmoſt vengeance againſt him, ſhould his conduct give offence to their paſſions or prejudices, while the royal authority was too weak to protect him. To complete the difficulty, he received no inſtructions from the Engliſh court; was told, that he was to expect no inſtructions; and thus was to aſſume the whole conduct of a delicate tranſaction, in which the king could not take any part. Carte, Orm. vol. III. No. cccxxix.

THE difficulties of his government ſeemed already ſufficient to confound the beſt abilities, and ſcarcely admitted this additional embarraſſment. He was oppreſſed with want, hopeleſs of relief, blocked up at ſea, encompaſſed with enemies; the Iriſh proud and querulous; the Scots, though not active, yet inſolent and troubleſome; and the ſouthern province agitated by a ſudden revolution, highly alarming to the royal party. Lord Inchiquin had commanded in Munſter ſince the death of Saint Leger, but without the title of Lord Preſident. He claimed this office as the reward of his zealous ſervices: but, on application to the king at Oxford, found, to his utter mortification, that it had been already granted to the earl of Portland; nor could he even obtain the reverſion of it on the death or reſignation of this earl. To juſtify this injudicious and unwarrantable treatment of a lord who had deſerved ſo well from the king, ſome reports were whiſpered injurious to his character. He returned to Munſter fired with reſentment; entered into a ſecret negociation with the Engliſh parliament; engaged that his brother, who commanded in the town of Wareham, ſhould deliver it into their hands, and that he himſelf would unite zealouſly Vol. I. p. 509.

in their cauſe. He was received with open arms, and encouraged to avow his purpoſe, by promiſes of large and immediate ſupplies. He began with petitioning the king to ſubmit to an accommodation with his parliament of England, and the parliament to aſſiſt him againſt the Iriſh; and pretending to have diſcovered, that this party had formed a ſcheme for ſeizing his garriſons, he drove out the magiſtrates and all the popiſh inhabitants from Cork, Youghal, and Kinſale, and ſeized their effects. His officers took the covenant with great alacrity; and though he himſelf declined it until the ceſſation ſhould expire, yet he bound his ſoldiers by an oath to endeavour the extirpation of popery, to proſecute the war againſt the Iriſh, and to ſubmit to no peace but with allowance of the king and parliament of England. Lord Eſmond, governour of the important fort of Duncannon, was readily perſuaded to follow the example of Inchiquin: the Scots of Ulſter promiſed to concur with him, ſo that the flame of war ſeemed ready to break out again with great violence and extent. But Monroe and his forces, after ſome motions and inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes, ſoon ſunk into their uſual inactivity; and Inchiquin, neglected by the Engliſh parliament, was ſoon obliged, for the preſervation of his forces, and the proteſtants of Munſter, to make a ceſſation with the Iriſh.

In this ſituation of affairs, the marquis of Ormond commenced his treaty with the confederates. Their commiſſioners attended him at Dublin on the ſixth day of September, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-four: and, in the firſt place, it was agreed, without any difficulty, that the ceſſation ſhould be prolonged: but the conferences about peace proved more perplexing. The Iriſh were every day more elevated with ideas of their own power and conſequence, and the hopes of extorting vaſt conceſſions from the neceſſities of the king. Their clergy, by the removal of the treaty to Dublin, had full power to extert their influence. One of this order, Fleming, the popiſh archbiſhop of Dublin, had been nominated one of the commiſſioners to attend the lord lieutenant. Ormond, who knew the ſpirit of ſuch men, abſolutely refuſed to confer with him. But public characters were not neceſſary to enforce their authority: and their authority ſeems to have borne down all the efforts of the temperate and more penetrating of their party. Certain it is, that the Iriſh commiſſioners now appeared to have forgotten or diſregarded the promiſes made to the king, and the ſenſe expreſſed of his equity and grace. They offered the very ſame propoſitions which had been preſented at Oxford, together with ſome others of leſs moment. Particularly they required, what could not be granted in the preſent juncture, *that the Scots and lord Inchiquin who concurred in oppoſing the ceſſation, ſhould be declared traitors. For this, they claimed a promiſe* from the king, and his miniſter, lord Digby, acknowledged that ſuch a promiſe had been given, provided that a peace or ceſſation ſhould be firſt concluded. Thus, did Ormond, poſſibly for the firſt time, diſcover a ſecret train of negociation between the king and the catholics of Ireland. But from his knowledge of the temper of the Iriſh proteſtants, he deemed it neceſſary to decline this meaſure; and for his own honour, as well as that of his royal maſter, returned the ſame anſwers to the Iriſh commiſſioners which their propoſitions had already received in England. To their demand of a repeal of all penal ſtatutes enacted againſt the profeſſors of their religion; he anſwered, by repeating the royal promiſe that theſe ſtatutes ſhould not be enforced: a new parliament he refuſed: a ſuſpenſion of the law of Poynings he oppoſed: nor could he conſent to an act of oblivion ſo extenſive as they required. He demanded, that the Iriſh ſhould aboliſh their uſurped government, reſtore all towns and caſtles to the king, the churches to the proteſtant clergy, and to the laity their eſtates and property. The propoſitions

Carte, Orm. vol. III. No. cccxxxi.

poſitions made, and the anſwers returned, Ormond cautiouſly determined to lay before the king. The treaty was adjourned from October to the ſucceeding month of January: and as the agents employed to attend the king, had the misfortune to be taken priſoners by a veſſel in the ſervice of parliament, all farther proceedings were ſuſpended until the month of April 1645 *.

In this interval, Charles made fuller diſcoveries of that fatal inſtability, and that indulgence to the Romiſh party, ſo odious to his enemies, and, indeed, to the general body of his proteſtant ſubjects, and ſo repugnant to his ſolemn promiſes and declarations. At the very time when he agreed to enter on the treaty of Uxbridge, he entertained the flattering hopes of raiſing ſuch an army from abroad, as ſhould enable him to cruſh all his oppoſers. The queen amuſed him with expectation of ten thouſand Lorrainers ready to be poured into England for his ſervice. The Iriſh magnified their power and diſpoſition to ſupport him: and ſuch potent allies he was impatient to purchaſe at any price. The confederate catholics carried on a ſort of private negociation with him, by their agents, lord Muſkerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne. The laſt of theſe, in particular, preſented a memorial, intimating, that his party was inclined to moderate their demands with reſpect to religion, provided that his majeſty would condeſcend to them

Ruſhworth.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. Append. No. xv.

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* About this time Mac Mahon and lord Macguire, who had taken a leading part in the Iriſh conſpiracy, were condemned and executed in London. They had lain two years in the Tower, had contrived to eſcape, but were diſcovered, retaken, and immediately brought to their trials. Macguire pleaded a right of being tried by his peers in Ireland; but the plea was over-ruled, and the two houſes confirmed the opinion of judge Bacon, that he was triable by a jury in England. They rejected his petition to be beheaded. So that he was drawn to Tyburn, and executed in the ordinary manner.

in other articles, Charles conceived new hopes from ſuch profeſſions, and became more and more complying. In his public anſwer to the marquis of Ormond's diſpatches, he directs him to adhere to thoſe terms he had already offered to the catholics, only, "*ſo far forth* as he ſhall find it probable that "they ſhall reſt ſatisfied to accept them." He allows him to conſent to the ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law; but as to the demand of repealing the penal ſtatutes, expreſsly directs him to adhere to his former anſwer. Yet, in a private letter, dated two days earlier, he formally engages, not only that the penal laws ſhall not be executed, the peace being made; but that when the Iriſh ſhould give him the aſſiſtance they had promiſed, and he be reſtored to his rights, then, that he would conſent to the repeal of them all by a law, except *thoſe againſt appeals to Rome, and the exerciſe of foreign juriſdiction within the realm.* No conceſſion could be more odious or more dangerous. He, therefore, directs that Ormond ſhould communicate it only to the three popiſh agents, with injunctions of ſtricteſt ſecrecy.

Carte, Orm. vol. III. No. cccLv.

Vol. II. Append. No. xv.

A MONTH had ſcarcely elapſed, when the king became ſtill more complying. The commencement of the treaty of Uxbridge, had been urged as a motive to the Iriſh confederates, to conclude a peace before the king ſhould be prevented from granting them any favour, by the ſtipulations which he might find neceſſary to be made with the Engliſh parliament. When this treaty was broken off, they were again told, that their very exiſtence depended on their ſpeedy and effectual ſupport of the royal cauſe, as it appeared in the conferences, to be the determined purpoſe of the parliament to inveſt the Scots with the entire dominion and property of Ireland. Such popular topics were the more urgently enforced, as the king now deemed it more neceſſary to obtain ſome foreign ſuccours, than in any former period of the civil war. The new projected model of the parliamentarian

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liamentarian army threatened ſome momentous conſequences. As Charles expreſſed it to his queen, "there was little or "no appearance but that the approaching ſummer would be "the hotteſt for war of any that had yet been." With reſpect to the Iriſh, therefore, the king ſpurned at every ſcruple. He empowered and commanded Ormond to make peace with the Iriſh, "whatever it coſt," ſo that his proteſtant ſubjects might be ſecured, and his royal authority preſerved in Ireland. "You "are to make me," ſaid the king, "the beſt bargain you can, "and not to diſcover your enlargement of power till you needs "muſt. And, though I leave the managing of this great and "neceſſary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that "*if the ſuſpenſion of Poynings' act for ſuch bills as ſhall be* "*agreed on there, and* THE PRESENT TAKING OFF THE PENAL "LAWES *againſt papiſts by a law will do it, I ſhall not think it* "a hard bargaine; ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage "themſelves in my aſſiſtance againſt my rebels of England and "Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being "againſt conſcience or honour."

Ruſhworth. King's Cabinet opened.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. No. xviii.

WHATEVER plauſible reaſons might be urged to reconcile this repeal of the penal ſtatutes to the conſcience of the king, or *his ſentiments of honour,* Ormond well knew the dangerous *effects of ſuch a meaſure, and particularly* in a country where a vaſt majority of the inhabitants were popiſh. He was ſincerely attached to the proteſtant religion; he knew the temper, the paſſions, the prejudices of the proteſtant party, and their horrour of the leaſt conceſſion in favour of popery; the odium, and the danger in which he muſt be involved, by treating upon terms which the king could not avow; and he probably foreſaw, that the Iriſh would be encouraged by ſuch important conceſſions, to riſe in their demands. No wonder, therefore, that on the firſt diſcovery of the king's diſpoſition to recede from thoſe terms which he had hitherto profeſſed to hold moſt ſacred, Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 520. the marquis grew impatient of his preſent ſituation. He petitioned to be removed from the government, profeſſing to apprehend, that the confederates expected more from a countryman and kinſman in this ſtation, than could with propriety be granted, and that he muſt ſhortly be obliged to abandon it by want, or be reduced to a diſhonourable ſubjection to the inſolence of the Iriſh, or the covenanters.

CHARLES, and his miniſters, were fully ſenſible of the value A. D. 1645. of Ormond's ſervices in the lieutenancy of Ireland. He had juſt now approved his vigilance, by diſcovering and defeating a deſign formed by ſome partizans of the Engliſh parliament, to ſeize the cities of Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk. And his credit, his influence, and his attachment to the *king*, were conſidered as the *only ſecurity to the royal cauſe, againſt the power of the catholics,* and the *ſubtilety and turbulence* of the covenanters. To reconcile him to the burden of a ſtation from which he could not be removed, Charles loaded him with ſuch graces as in his preſent circumſtances he could beſtow; he enlarged his powers; and to encourage him to proceed with more alacrity in the delicate and dangerous tranſactions entruſted to his conduct, a general pardon of all offences, paſſed under the great ſeal, to the chief governour, privy-counſellors, and others employed in any part of the *king's ſervice*.

AMONG the additional powers granted to the marquis, he now received a commiſſion which he had formerly ſolicited, for accepting the ſubmiſſions of ſuch Iriſh confederates as were inclined to peace upon the terms offered by the king, and for reſtoring them to their eſtates and blood. Charles thus hoped to divide the counſels, and to prevent any cordial union of their party, ſhould they ſtill reject his conceſſions, and declare ultimately for war. To diſpoſe them, at the ſame time, to an amicable treaty; and, particularly, to reconcile them to the continuance of the preſent Iriſh parliament, he condeſcended to declare, that the order made under the adminiſtration of Parſons, for excluding ſuch members of the commons as ſhould refuſe the oath of ſupremacy, was an encroachment on his prerogative. The lord lieutenant was directed to require that this order ſhould be vacated. The zealous proteſtants could not but feel the moſt ſerious apprehenſions at this indulgence to popiſh recuſants, which muſt give them a formidable ſuperiority in the Iriſh legiſlature. Their party had ſervices and ſufferings to plead. To prevent their clamours, and to diſpoſe them favourably to the king, a bill was tranſmitted from England, and enacted in the parliament of Ireland, for remitting to the proteſtants of this kingdom, as well clergy as laity, all rents, compoſitions, ſervices, twentieth parts, and firſt fruits, due to the *king at Michaelmas 1641, or at any time ſince, or to be due at* Eaſter 1645.

In the mean time, the Iriſh laboured with indefatigable zeal to ſtrengthen their confederacy, ſo as to maintain a war, or conclude a peace with advantage to their cauſe. Foreign princes were ſolicited for ſuccours. Burke, one of their eccleſiaſtics, was diſpatched to Madrid. Richard Belling, ſecretary to the ſupreme council, an acute and active ſtateſman, was commiſſioned to addreſs himſelf to the pope, the Italian princes, and to the marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo, governour of the Low-Countries; "that they might know (as the letters of the confederates expreſſed it) what they had to truſt to, and what ſuccours they might really depend upon from abroad: and that, "in caſe they ſhould be again forced to *ſerve God in holes and corners*, the world might be convinced they had laboured all "they could to prevent this misfortune." Their agents were alſo buſily employed at Paris, and ſwarmed in the queen of England's court, on her retreat to France. One of theſe, a meddling eccleſiaſtic, called O'Hartegan, had ſo diſgraced them by his preſumption, vanity, and indiſcretion, that Belling was

Carte, from Regiſter of the Supreme Council.

inſtructed to uſe all decent means to bring him back to Ireland. To recommend themſelves to foreign courts, and to demonſtrate their own power and conſequence, about fourteen hundred foot were tranſported for the ſervice of France, and other levies made for that of Spain, though, when Ormond applied to them to ſend two thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of Montroſe in Scotland, they repeatedly rejected, or evaded his demand. Their reſolution was explicit, and they obſtinately adhered to it, "that they would ſend no men to the king's aſſiſtance, until "ſuch a peace ſhould be ſettled as might demonſtrate that they "had really taken arms for the ſake of religion, and to eſtabliſh "it in its full ſplendour."

Carte, from Regiſter of the Supreme Council.

Nor were they leſs vigorous in their military operations againſt thoſe who declared for the parliament, and rejected the ceſſation. Scarcely had lord Eſmond, governour of Duncannon, reſolved to betray his fort to the parliament, when he had the mortification of finding himſelf neglected and abandoned by his new maſters. The ſupreme council at Kilkenny were alarmed at the defection of this place, fearing that their trade would be deſtroyed by the ſhips in the ſervice of the Round-heads, as they called them, which lay ſecurely in the river under protection of the fort. Their troops blocked up Duncannon on the land-ſide, in the beginning of January: but as the ſea lay open, the blockade was converted into a regular ſiege, commanded by Preſton, the Leinſter general. After a reſiſtance of ten weeks, the fort ſurrendered: and Eſmond, the governour, died in a few days after, worn out with age and vexation.

Lord Inchiquin, equally neglected by the Engliſh parliament, was encountered, on the expiration of his truce, by the earl of Caſtlehaven, at the head of five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. The earl over-ran the ſouthern province, and reduced a number of forts without any conſiderable reſiſtance. At Roſtellan he had the triumph of ſeizing Henry O'Brien, who had betrayed Wareham to the Engliſh parliament, and ſent him as a preſent to the king, to be puniſhed for his diſloyalty as his majeſty ſhould deem fit. The forces of Inchiquin were unequal to thoſe of the enemy, and ſo wretchedly were they provided, that he could not keep the field, ſo that he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Corke, while Caſtlehaven waſted the country even to the walls of this city. When he had, at length, inveſted Youghal, lord Broghil arrived with ſome ſupplies from the Engliſh parliament. The earl raiſed the ſiege, and on the approach of winter retired to Kilkenny.

While theſe things were tranſacting in the field, Dublin became a ſcene of almoſt perpetual negociation. The treaty between Ormond and the Iriſh confederates was by appointment to be renewed on the tenth day of April. The confederates wiſhed to gain time for receiving intelligence from their foreign agents, and weakly conceived, that by delaying their deciſions until the king ſhould be plunged into new and greater difficulties, they might extort more advantageous terms. They propoſed that the conferences ſhould be ſtill farther poſtponed. The chief governour inſiſted, that they ſhould be reſumed on the day appointed. The Iriſh agents attended him, but not in ſuch a number as their powers required. A week was thus loſt. They then declared, that as their general aſſembly was to meet on the fifteenth of May, they could conclude nothing without their approbation; that they were confined merely to deliver their propoſitions, and to debate the matter of them, deſiring the beſt anſwers that could be afforded, and promiſing, if poſſible, to prevail upon their party to accept them.

Carte, vol. I. p. 540.

Ormond, with more liberal conceptions of the king's real intereſt, and greater ſolicitude for his honour, than the unhappy prince himſelf diſcovered, concealed the additional powers he had received for conſenting to the abrogation of the penal ſtatutes. He treated on the terms formerly propoſed, that the royal promiſe ſhould be given, that theſe ſtatutes ſhould not be executed on the concluſion of a peace. He ſatisfied the Iriſh agents, that a ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law was by no means neceſſary, as the king's conceſſions would be conveyed to them with equal ſpeed and ſecurity in the ordinary courſe of parliamentary proceedings. Among ſome new graces to which he yielded, the Iriſh were to be releaſed from all the king's rents and revenues they had received from the firſt inſurrection; and all attainders, indictments, and outlawries againſt any of their party were to be vacated. It had formerly been agreed, that the king ſhould confer all places of truſt and honour in Ireland, with equal indifference on catholic and proteſtant ſubjects. *By virtue of this agreement, the agents now affected to conſider it as a ſettled point, that the king had obliged himſelf to employ an equal number of each party.* Ormond oppoſed this dangerous interpretation, and peremptorily rejected the demand. Yet with a due mixture of dignity and condeſcenſion, he diſmiſſed the agents apparently well diſpoſed to peace; and was flattered with expectation, that their general aſſembly would ſpeedily decide in favour of the royal intereſts.

But this aſſembly, however apparently united *in one common cauſe, was compoſed of diſcordant parties, influenced by various motives, and agitated by different paſſions.* The Iriſh of Ulſter were ſtill conſcious of their enormities, and impatient of being deſpoiled of their hereditary poſſeſſions. They were, of conſequence, obſtinately determined againſt any peace which ſhould not fully ſecure their perſons, and utterly ſubverted the northern plantations. The clergy, who had the whole commonalty at their devotion, laboured to obſtruct all meaſures of accommodation which might not gratify the utmoſt extravagance of their wiſhes. Too ignorant to diſcern, and too ſelfiſh to regard the real intereſt of their party, they entertained their imaginations with gay proſpects of riches, power, and magnificence,

cence, and intoxicated their partizans with declamations on the ſplendour of religion.

THE impatience which Charles expreſſed for a final accommodation with the Iriſh was not long a ſecret to their leaders; and fatally contributed to enflame their pride, and to defeat the purpoſes of this miſguided prince. Had he relied ſolely on the marquis of Ormond for negociating with the Iriſh, the zeal and abilities of this miniſter, aſſiſted by the more moderate and intelligent of the confederates, might poſſibly have conducted the treaty to a ſeaſonable concluſion, and obtained him ſuch a reinforcement from Ireland, as would have had an important influence on his affairs. But Charles was now unhappily ſeduced into a vain dependence on ſecret councils and private agents.

AMONG the moſt zealous partizans of this prince, was Edward Somerſet, lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Worceſter. Attached to Charles not only by principle, but perſonal affection, he had raiſed a conſiderable body of forces for his ſervice at his own and his father's expence. In return for his ſervices, a warrant paſſed under the royal ſign manual for creating him earl of Glamorgan; and although his patent had not received the great ſeal, he aſſumed, and was generally addreſſed by this title, even by the king. His manners were gentle and conciliating, his imagination lively, his temper ſanguine, and the opinion which he entertained of his own conſequence was encreaſed by ſome enormous inſtances of royal favour. Charles, amuſed with hopes of ſome vaſt ſervices to be performed by this lord, had created him generaliſſimo of three armies, Engliſh, Iriſh, and foreign, with a power of naming all the inferiour officers of this imaginary body. He empowered him to contract with any of his ſubjects for wardſhips, cuſtoms, or any of his rights and prerogatives; entruſted him with blank patents, to be filled at his pleaſure, for conferring

Birch's Inquiry.

ferring titles of honour, with a promiſe of his daughter Elizabeth to the ſon of this favourite in marriage, with a portion of three hundred thouſand pounds. He was a Roman catholic, and attached to his religion with remarkable zeal. He had taken to his ſecond wife, Margaret O'Brien, daughter of the late earl, and ſiſter of the preſent earl of Thomond, ſo that he had ſome poſſeſſions, and was allied to ſome of the moſt powerful families in Ireland.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. No. xiii.

GLAMORGAN, on ſome real, or pretended buſineſs, declared his reſolution of viſiting this kingdom about the end of the year ſixteen hundred and forty-four. The king recommended him to the lord lieutenant, informing him that he had engaged *this lord to farther the peace by every poſſible means, expreſſing the utmoſt confidence in his affection and integrity; yet, at the ſame time, hinting ſome ſuſpicion of his judgment.* At firſt view it may appear extraordinary, that the king ſhould employ a man for whoſe judgment he declared he could not anſwer in a tranſaction which required the utmoſt circumſpection and addreſs. But, if we ſuppoſe him conſcious, that he might hereafter find it neceſſary to diſavow the tranſactions of Glamorgan, ſuch a previous declaration to his lord lieutenant is at once accounted for: it was made purpoſely to give the greater force and plauſibility to his diſavowal. The marquis received from his friends no very favourable repreſentations of Glamorgan and his undertakings: yet, in his public diſpatches, he expreſſed a ſolicitude for his arrival in Ireland; at the ſame time, that he diſclaimed a particular knowledge of any commiſſions or inſtructions he was to bring with him. Theſe commiſſions, however, were the ſubject of much diſcourſe among the king's friends. The confederate Iriſh were filled with magnificent expectations from a nobleman of ſuch influence and power, connected with them both by affinity and religion, to be ſent into Ireland, with full authority to hear their demands, and to grant them ſuch conditions

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Birch, Inquiry.

conditions as could not be yielded by the intervention of any other agent, nor publicly acknowledged in the king's preſent embarraſſments.

Nor were the Iriſh leſs elevated by the ſucceſs of their embaſſy to Rome, and the attention paid them by the Holy See. Innocent the Tenth was naturally ſolicitous to diſtinguiſh the commencement of his popedom by ſome extraordinary expreſſion of zeal for the intereſts of religion. He received Belling, miniſter of the confederate Iriſh, with particular reſpect; and, in return to their application, reſolved to ſend a nuncio into Ireland, who ſhould take advantage of the preſent circumſtances of this kingdom, for reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion, and reducing the people, if not to be tributary to the apoſtolic ſee, at leaſt to be ſubject to the gentle yoke of the pope's ſpiritual power. The perſon choſen for this office was John Battiſta Rinunccini, archbiſhop of Fermo, a noble Florentine, eloquent, graceful, and conciliating in his addreſs, regular, and even auſtere in his life, but ambitious, fiery, and vain, bigotted, and ſuperſtitious, with an extravagance of ſpiritual pride, and even a fanatical prepoſſeſſion, that he was the appointed inſtrument of Providence for the converſion of the weſtern iſlands.

Carte, vol. I. p. 558.

Among other inſtructions for promoting the great general purpoſe of his miſſion, he was directed to unite the prelates of Ireland in a firm declaration for war, until their religion ſhould be completely eſtabliſhed, and the government of the kingdom entruſted to a catholic lord lieutenant. In the mean time, he was to practiſe with the marquis of Ormond, to prevail on him, if poſſible, to deliver up Dublin and Drogheda to the Iriſh, and, above all things, to return to the boſom of the Roman church. In his way to Ireland, he was directed to viſit the queen of England at Paris, to aſſure her that religion was the ſole object of his miſſion, and that no deſigns were entertained againſt the prerogatives of the crown of England; and, at the ſame time, to diſſuade her from ſome intention ſhe had expreſſed of going to Ireland, as her preſence might embarraſs the religioniſts, and give ſtrength to the neutral and moderate party, beſides the expence of her eſtabliſhment, which might be more uſefully employed in war.

The expectation of two ſuch diſtinguiſhed perſonages deſtined to favour and ſupport the cauſe of the confederate Iriſh, elevated their hopes, and exalted thoſe ideas of their own conſequence, which had been inſpired by ſucceſs, and the condeſcenſions of the king. Their general aſſembly indeed, in their new ſeſſion, on the fifteenth of May, received the propoſitions of the marquis with ſo much temper, *that the penal ſtatutes ſeemed the only remaining obſtacle to peace. The earl of Clanricarde expreſſed his confidence to the chief governour, that if he would* grant a repeal of theſe ſtatutes, a final accommodation muſt immediately enſue, and that the Iriſh would at once embark their lives and fortunes in the royal cauſe. But the Iriſh clergy now ſat in convocation, factious, proud, ſelfiſh, and even the leaſt exceptionable of their order, zealous to recommend themſelves to the pope and his miniſter, by an extraordinary ſolicitude for the intereſts of the church. *They declared, that by the oath of aſſociation, the confederate catholics were bound to ſtipulate expreſly,* that the churches, abbeys, monaſteries, and chapels, now in their poſſeſſion, ſhould for ever be retained. The more moderate of the aſſembly were provoked. They demanded, that this declaration, which loaded them with an infamous charge of perjury, ſhould be retracted. After various altercations, the clergy could be only prevailed on to declare, that they meant not to involve the agents of a peace in the guilt of perjury, though no expreſs article ſhould be inſerted for keeping poſſeſſion of the churches, provided that the effect ſhould be obtained. With all the zeal of men fired with the

Carte, vol. I. p. 543.

proſpect of riches and honours, they thundered the danger of the church into the ears of their bigotted followers; they declaimed againſt the impiety of any peace, which ſhould not inveſt their prelates with full juriſdiction, together with the right of ſitting in parliament now uſurped by proteſtants: they taught them to combine, to declare, and to proteſt againſt the preſent treaty. And, although the aſſembly pronounced ſuch proceedings to be ſeditious and traiterous, yet ſo far were they influenced by the eccleſiaſtical party, that they refuſed to reſtore the churches to the proteſtants; and rejected every expedient propoſed for removing this new obſtacle to a peace.

The battle of Naſeby, ſo fatal to the king's cauſe, ſerved to encreaſe the arrogance of the confederates. Inſtead of reflecting, that their own fortune was involved in that of the king, and that the final triumph of the popular party threatened their nation and religion with all theſe conſequences which Charles had foretold, they imagined, in their vanity and preſumption, that they might demand new conceſſions, and extort new advantages from the misfortune of this prince. Their propoſitions, with reſpect both to their civil and religious intereſts, grew every day more and more enormous. They demanded, that the plantations formed in Wicklow and Kilkenny ſhould be inſtantly aboliſhed, and thoſe of ſtill greater conſequence in the northern province, ſhould be conſidered in a free parliament, and all grievances ariſing from theſe eſtabliſhments examined and redreſſed; that they ſhould retain the forts and cities they poſſeſſed, and exerciſe their government until all the articles of peace were irrevocably confirmed by an act of parliament; that they ſhould not only have an equality of numbers and eminence of places in all civil and military offices, but that the king's favour ſhould be manifeſted in this reſpect, by ſome immediate inſtances; that they ſhould have ſchools and univerſities; that their prelates ſhould exerciſe juriſdiction without controul; that all penal ſtatutes, whether enacted againſt recuſants by Henry and Elizabeth, or in earlier reigns againſt proviſors, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; and that the churches in their poſſeſſion ſhould neither be demanded nor expected.

Carte, vol. III. No. cccc.

CHARLES, in the firſt ſhock of conſternation, doubted whether his defeat had not rendered all Iriſh ſuccours uſeleſs to his affairs. He expreſſed his indignation at theſe extravagant demands; he directed Ormond, that if the Iriſh ſhould take ſo unworthy an advantage of his weakneſs, as to reject a peace on any other terms, he ſhould, if poſſible, procure a farther ceſſation; if not, endeavour to divide their party, and rather leave all things to the chance of war, than grant ſuch an allowance of popery as muſt evidently prove deſtruction to the proteſtant profeſſion. This prince, however, flattered himſelf, on recollection, that Iriſh troops might ſtill be uſefully employed. Lord Digby was directed to write to lord Muſkerry, and the other agents, who formerly attended at Oxford, to remind them of their fair profeſſions to the king, and to repreſent the danger to their own party, from inſiſting on demands repugnant to his honour and conſcience, and which no extremity of diſtreſs ever could extort from him. Ormond briefly ſtated the ſum of thoſe conceſſions which the Iriſh might expect. They differed little from thoſe already offered. He conſented to a repeal of the penal ſtatutes enacted againſt recuſants; and to convince them of his majeſty's intentions to employ all his ſubjects of Ireland with equal indifferency, offered that a body of catholics, conſiſting of four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, ſhould be added to the king's army on perfecting the articles of peace.

Vol. I. p. 547.

EVERY poſſible contrivance was employed to delay the anſwer to theſe propoſitions of the chief governour; for the earl of Glamorgan was every day expected, and after eſcaping many dangers from ſhips commiſſioned by the Engliſh parliament, at

length

King's Cabinet opened.

length arrived in Ireland. On preparing for his journey he had amuſed the king with magnificent expectations. He promiſed in the month of June to lead ſix thouſand Iriſh forces into England; to reinforce them with four thouſand royaliſts of Wales; to block up Milford Haven with his tranſports; to advance thirty thouſand pounds, with a conſiderable quantity of arms, and to raiſe the ſum of thirty thouſand more. But he was detained too long in England to fulfil theſe vaſt engagements: nor did he arrive in Ireland until about the end of July. He was received by the marquis of Ormond with the attention due to a nobleman highly favoured and entruſted by the king; and on his departure to Kilkenny was recommended to lord *Muſkerry*, in a letter from the marquis, as a perſon whoſe *authority with the king, and whoſe innate nobility might be eſpecially relied on, and one whom the chief governour would endeavour to ſerve above all others, in every thing which he ſhould undertake for the ſervice of his majeſty; and with whom he would moſt readily agree for the benefit of the kingdom.*

Birch's Inquiry, p. 62.

If the particular inſtructions or commiſſions granted to Glamorgan were not communicated to the lord lieutenant; it appears, at leaſt, from this warmth of recommendation, that he conſidered the earl as a *perſon duly authoriſed* to treat with the Iriſh. The Iriſh were offended at that ſtatelineſs with which Ormond conducted their treaty. Their zealots conſidered him as ſecretly diſaffected, and, in conjunction with a preſbyterian council, (as they called them) determined to defeat the king's hopes of ſuccour, by obſtructing the Iriſh peace. To this they attributed every delay: and when the ſeizure of the king's cabinet at Naſeby diſcovered his private inſtructions to Ormond, to conclude a peace whatever it might coſt, they were enraged, and printed the letter with ſevere animadverſions on the marquis. In ſuch a temper, they received Glamorgan with particular

Aphoriſmical Diſcovery. MS. Trin. Col. Dublin.

Carte; vol. III. No. ccccv.

cular ſatisfaction: and taking advantage of the letter written by Ormond to lord Muſkerry, affected to conſider it as a formal ſtipulation on the part of the chief governour, to concur with the earl in all his tranſactions, and to ratify all his engagements.

Birch's Inquiry.

Two commiſſions from the king were produced by Glamorgan to the confederates. The firſt was dated on the ſixth day of January, 1645, N. S. and is thus tranſlated from the Latin of Rinunccini's Memoirs.

CHARLES R.

" WHEREAS we have had ſufficient and *ample teſtimony* of " your approved *wiſdom* and *fidelity, ſo great is the confidence* " we *repoſe in you, as that whatſoever you ſhall perform,* as " warranted under our ſign *manual, pocket ſignet,* or private " mark, or even by word of mouth, without farther ceremony, " we do in the word of a King and a Chriſtian, promiſe to make " good to all intents and purpoſes, as effectually, as if your au- " thority from us had been under the great ſeal of England, " with this advantage, that we ſhall eſteem ourſelf the more " obliged to you for your galantry, in not ſtanding *upon ſuch* " nice terms to do us ſervice, which we *ſhall,* GOD *willing,* " reward. And although *you exceed what law can warrant,* " or any powers of ours reach unto, as not knowing what " you have need of; yet it being for our ſervice, we oblige " ourſelf, not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain " the ſame with all our might and power; and though either " by accident, or by any other occaſion, you ſhall deem it ne- " ceſſary to depoſite any of our warrants, and ſo want them at " your return, we faithfully promiſe to make them good at " your return, and to ſupply any thing, wherein they ſhall " be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this " time to diſpute upon them; for of what we have here ſet

" down you reſt confident, if there be faith and truth in men. " Proceed therefore chearfully, ſpeedily, and boldly; and for " your ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant.

" GIVEN at our court at Oxford, under our ſign manual and " private ſignet, this 12th of January, 1644."

THE ſecond, more formal and particular, and that on which the earl chiefly reſted his authority, was dated the twelfth of the ſucceeding month of March, when Ormond had diſcovered his reluctance to continue in his office, or to treat with the Iriſh on ſuch liberal conceſſions as the king had empowered him to grant. It was conceived in the following terms.

" CHARLES *R.*

" *CHARLES by the grace of God, of England, Scotland,* " France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to our " truſty and right well-beloved couſin, Edward earl of Glamor- " gan, greeting. We repoſing great and eſpecial truſt and " confidence in your approved wiſdom and fidelity, do by theſe " (as firmly as under our great ſeal, to all intents and purpoſes) " authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with " the confederate Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, " *if upon neceſſity any be to be condeſcended unto,* wherein " our lieutenant cannot ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at " preſent publicly to own. Therefore we charge you to pro- " ceed according to this our warrant, with all poſſible ſecrecy; " and for whatſoever you ſhall engage yourſelf, upon ſuch va- " luable conſiderations, as you in your judgment ſhall deem fit, " we promiſe on the word of a King and a Chriſtian, to ratify " and perform the ſame, that ſhall be granted by you, and " under your hand and ſeal; the ſaid confederate catholics " having by their ſupplies teſtified their zeal to our ſervice.

"And this ſhall be in each particular to you a ſufficient "warrant.

"Given at our court at Oxford, under our ſignet and royal "ſignature, the 12th of March, in the twentieth year of our "reign, 1644."

By virtue of this commiſſion Glamorgan entered on a private treaty with the confederates, with a vain impatience to be diſtinguiſhed, as the leader of ten thouſand Iriſh forces, and the perſon who was to reſtore the king to his independence, power, and ſplendour. Abbate Scarampi, agent to the pope, remonſtrated againſt the ſcheme of making peace publicly with the marquis, and privately with the earl, and of ſeparating the religious from the civil articles: yet within about one month after his arrival the treaty was concluded.

Cox, Append. No. xxvii. On the king's part it was agreed by Glamorgan, that all Roman catholics ſhould enjoy the public exerciſe of their religion, poſſeſs all the churches not actually enjoyed by proteſtants, exerciſe their own juriſdiction, and be exempted from that of the proteſtant clergy; that an act of parliament ſhould be made to confirm theſe conceſſions, and to render catholics capable of all offices of truſt and dignity; that the marquis of Ormond ſhould not diſturb the catholics in theſe, or other articles to which the earl had condeſcended, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be ſignified, for confirming them. And, for the due performance of all theſe articles, Glamorgan engaged the royal word. On the part of the confederates it was ſtipulated, that ten thouſand men ſhould be ſent by order of their general aſſembly, to ſerve the king in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the earl, and ſuch other officers as the confederates ſhould appoint; and that two thirds of the revenues of the clergy ſhould be aſſigned to the maintenance of this body for three years.

In explanation of theſe articles, the confederates, for the preſent, receded from the demand of an act of parliament for ſecuring the conceſſions to the clergy, as difficult and prejudicial to his majeſty. Glamorgan engaged, that they ſhould be ſettled in another way equally ſecure; and bound himſelf by oath, to acquaint the king with his proceedings, "in order to his ſervice, and the punctual performance of what he "had (as authoriſed by his majeſty) obliged himſelf to ſee performed; and in default, not to permit the army entruſted to "his charge, to adventure itſelf, or any conſiderable part "thereof, until conditions from his majeſty, and by his majeſty be performed." With an additional caution, the general aſſembly reſolved, that their union and oath of aſſociation *ſhould remain firm and in full ſtrength, until the articles of this peace ſhould be ratified in parliament.*

In conſequence of this treaty, which was concluded on the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt, the general aſſembly, on the ninth of the ſucceeding month, paſſed a vote for levying ten thouſand men for the royal ſervice; and, as it was ſtill neceſſary to continue the public treaty with Ormond, Glamorgan, who was impatient for the honour of conducting ſuch a reinforcement into England, *ſolicited the marquis to make all the conceſſions he was authoriſed to grant, and for the reſt to appeal to his majeſty.* Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 552.

On the renewal of the treaty with Ormond, every article relative to the civil intereſts of the confederates was debated with due temper, and adjuſted without difficulty. The propoſitions with reſpect to religion were extravagant and inſidious, amounting to nothing leſs than a legal eſtabliſhment, not only of the Roman worſhip, but the papal juriſdiction. Ormond cautiouſly oppoſed theſe demands. The Iriſh agents, conſcious of the tranſactions with Glamorgan, propoſed that no clauſe in the treaty ſhould preclude the catholics from ſuch farther graces as his majeſty might be pleaſed to grant. The propoſal was accepted. Lord Digby now arrived in Dublin, and laboured to conciliate the Iriſh and expedite their ſuccours. It was mutually agreed, that all the propoſitions relative to religion, the great obſtacle to an accommodation, ſhould be referred entirely to his majeſty. The peace ſeemed on the point of final ſettlement; the king every moment expected the embarkation of his Iriſh ſuccours, when new difficulties aroſe, and the very means employed for his ſervice, defeated the purpoſes of this unhappy prince.

CHAP. VII.

Rinunccini ſent to Ireland as nuncio.—His conferences with the queen at Paris.—Projects of the Engliſh catholics.—The nuncio arrives at Kilkenny.—His reception by the ſupreme council.—His conferences with Glamorgan.—His objections to the treaty of peace.—His practices with the Popiſh biſhops.—He obtains new conceſſions from Glamorgan.—Military affairs.—Sligo taken.—Attempt to recover it.—Defeat and death of the archbiſhop of Tuam.—Glamorgan's private treaty diſcloſed.—He is impeached by lord Digby, and impriſoned.—His examination before the council.—His conference with Ormond.—His liberty demanded by the ſupreme council.—He is diſcharged.—His tranſactions diſavowed by the king.—The king's private letters to Ormond and Glamorgan.—Zeal and artifice of the nuncio in oppoſition to the peace.—Delays and altercations.—New conceſſions of Glamorgan.—His engagements and promiſes to the nuncio.—His confident aſſurances to the king.—Treaty concluded with the marquis of Ormond.—He is ſolicited to join with the Iriſh againſt the parliamentarians.—His cautious and ſpirited anſwers.—The king's letter from the Scottiſh army.—Lord Digby's declarations.—The peace ratified and proclaimed,—oppoſed by the nuncio.—Ignorance and bigotry of this prelate.—He engages Owen O'Nial in his ſervice.—Battle of Benburb.—Effects of this action.—Proclamation of the peace oppoſed in ſeveral cities.—The adherents of the peace excommunicated.—Ormond invited to Kilkenny.—Is received with joy.—Project to intercept him.—He regains the capital.—Nuncio's entry into Kilkenny.—He impriſons the members of the ſupreme council, and appoints a new council.—Vain expectations

expectations of Glamorgan and the nuucio.—Preparations for the defence of Dublin.—Ormond treats with the Engliſh parliament.—The confederates inveſt Dublin.—Their demands.—Their diſſenſions.—Digby and Clanricarde practiſe with the nuncio and Preſton.—Sudden retreat of the confederates.—Treaty between Clanricarde and Preſton.—Negociation of the marquis of Ormond with the parliament broken off.—Ormond reluctantly involves himſelf in the engagements of Clanricarde.—Preſton ſuddenly reconciled to the nuncio.—A new general aſſembly declares againſt the peace.—Ormond renews his treaty with the parliament.—Futile attempts of the confederates to defeat it.—The parliamentarians maſters of Dublin.—Ormond reſigns the ſword of ſtate, and departs from Ireland.

A. D. 1645.

DURING the whole courſe of negociation, a numerous party of the confederates had diſcovered a ſolicitude to reſtore the public peace. They ſaw the neceſſity of ſupporting the king; were willing to accept terms of moderate advantage to their party, and contented with a free enjoyment of their religion, without the ſplendour of a public eſtabliſhment. The clergy did not fail to inveigh againſt this deſertion of the church. Their agents at Rome repreſented the danger, from impious temporizers labouring to conclude a peace without due proviſion for the intereſts of religion; and to avert it, Rinunccini was directed to haſten into Ireland.

Carte, Vol. I. p. 559.

IT was juſtly dreaded by the king's friends, that the preſence of this nuncio, and his practices with the Iriſh clergy, would prove a dangerous embarraſſment to a treaty too long protracted, and ſuſpend, if not prevent the ſuccours expected from the confederates. The queen of England would gladly have detained him at Paris until the Iriſh treaty ſhould be concluded. He had intimated a deſire of attending her with the uſual ſolemnity, and preſenting his credentials in a public audience. But the

Birch, Inquiry.

the law of England did not allow the admiſſion of a foreign miniſter without conſent of the king and council; and the Engliſh proteſtants of her court warned her majeſty of the danger of ſuch a viſit, which would imply a treaty between the king and the pope. The nuncio was too tenacious of the honour of the holy ſee, to accept a *private audience*: *ſo that* their correſpondence was carried on by the intervention of the attendants on each ſide, Sir Dudley Wyat and Dominic Spinola.

THE nuncio expreſſed his attachment to the king, and, according to his inſtructions, endeavoured to convince her majeſty that the buſineſs on which he was to proceed would prove the moſt effectual means of reſtoring his power and authority. The queen, with equal inſincerity, declared her ſatisfaction *at his being appointed to go to Ireland*, and the hopes ſhe entertained *that by his mediation a firm peace* would be eſtabliſhed between her royal conſort and the Iriſh, an event equally neceſſary to the intereſts of both. She repreſented the danger to the catholic confederates, ſhould the king be totally ſubdued, or forced to an agreement with his adverſaries. Hence ſhe inferred the neceſſity, that the Iriſh ſhould moderate their demands, and not "endeavour to extort THE WHOLE at once." *She mentioned her deſire*, that the nuncio ſhould ſtay at Paris *until the treaty ſhould be finiſhed*; that by his endeavours with the pope, he might have the honour of giving ſucceſs to an affair ſo ardently deſired by all the powers of Europe, who juſtly trembled at the ruin of the king of England, and dreaded the conjunction of the Engliſh parliamentarians with the Huguenots and Dutch, a conjunction hateful and formidable to all monarchies.

THIS intimation was enforced by a memorial which the nuncio received from the catholics of England. They had heard that Sir Kenelm Digby had been ſent by the queen to apply for ſubſidies at Rome. They ſolicited Rinunccini that theſe ſubſidies ſhould be refuſed, until the Iriſh ſhould receive their juſt demands with regard to religion, and the rights and intereſts of Engliſh catholics be equally ſecured. They propoſed to unite with their brethren of Ireland, ſo as to form one army for defence of the king; but inſiſted on a previous conceſſion of their demands, and full ſecurity for the performance. "The king," ſaid they "is not to be truſted, when his intereſt may tempt him to agree with his parliament, to whom he hath ſo often ſolemnly declared his reſolution to conſent to any ſeverities againſt the catholics. And that there can be no reliance on his word, appears from the caſe of the earl of Strafford and the biſhops, whom he ſacrificed, though ſworn to protect them."

In this buſtle of negociation, the nuncio amuſed himſelf with the flattering idea, that he had proceeded conſiderably in the glorious work of extirpating the northern hereſy, the object of his labours, and profeſſedly the final object of the Engliſh catholics. The queen was ſolicitous for an abſolute pacification in Ireland. The catholics of England alſo, repreſented it as the firſt neceſſary ſtep to all their meaſures, and the means of tranſporting ſuch a body of Iriſh troops, as, in conjunction with the Engliſh of the ſame religious profeſſion, would at once ſerve the king, and over-awe him, ſo as to extort the performance of thoſe conditions, which, if left to his own free choice, he might not grant. A ſcheme was now revived for transferring the conduct of the Iriſh treaty to the queen of England and queen regent of France. The nuncio was thus farther flattered at the proſpect of that important part he was to take in this negociation, and being regarded as umpire between the king and the catholic confederates. But the court of Rome deemed his preſence neceſſary in Ireland, to preſerve the intereſts of the church. He was repeatedly ordered to proceed on his journey, embarked, and arrived at Kilkenny on the twelfth day of November, when the negociation with Ormond ſeemed haſtening to a concluſion.

IN his firſt audience of the ſupreme council he profeſſed the faireſt intentions of promoting the intereſts of religion and the peace of the kingdom. The council on their part aſſured him, that all their proceedings ſhould be with his knowledge and concurrence. They explained the ſeveral conceſſions granted by the lord lieutenant in civil affairs; and thoſe of a religious nature yielded by the earl of Glamorgan, a catholic nobleman highly truſted, and duly authoriſed by the king, to ſatisfy the confederates in thoſe points which retarded the peace. They explained the neceſſity of obſerving privacy with reſpect to theſe religious conceſſions, until the king ſhould be enabled and emboldened to avow them. Some conceſſions alſo with reſpect to religion they had endeavoured to obtain from the marquis of Ormond; and, although they had not ſucceeded to their utmoſt wiſhes, yet care had been taken that nothing ſhould be admitted into the public articles inconſiſtent with the private conceſſions of the earl of Glamorgan. In ſuch a ſituation, they obſerved, it was of the utmoſt importance to determine what might ſtill be requiſite for the preſervation of their religion, and ſupport of the king, as his neceſſities were urgent, the power of the Engliſh parliament formidable, and the ceſſation ſpeedily to determine. Carte, vol. I. p. 561.

Glamorgan alſo addreſſed himſelf to the nuncio, with particular deference. He declared the utmoſt reverence for his character, a firm reſolution of acting entirely with his concurrence and by his direction; explained the nature of his commiſſions to treat with the Iriſh, together with ſeveral other powers he had received from the king, and which demonſtrated the extraordinary confidence his majeſty repoſed in him. He ſhewed him a letter from the king, ſealed, and addreſſed to Birch, from the Nuncio's Memoirs.

pope Innocent the Tenth, as a proof of his attachment to the holy ſee: and to the nuncio himſelf, he delivered another letter, in which Charles expreſſed ſatisfaction at his purpoſe of going to Ireland; deſiring him to unite with the earl of Glamorgan, and promiſing to ratify whatever they ſhould jointly reſolve; recommending a punctual obſervance of ſecrecy, and aſſuring him, that although this letter was the firſt he had written to a miniſter of the pope, yet he hoped it would not be the laſt. "When the earl," ſaid he, "and you have concerted your meaſures, we ſhall openly ſhew ourſelf, as we "have aſſured him,—Your friend."

Carte, ut ſup.

THE only effect of ſuch condeſcenſions was to make this vain eccleſiaſtic more confident and aſſuming. He objected to the terms both of the public and private treaty as inſufficient and precarious. He condemned the deſign of publiſhing the political articles, while the religious were ſuppreſſed, a matter of great ſcandal to foreigners, who would obviouſly conclude, that the honour and freedom of religion had been ſacrificed to temporal advantages. The performance of theſe religious articles, he obſerved, was doubtful and inſecure; the king might be reduced to an utter inability of confirming them; the earl of Glamorgan, who alone could inſiſt on ſuch a confirmation, might be ſuddenly taken off by death. If the confederates were cautious of alienating the proteſtants, by publiſhing the religious articles, they ſhould be at leaſt equally cautious of alienating the pope and all chriſtian princes by ſuppreſſing them. And even in theſe boaſted articles, he obſerved, no mention had been made of a catholic lord lieutenant, no proviſion for catholic biſhops and univerſities, no ſtipulation for a continuance of the ſupreme council, or government of the confederates. The council endeavoured to obviate theſe objections. Various papers were drawn up, diſcuſſed, anſwered, without any effect, but to confirm the nuncio in his own opinion, and the moderate confederates in their purpoſe of an immediate accommodation.

THE nuncio, when he found it impracticable to bring the council into his own meaſures, reſolved to give every oppoſition in his power to their ſentiments. He ſummoned the Romiſh biſhops, now at Kilkenny, to a private meeting. Eight attended, and joined with him in a proteſtation againſt the peace, and a reſolution to oppoſe it. Their inſtrument was not to be produced, "until the treaty ſhould be *abruptly* or *pre*- "*poſterouſly* concluded by the council." Such was the affected ſtyle of their reſolutions. The nuncio, in the next place, addreſſed himſelf to Glamorgan. He gravely obſerved, that the *king ſhould no longer be deceived by heretics*; that the ſafety of his crown depended, next under God, on the pope, and the union of all his catholic ſubjects with thoſe of other countries; that it was of the utmoſt moment to his intereſts to ſecure the Iriſh, by granting all their juſt petitions; and that his lordſhip was bound to apply thoſe extenſive powers with which he was entruſted, to the ſervice of the king and monarchy, as well as to the eſtabliſhment of the orthodox faith. The earl, whoſe temper and underſtanding were nearly on a level with thoſe of the Italian prelate, readily yielded to theſe inſtances. He was impatient to remove every difficulty to his appearing at the head of an Iriſh army; and his bigotry and vanity united in prevailing on him to ſign an inſtrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He now engaged, that when ten thouſand Iriſh ſhould be ſent into England, the king ſhould oblige himſelf never to employ any but a catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic biſhops to ſit in parliament, univerſities to be erected under their regulation, and that the juriſdiction of the ſupreme council ſhould ſubſiſt until all the private articles were ratified.

But all theſe ſecret negociations were ſuddenly diſconcerted by a particular incident. To explain it, we muſt take notice of ſome military tranſactions, which might otherwiſe be diſregarded.

Carte, vol. I. p. 530—537.

While the Iriſh confederates were urgent with the marquis of Ormond to declare the northern covenanters rebels, he was induſtrious rather to reconcile theſe forces to the king's ſervice and government. Neglected as they were by the Engliſh parliament, they expreſſed their diſcontents with ſufficient warmth: and not only the old Britiſh troops, but even Monroe and his Scots ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to unite with the chief governour, upon moderate and reaſonable terms. The parliament, alarmed at the conſequences of ſuch an union, *reſolved to ſend ten thouſand pounds, ſome cloaths, and proviſions, for the ſervice of Ulſter; and that a committee of their own body* ſhould viſit this province, examine the ſtate of the ſoldiery, and hear their complaints. In the mean time, Sir Charles Coote, their truſty partizan, whom they had lately commiſſioned to command in Connaught, was diſpatched with a requiſition to the Britiſh generals of the North, that they ſhould aſſiſt him againſt the rebels in his government, and particularly to reduce the town of Sligo, their principal place of ſtrength. After ſome heſitation, four thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were detached from the Scottiſh and Engliſh forces. They marched without oppoſition. Sligo was readily ſurrendered; and all the adjacent counties expoſed to their depredations, to the extreme annoyance both of the rebels and the loyal inhabitants. The earl of Clanricarde, who could have ſuppreſſed theſe outrages, had been denied the preſidency of Connaught on the death of lord Ranelagh; and, with an high ſenſe of his own dignity, refuſed to accept the military command, under the order of the new preſidents, lord Wilmot and lord Dillon of Coſtello.

In this exigence, the marquis of Ormond commiſſioned lord Taafe to ſuppreſs thoſe who violated the ceſſation, or broke into the quarters of the loyaliſts in Connaught: and, with the aſſiſtance of Clanricarde, and others of the weſtern province, this lord proceeded with ſucceſs. At the ſame time, the confederates of Kilkenny, no leſs alarmed and provoked at the hoſtilities of the Northerns, directed Sir James Dillon, one of their officers, to march with eight hundred men to the aſſiſtance of the popiſh archbiſhop of Tuam, who was employed in collecting forces for the recovery of Sligo. This military prelate led the aſſault, forced his way into the town, and was on the point of expelling the Britiſh garriſon, when his forces were ſuddenly alarmed with the intelligence of a ſtrong northern army juſt approaching. They retired, were vigorouſly attacked and routed by Sir Charles Coote. The archbiſhop fell in this action: and, in ranſacking his baggage, the victors found among other papers of conſequence, a complete and authentic copy of the private treaty which the earl of Glamorgan had concluded with the confederates, and in which was contained a diſtinct recital of his commiſſion, and of his oath to the confederates.

An acquiſition ſo important was inſtantly tranſmitted to the Engliſh parliament. The papers were printed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, to the diſhonour of the king, the ſcandal of his proteſtant adherents, and the utmoſt exultation of his triumphant enemies. Copies were ſent to the lord lieutenant and lord Digby, at Dublin; others were in the hands of many Iriſh ſubjects. Thoſe of the popiſh party who thus diſcovered the fulneſs of the king's conceſſions, were extravagantly elated; the proteſtants aſtoniſhed and diſmayed, and the miniſters terrified at the proſpect of a general revolt of this whole party. The effect natural to be expected from this diſcovery, was nothing leſs than that all good proteſtants, (as lord Digby expreſſed it) ſhould "conclude that the ſcandals formerly caſt upon his ma-

Inquiry, p. 98. Ruſhworth.

"jeſty of inciting the Iriſh rebellion, were true; and that he "deſigned to introduce popery, even by ways the moſt unkingly and perfidious." Something was neceſſarily to be done for allaying the general ferment, and this with ſuch ſpeed as might manifeſt an impatience to vindicate the king's honour. So great a zeal did lord Digby expreſs againſt the proceedings of Glamorgan, that it is ſometimes imputed not to a concern for that religion which he afterwards abandoned, but to a ſiniſter deſign of ſupplanting this earl in the command of the Iriſh troops. He ſeduced Glamorgan to Dublin, under the pretence of adjuſting ſome preliminaries neceſſary to the immediate tranſportation of three thouſand forces promiſed by the Iriſh, and deſtined for the relief of Cheſter. *In a few days after his arrival, he* charged the earl *before the privy council, of a ſuſpicion of high treaſon, and moved that his perſon might be ſecured.*

To ſupport this charge, the treaty, the oath, and the commiſſion of Glamorgan, dated on the twelfth of March, were all read at the council board. Lord Digby declared, that any ſuch pretended authority from his majeſty muſt be either forged or ſurreptitiouſly obtained; or if poſſibly the earl had any colour of authority, that it was limited by ſome private inſtructions; "for moſt confident he was, that the king, to redeem his crown, "his own life, the lives of his queen and children, would not "grant to the confederates the leaſt piece of conceſſions ſo deſtructive both to his regality and religion." Carte, vol. III. No. ccccxviii.

Such was the miniſterial language uſed to the council; yet Digby muſt have been ſatisfied, as he declared to ſecretary Nicholas, that "it was almoſt impoſſible for any man to be ſo "mad, as to enter into ſuch an agreement, without powers "from his majeſty." Nor could Ormond ſeriouſly believe that the king was incapable of granting ſuch a commiſſion as Glamorgan pleaded, or of ratifying his tranſactions with the Iriſh, when he conſidered the extent of thoſe powers he himſelf had Inquiry, p. 99.

received from his majeſty. To gain the Iriſh to his ſervice, Charles had at firſt directed him to aſſure them, that the penal ſtatutes ſhould not be executed. In the next place, he empowered him to promiſe, that they ſhould be repealed on the concluſion of a peace. When this conceſſion proved ineffectual, we find him authorizing his lord lieutenant to conſent to their immediate repeal; and that recuſants ſhould be relieved from all inabilities of enjoying offices of truſt and honour. They had not yet demanded poſſeſſion of the churches. When they had been encouraged to inſiſt on this article, the king, indeed, in his public diſpatches, urged the unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a requiſition, and the impoſſibility of granting it conſiſtently with his honour or conſcience. Yet, in a letter to the marquis of Ormond, he diſcovers no inconſiderable pliancy even in this obnoxious article. "You muſt not underſtand this," ſaith Charles, "as a permiſſion for you to grant the Iriſh (in caſe "they will not otherwiſe have a peace) any thing more in "matter of religion, than what I have allowed you already; "EXCEPT only in ſome convenient pariſh, where the much "greater number are papiſts, I give you power to permit them "to have ſome places, which they may uſe as chapels for their "devotion, if there be no other expedient for obtaining a "peace." The expreſſions appear cautious and moderate; and therefore, probably, have not been noticed by thoſe writers who form their ideas from the circumſtances of England. But in Ireland, at this period, there was ſcarcely a ſingle pariſh which did not preciſely correſpond with the deſcription of the king. So that Ormond, had he proved equally complying with his maſter, might, by virtue of this authority, have every where granted churches to the catholics, and eſtabliſhed their public worſhip through the whole kingdom.

Carte, vol. III. No. cccc.

FROM theſe circumſtances, it ſeems improbable, that Ormond really believed that a nobleman, who, he knew, had been employed by the king to negociate with the Iriſh, whom, in conſequence of this knowledge, he himſelf had recommended to the Iriſh, ſhould forge the commiſſion ſpecified in his treaty; or that he had tranſgreſſed any private limitations preſcribed by the king, when the articles of this treaty ſcarcely amounted to any thing more than Ormond had himſelf been empowered to grant. Yet, to allay the public ferment, Glamorgan was committed to cuſtody, and, the next day, examined before a committee of the council. He freely confeſſed the whole tranſaction, referring for particulars to the counterpart of the articles lying among his papers, and which he afterwards produced. He declared, that he had not conſulted with any but the parties with whom he had made the agreement, "that what he *did* "was not, as he *conceived, obligatory to his majeſty*:" to which he added, *on recollection*, "and *yet*, without any juſt "blemiſh of my honour, honeſty, or conſcience." He conceived, that he was authoriſed by his commiſſion to conclude the treaty; yet he declared, that he had not engaged his majeſty's faith and honour farther than by ſhewing his authority, and depoſiting it with the confederates. In the copy of his oath, as publiſhed by the Engliſh parliament, the engagement was expreſſed with remarkable ſtrength and *preciſion*, *that the* earl ſhould not "*permit the army entruſted to his charge*, to "adventure itſelf, or any conſiderable part thereof, until con-"ditions from his majeſty, and by his majeſty be performed." In that now preſented to the council, there was the following material addition,—"or his pleaſure known."

Carte, vol. I. No.ccccxviii. p. 553.

To juſtify the authenticity of this addition, and the truth of his declarations to the council, the earl, in a private conference with the marquis of Ormond, produced the original of a DEFEAZANCE, ſigned the day after the ſignature of his treaty, and by the ſame parties. It declared, that the earl did no way intend by his engagements, "to oblige his majeſty, other than he

" himſelf ſhould pleaſe, after he had received the ten thouſand " men. Yet he faithfully promiſed upon his word and honour, " not to acquaint his majeſty with this defeazance, till he had " endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his majeſty to " grant the particulars of the treaty: but that done, the commiſſioners diſcharged the earl of Glamorgan, both in honour " and conſcience of any farther engagement to them therein, " though his majeſty ſhould not be pleaſed to grant the ſaid " particulars: the earl, at the ſame time, engaging by his voluntary oath, never to diſcover this defeazance in the interim " to any perſon whatever, without conſent of the commiſſioners." As he had depoſited the commiſſion quoted in his treaty with the confederates, he produced that other, and more general letter, dated on the twelfth of January: and which, *with injunctions of ſecrecy*, he permitted Ormond to copy. He utterly denied that he had received any particular inſtructions from the king, by which he might be directed or limited in his negociation. He declared, that he had acted entirely from a zeal for the ſervice of his majeſty, to accelerate the Iriſh forces, without obliging the king to any particular articles which he might diſapprove; and from which, poſſibly, the *confederates might recede, rather than recall their men when already landed in England*. It doth not appear, that he confeſſed to Ormond his *tranſactions* with the nuncio, and the extravagant conceſſions to which he had been ſeduced by this prelate, or that theſe were at all communicated even to the confederate commiſſioners. One paper he ſent for to Kilkenny, to the great alarm of the confederates, who apprehended, that the diſcovery of it would produce dangerous diſtraction in their proceedings. This, however, he ſecreted: ſo that the whole of his tranſactions remains ſtill unknown *.

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* Mr. Carte has inattentively hazarded a conjecture, whether the ſecreted paper might not have been the duplicate of Glamorgan's treaty, or the defeazance.

In his confinement, Glamorgan diſcovered no part of that dejection or terrour, natural from a conſciouſneſs of fraud, forgery, or any unwarrantable tranſaction. On the other hand, to his wife and to his friends, when writing or ſpeaking with the utmoſt confidence, he expreſſed even a contempt of Digby's accuſation. The intelligence of his impriſonment was received at Kilkenny with indignation and rage. The more violent clamoured for arms, and were for inſtantly demanding him at the walls of Dublin. The ſupreme council laboured to allay this flame; but were obliged to ſummon a new general aſſembly. The aſſembly, after a few days recollection, ſeemed convinced that all the ſeverity expreſſed againſt Glamorgan was diſſembled, and that the government could not really entertain a doubt of his innocence. *For they applied to the lord lieutenant, not that the charge againſt this earl ſhould be examined, but that he ſhould be immediately releaſed;* as three thouſand men were ready to embark for the relief of Cheſter, and nothing wanting but tranſports, for which Glamorgan had contracted; but neither the expedition, nor the treaty of peace, could proceed until he ſhould be ſet at liberty. The lord lieutenant and council, as if perſuaded that enough had been already done to vindicate the king's honour, and that his preſent ſervice might be injured by continuing their affected reſentment againſt Glamorgan, began now to ſpeak more tenderly of his offence. They imputed it to an injudicious zeal for the

Inquiry, p. 109—114.

Carte, vol. I. p. 562.

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ance. Of both theſe Ormond was furniſhed with copies. It is not impoſſible, but it might have contained ſome arrangements reſpecting the intended expedition into England; and poſſibly a nomination of officers. This, if prematurely diſcovered, muſt have offended many of their party, who found themſelves neglected, or not promoted according to their notions of their own deſert. And hence might have ariſen the apprehenſions of the confederates, that the diſcovery of this paper would produce dangerous diſtraction in their proceedings.

intereſt of the crown; they accepted ſureties for his appearance; they diſmiſſed him to Kilkenny; and, with a confidence not to be repoſed in any man really ſuſpected of high treaſon, they commiſſioned him to treat with the confederates, for the tranſportation of forces to Cheſter, for the remittance of three thouſand pounds to Dublin to ſupply the king's army, and for haſtening their agents to conclude the treaty ſo long depending with the marquis of Ormond.

He was ſucceſsful only in the laſt particular. Ormond was attended by two principal agents, Darcy and Browne. He had already offered the civil articles of peace in the very terms propoſed by the confederates; and, on the firſt impriſonment of Glamorgan, tranſmitted them to Kilkenny, to prevent any dangerous impreſſion from this incident. Nothing more ſeemed neceſſary than to prepare the inſtruments to be laid before the general aſſembly for a formal approbation. But new occaſions of oppoſition, and new difficulties aroſe in this aſſembly. Lord Digby had proteſted with vehemence againſt the religious articles granted by the earl of Glamorgan. The king diſavowed them in his declaration to the Engliſh parliament. He profeſſed, that as the earl had offered to raiſe forces in Ireland for his ſervice, he had a commiſſion to that purpoſe, and to that purpoſe only; none to treat of any other matter without the privity and directions of the lord lieutenant, "much leſs to capitulate any thing concerning religion." In a letter to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, he declared, that as the peace could not be obtained but by ſome indulgence to the catholics, in point of freeing them from the penalties impoſed on the exerciſe of their religion, and as ſuch indulgence in a public tranſaction might haply give ſcandal, he had therefore privately inſtructed his lieutenant to aſſure the catholics, in a leſs public way, of exemption from theſe penalties, and ſuch other graces as might be afforded, without blemiſh to his honour and con-

Ruſhworth.

Carte, vol. III. No. ccccxxv.

ſcience, or prejudice to his proteſtant ſubjects; that he had informed the earl of Glamorgan of theſe ſecret inſtructions; that knowing his intereſt with the catholic party, he thought he might be of uſe in perſuading them to moderation, and to reſt ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions; that he had ſtrictly confined him to theſe, and to act nothing but by directions of the lieutenant. To this end, and with ſuch limitations, "it is "poſſible," ſaid Charles, "we might have thought fit to give "the earl of Glamorgan ſuch a credential, as might give him "credit with the Roman catholics, in caſe you, the lieutenant, "ſhould find occaſion to make uſe of him, as a farther aſſur-"ance to them of what you ſhould privately promiſe; or, in "caſe you ſhould judge it neceſſary for their greater confidence, "to manage thoſe matters apart *by him*." This he declares to be all, and the very bottom of what he *might have poſſibly* intruſted to the earl in this affair, expreſſes his regret that he had not employed a wiſer man, repeats his aſſurance, that as he had not much regard to the abilities of Glamorgan, he had bound him to take directions from the lieutenant both in the matter and manner of his negociation; and commands that lord Digby's charge be thoroughly and diligently proſecuted.

Carte, vol. II. Append. No. xxiii.

At the very time of writing this public letter, Charles, by another to the marquis of Ormond, privately directed, that the execution of any ſentence againſt Glamorgan ſhould be ſuſpended; as the misfortune he had brought on all, proceeded from miſguided zeal, rather than malice. And, however, he affected to lament that want of judgment to which he imputed the obnoxious proceedings of the earl, and however he condemned his precipitate neglect of inſtructions, in acting without the advice and concurrence of the marquis, yet he contrived to convey ſecretly to Glamorgan repeated aſſurances of his confidence and friendſhip. But the confederates were not informed of theſe private letters: probably they knew of nothing more than that

Inquiry. Harleian. MSS.

peremptory diſavowal of the earl's treaty, which Charles had found neceſſary to make to his parliament: an incident at which the more violent affected the utmoſt conſternation, and which diſcouraged and embarraſſed thoſe, who oppoſed the extravagances of the clergy and their favourite nuncio.

Carte, vol. I. p. 563.

THIS prelate had for ſome time laboured indefatigably to oppoſe any accommodation, but on terms of enormous advantage to the intereſts of the church. The popiſh clergy were all at his entire devotion, except ſome biſhops whom age had rendered moderate, and ſome regulars, who, by their miſſion, were independent of his authority. With ſuch aſſiſtants, he was confident and preſumptuous, indifferent to the intereſts of the king, zealous for thoſe of his own order, and engaged entirely on the fantaſtical deſign of eſtabliſhing the catholic worſhip in all its dignity and magnificence. To counteract the ſchemes of thoſe confederates who wiſhed to make peace on ſuch terms as might ſecure the toleration, without the eſtabliſhment of their religion, he produced the plan of a treaty ſaid to be framed by the pope, and tranſmitted by his nephew, cardinal Pamfilio. It conſiſted of extravagant proviſions for the church. Rinunccini was empowered to make ſuch additions as he ſhould think proper: his additional articles were ſtill more extravagant: and the whole collection of abſurdity and preſumption was preſented as a treaty already formed and determined at Rome, though not approved by the queen, nor ſigned by his agent, Sir Kenelm Digby. He collected his clergy, and eaſily prevailed on them to ſign a proteſtation in favour of this treaty. He recommended it to the general aſſembly, as the only plan on which their rights and intereſts could be effectually ſecured: he exhorted them to wait the arrival of the original articles; in the mean time, to prolong the ceſſation, and to ſend their forces for the relief of Cheſter. He wrought with equal aſſiduity to gain Glamorgan to his project. This earl, who, from his converſation with the miniſters in Dublin, had adopted what were called among his aſſociates the ſentiments of moderation, declared loudly for a ſpeedy concluſion of the civil articles with Ormond, and for conſidering his own ſeparate treaty as a ſufficient ſecurity for the eccleſiaſtical intereſts. His inſtability, and impatience to lead an army to the relief of his royal maſter, now diſpoſed him to comply with the nuncio. He wrote to the marquis, that "the effects of his ſecret endeavours abſo-"lutely vaniſhed, when a more advantageous peace was offer-"ed by the munificent and powerful hand of her majeſty;" aſſured him, "that it was of the utmoſt importance to the king "and kingdom, that no cauſe of offence ſhould be given to the "pope's nuncio;" inſinuating the neceſſity of treating with him in his own manner, and on his own terms. "*But ſince* "*the high poſt,*" *ſaid he,* "*which you hold, and the* diffe-"rence of religion, will not permit your excellency to engage "openly in this affair, I believe it would not be at all impro-"per for you to delegate that office to others, with whom, if "your excellency ſhall join me, who, though unequal in other "reſpects, am inferiour to none in friendſhip and regard for "you; I doubt not that we ſhall in a few days, and even a few "hours, obtain of the nuncio whatever ſhall be thought reaſon-"able and honourable for his *majeſty*; *myſelf* alone having by "the intereſt and good will of the nuncio, gained this point, "that three thouſand ſoldiers are deſigned to be ſent to the re-"lief of Cheſter; and, to-morrow or next day, he is to have "the chief management of that propoſal in the general aſ-"ſembly."

Birch's Inquiry. p. 159.

THE ſtyle of this letter ſeems to imply a conſciouſneſs in Glamorgan, that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic. The anſwer of the marquis of Ormond ſeems alſo inconſiſtent with a real perſuaſion that the earl was not duely authoriſed to treat with the confederates. He cautiouſly declines engaging in any negociation foreign to the powers he had received; expreſſes his total ignorance of any grounds for the expectation of advantageous conditions by means of her majeſty. "My affections and intereſt," ſaith he, "are ſo tied to his "majeſty's cauſe, that it were madneſs in me to diſguſt any "man that hath power and inclination to relieve him in the ſad "condition he is in; and, therefore, your lordſhip may ſecurely go on in the way you have propoſed to yourſelf to ſerve the "king, without fear of interruption from me, or ſo much as "inquiring into the means you work by."

Carte, vol. III. N° ccccxxviii.

WHILE the nuncio exerted himſelf with ſuch vigour in favour of a treaty, which probably had no exiſtence but in his own heated imagination; while he ventured to aſſure the general *aſſembly, that the original of this treaty was daily expected from Rome by the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby*; the more ſenſible and moderate of this aſſembly contended for the ſpeedy concluſion of the treaty with the marquis of Ormond. They urged the condeſcenſion of the king in granting all their temporal conditions: that in ſpirituals, nothing was wanting but the pomp and oſtentation of public worſhip, and an eſtabliſhed hierarchy. The circumſtances of the king, they obſerved, could not admit any farther conceſſions: they ſhould rely on his *inclinations manifeſted by the* earl of Glamorgan, and otherwiſe. The pope *himſelf had* declared, that a connivance was all that could at preſent be reaſonably demanded for their religion. One eccleſiaſtic atteſted the reality of this declaration; another, with a virulence intolerable to the nuncio, maintained that his tale of a Roman treaty was a ſlander on the queen, an impoſition on the Iriſh, purpoſely deviſed to ruin the king, and to prevent the peace. Others again, with greater indulgence to this intractable prelate obſerved, that a concluſion of the civil articles could be of no prejudice to any eccleſiaſtical peace framed by the pope; ſince it was provided, that all things

Carte, vol. I. p. 564.

ſhould ſtand good which the king might grant *in point of* religion, by the intervention of any perſon whatever.

In the midſt of theſe delays and altercations, the impatience of the earl of Glamorgan was redoubled. He flew from one party to another, attempted to moderate the violences of each, profeſſed the warmeſt attachment to the nuncio; ſigned an inſtrument, whereby he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty, provided, that if the original articles ſhould arrive by the firſt day of May, his inſtrument ſhould be void; and, in the mean time, kept ſecret, unleſs the political peace with Ormond ſhould be publiſhed before that day. The nuncio yielded to theſe condeſcenſions of Glamorgan. They ſigned a convention with ſome deputies of the *general aſſembly*, whereby it was ſtipulated, *that the ceſſation ſhould continue to the firſt of May; that if the original of the pope's treaty were not* then produced, the nuncio *ſhould ratify* what he and Glamorgan ſhould agree upon; that the political treaty with the lord lieutenant ſhould proceed, provided that nothing ſhould be concluded or publiſhed, no alteration of civil government attempted, nor any thing in prejudice to the preſent tranſaction. From the readineſs of Glamorgan's conceſſions, Rinunccini ſtill ſuſpected his ſincerity. He ſtill dreaded, *that the earl might* unite with Ormond *in oppoſition to a treaty received from the* pope. To *remove ſuch impreſſions, the earl,* by a voluntary oath, engaged to ſupport the nuncio and his meaſures againſt the partizans of Ormond, and all others: he declared his reſolution of going to France, to procure tranſports for ſuch *forces* as ſhould be provided for the king; he amuſed the vain *prelate* with promiſes of vaſt military ſtores, together with a conſiderable navy, to be entirely at his devotion and command. The ſuſpicions of the nuncio were thus quieted: he exhorted the general aſſembly to proceed in their preparations for peace and war; and Glamorgan haſted to Waterford, to attend the embarkation of the troops deſtined to the relief of Cheſter, when this city had already ſurrendered to the parliament.

Carte, vol. I. p. 565.

The earl was ſtill poſſeſſed with apprehenſions of the inſtability of the nuncio, and the oppoſition he might ſtill make to the deſign of ſending effectual ſuccours to the king. From Waterford he repeated his zealous aſſurances of attachment, and his magnificent promiſes to this prelate. He offered to make uſe of his powers of conferring titles; and to create one earl, two viſcounts, and three barons, at the nomination of the nuncio, ſo as to enable him to gratify his Iriſh friends, and ſtrengthen his party. At the ſame time, in a ſtrain of perfect confidence, he aſſured the unhappy Charles, that ten thouſand men ſhould ſpeedily be tranſported for his ſervice; and that, his *majeſty remaining ſtill conſtant in* a favourable opinion and right interpretation of *his* poor endeavours, he doubted *not* of procuring him to be a glorious and happy prince. The publication of the king's meſſage to parliament, in which Glamorgan's private treaty was diſavowed, ſeemed ſcarcely to damp the confidence of this lord; however, it ſurpriſed and confounded the confederates. He repreſented it as "a forced renunciation:" he declared, that the king had expreſsly inſtructed him, that "if by "*any unfortunate accident* he ſhould be involved in counſels ap-"*parently contrary to the powers granted* to his lordſhip, that "he ſhould conſider them *only* as an additional *motive* to haſ-"ten to the ſuccour and reſcue of his ſovereign:" he ſpoke with eaſe and aſſurance of the military ſtores, ſubſidies, and tranſports he was to procure by his negociations on the continent, and required only that he might find an army ready on his return.

Ruſhworth. Inquiry, p. 184.

Ibid. p. 188.

Carte, vol. I. p. 566.

While the earl of Glamorgan was thus preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulged his imagination with ſplendid projects never to be executed, the ſupreme council of the confederates was engaged in the final ſettlement of their treaty with the marquis of Ormond. The articles to which he had aſſented appeared ſo ſatisfactory to the general aſſembly, that even their prelates concurred in accepting and approving them. It had indeed been formerly *ſtipulated* with the nuncio, that no peace ſhould be concluded until the firſt day of May; but the new general aſſembly, convened on the ſixth of March, did not *conſider themſelves* as bound by this convention. Their former agents were commiſſioned to conclude the treaty; and, in defiance of the proteſtation thundered by the nuncio againſt their farther proceeding, the treaty was concluded on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month. It was attended with a conditional obligation, whereby the king was diſengaged from all his conceſſions, unleſs thoſe ſuccours were obtained, which were the *great purpoſe* and *final object of his negociations* with the *Iriſh.* The *confederates* engaged to tranſport ſix thouſand foot well armed and provided, by the firſt day of April, and four thouſand more by the firſt of the enſuing month. In the mean time, the treaty was to be depoſited in the hands of Clanricarde (now created a marquis,) as an inſtrument of no force until theſe troops ſhould be ſent away. It was agreed, that the peace ſhould be publiſhed with all due ſolemnity on the firſt of May. But *if* the troops were *not* ſent at the times appointed, (unleſs *prevented by ſome* unavoidable impediment, *or reaſonable cauſe,* to be allowed by the marquis of Ormond,) the articles were to be conſidered as of no effect, and the counterparts to be mutually reſtored to the reſpective parties *. A. D. 1646.

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* The articles of this treaty are too numerous to be detailed. But their general tenour may be ſufficiently collected from the grievances pleaded, and the propoſitions offered at different times by the Iriſh. Nothing was ſtipulated with reſpect to religion, but that catholics ſhould be exempted from taking the oath of ſupremacy, on ſwearing allegiance according to a new form. With reſpect to the queſtion of the independency of the parliament of Ireland

Thus far was a treaty brought to final concluſion, which the pride, the improvidence, and the bigotry of the Iriſh had protracted, until the king had no appearance of an army left in England, and utterly deſpaired of any farther oppoſition to his enemies. The Iriſh ſuccours which he laboured to procure, by a ſeries of diſgraceful conceſſions, could now ſcarcely be employed to any effectual purpoſe in England. Charles was reduced to the melancholy device of applying them to the reduction of Ireland to his obedience, which might, at leaſt, afford him a ſecure retreat, if his other kingdoms could not be recovered. Ormond was not yet authentically informed of the king's extreme diſtreſs. He gave the neceſſary orders for the firſt embarkation of ſix thouſand men. But the Iriſh confederates were no ſtrangers to the general ſtate of affairs in England. They conſidered the great difficulties and dangers of an Engliſh expedition, without any certain landing-place to receive, or any cavalry to ſupport their men. Glamorgan, who, in con-

Carte, vol. III. N°ccccxxiii.

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on that of England, a new conceſſion was made to the confederates. Inſtead of referring it to both legiſlatures, as was formerly propoſed, it was now "accorded and agreed, that his majeſty will leave both houſes of parliament in "*this* kingdom [Ireland] to make ſuch declaration therein, as ſhall be agree-"able to the *laws* of the kingdom of Ireland." Vide Cox. Appendix, *No. xxiv. p. 97.*

But of all the articles of this treaty, that which ſtrikes a reader of England with ſurprize and contempt, is one, which provides, that the old acts of the Iriſh parliament prohibiting plowing by horſe-tails, and burning oats in the ſtraw, ſhall be repealed. This is ſometimes aſcribed to a ridiculous predilection and adherence to the old barbarous cuſtoms of the country. But this matter hath been already explained in the reign of James. The objection to theſe acts was, that the penalties which they inflicted DID NOT anſwer the purpoſe of the legiſlature, DID NOT tend to reformation, but rather to encourage and perpetuate a barbariſm which brought in a regular revenue to the crown.

junction with the marquis of Antrim, had engaged for tranſports, could not provide them at the time appointed. The confederates, therefore, choſe to employ their forces againſt Inchiquin and the parliamentarians of Munſter. They repreſented the neceſſity of this ſervice to the marquis of Ormond. The clearing of one kingdom, they obſerved, promiſed more advantage to the king than a deſperate attempt to aſſiſt him in England. Their great agent, lord Muſkerry, expreſſed a doubt whether the Engliſh parliament might not already have extorted ſome conceſſions from the king repugnant to thoſe powers of treating with their party, which he had granted to his lord lieutenant. From the diſtreſſes of the king, the ſtrength and inveteracy of his enemies, and the weakneſs of Iriſh government, he recommended to the marquis, to conſult his own ſecurity, by accepting the command of the Iriſh forces; and immediately on publication of the peace, to lead them againſt the common enemy in Ireland. The ſame overtures were made to him by Glamorgan: and this ſanguine lord, as if the junction had been already formed, required the united aſſurance of Ormond and the confederates, that ten thouſand troops ſhould be ready on his return from the continent, while he engaged on his part, for vaſt ſupplies of ſhipping, arms, ammunition, and artillery. The marquis anſwered generally, and cautiouſly, without a formal acceptance, or an abſolute rejection of this overture. "As "I may at no hand," ſaid he to lord Muſkerry, "decline your "undertaking to ſerve his majeſty in England, ſo neither ſhall "I refuſe your offer towards it in this kingdom; but as occa"ſion ſhall be offered and I enabled, will chearfully endea"vour to preſerve his intereſt here, and the lives, liberties, and "fortunes of all thoſe that ſhall therein join with me." To Glamorgan he promiſed, by himſelf, and without any concert with the Iriſh, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for raiſing the ten thouſand

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Carte, vol. III. ut ſup.

thouſand troops, and that the whole remainder of his fortune ſhould ſtand engaged for this purpoſe *.

* His letter to Glamorgan on this occaſion affords an additional proof to thoſe already publiſhed, that the commitment of this earl was really nothing more than what the king's enemies called it, A COLOURABLE COMMITMENT: that Ormond, far from conceiving his commiſſion to be forged or ſurreptitiouſly obtained, ſtill continued to regard him as really entruſted by the king, and empowered to negociate in his name, as a perſon with whom it was his duty to co-operate, ſo far as was conſiſtent with his principles, his honour, and ſafety; and whom he was, at leaſt, bound not to oppoſe in his endeavours for the ſervice of his majeſty. The letter is here, therefore, inſerted at large, from the original, in poſſeſſion of the author.

" MY LORD,

" I RECEIVE your gratulation and advices for my future ſecurity, as " evident teſtimonys of *your continued favour to mee, and am much joyed to finde* " *that the accidents fallen out concerning your lordſhip have not left any impreſſion on* " *you to the prejudice of the real affection you give me leave to beare you.*

" MY lord, I had, according to my promiſe, given you a larger accoumpt " of things here, but that at the concludeing of the articles wee found our" ſelves ſoe ſtreightned in time, that many material partes of the agreement " were faine to bee put in an other way then was firſt thought of, and at this " inſtant I am ſoe preſſed with important diſpatches from Kilkenny, that I " ſhall bee able but ſhortly and confuſedly to give you a returne to the maine " parte of your lordſhip's of the third of this month, which came to my hands " yeſterday about noone.

" TOUCHING the noble and large ofer you are pleaſed to make of ſhiping, " armes, ammunition, and a traine of artillery for the king's ſervice, in caſe " you may receive aſſurance from thoſe in power among the confederates and " from mee, that ten thouſand men ſhall be ready againſt your returne to be " tranſported to ſerve the king in England, I returne your lordſhip this " anſwer, That *I ſhall and by this leter doe cheerefully obleege myſelfe for as much* " *as ſhall be in my power, ether in my publick or private capacity, to have that num*" *ber of men in the readineſs you expect; and to compoſe it, am contented all the re*" *mainder of my fortune ſhould ſtand engaged.* If your lordſhip can procure as " much as this from the other party, I conceive you will proceede in your

Carte, Vol. III. No. ccccxlvi. THE depredations of Sir Charles Coote and his parliamentarian forces in Connaught became ſo violent and alarming, that

" intended voyage with ſatisfaction, and returne I hope with ſucceſſe, which
" is earneſtly wiſhed by
" Your lordſhip's
" moſt faithfull
" and affectionate kinſman
" and humble ſervant
ORMOND."

" Dub. Caſt, the 6th
" of Aprill, 1646.

" To the Right honourable My
" very good Lord the Earle of Glamorgan
" att Waterford."

THUS we find that Glamorgan perfectly underſtood the nature and *reaſon* of his commitment; *that he was not offended at the marquis; and that the marquis inſinuates plainly enough, that he ought not to be offended.* The earl, indeed, expreſſed ſome reſentment againſt lord Digby. But lord Digby was his rival. He was at this time negociating with the ſupreme council; and prevailed on them to furniſh him with three hundred men to ſerve as a guard for the prince of Wales, now retired to the iſle of Scilly, and whom Digby projected to convey into Ireland; a ſcheme which Ormond highly approved, and which was very acceptable to thoſe of the confederates, who wiſhed to reſtrain the turbulence and ambition of the nuncio. Digby grew a favourite with the confederates. Glamorgan was jealous of his *entirely ſupplanting him, and gaining the command of their forces; ſo as to deprive him of the favourite object of his vanity, the honour of leading an army to the reſcue of his royal maſter.* [See Carte, Vol. III. No. ccccxxxvii.] Digby, however, thought it neceſſary, and contrived to allay his jealouſies. " Here " at Waterford," ſaith he to Ormond [No. ccccxli.] " I have met with my " lord of Glamorgan, whom I find (and he hath reaſon) a very ſad man, and " withall highly incenſed by ſome about him againſt me. But for this latter " part, I believe his good nature and THE REASONS WHICH I HAVE GIVEN " HIM, have well ſettled him in a good meaſure of kindneſs; which my lord " of Muſkerry, and the reſt, did think very neceſſary to the carrying on of buſineſs unanimouſly."

At the ſame time, that Ormond engaged with ſo much zeal to ſecond the efforts of Glamorgan, at the hazard of his whole fortune, it is certain that the confederates grew more urgent with the marquis to declare againſt them. Clanricarde had been injured by their outrages, and inſiſted, that the chief governour ſhould proclaim them traitors. The confederates repreſented the neceſſity of a preſent union of all the royaliſts. They required that Ormond ſhould admit, that the obſtructions to the embarkation of their forces were ſufficient to juſtify them from any violation of articles: they told him, that any immediate publication of his treaty, muſt neceſſarily be attended with a like publication of Glamorgan's ſecret articles, to prevent any rupture among themſelves, or any diſguſt to their foreign friends. If this ſhould not be acceptable to the lieutenant, they required that he ſhould immediately unite his forces with theirs, and proceed with vigour againſt the common enemy. Carte, Vol. I. p. 569.

ORMOND had juſt now received intelligence that the king had reſigned himſelf to the Scottiſh army, an incident of ſuch conſequence as might require ſome change in his councils and meaſures. He deliberated, and at length determined to return a ſpirited anſwer to the confederates. The neceſſity of union, he obſerved, was too apparent, but refuſed to unite with thoſe who derived not their authority from the king. He was, however, ready to accept the aſſiſtance of any of the king's ſubjects; and, on publication of the peace, might be more explicit. He could not admit, that they had been guilty of no failure in their ſtipulations; for, however it might have been impracticable Ibid. p. 570.

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both he and Digby thought but meanly of the earl, and the vanity and extravagance of his promiſes. But notwithſtanding all his foibles, and notwithſtanding all their affected ſeverity againſt his treaty, it is evident they regarded him as duely authoriſed by the king; and treated and addreſſed him as a perſon ſtill enjoying the royal favour and confidence. And that he did ſtill enjoy them in a very high degree, there is direct and poſitive proof in thoſe letters extant among the Harleian Manuſcripts, in which Charles aſſures him of the continuance of his friendſhip, and promiſes to MAKE GOOD ALL HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND PROMISES TO HIM AND THE NUNCIO.

to ſend their forces into England, yet the ſums which they had engaged to ſupply for the ſervice of government, were not yet remitted. Glamorgan's articles had been diſavowed by the king; he, therefore, could not admit the publication of them. He required, that they ſhould conſent explicitly to ſuppreſs them; and that the treaty of Dublin ſhould be inſtantly publiſhed. If theſe overtures were not accepted, he declared, that the condition of his majeſty's affairs in Dublin muſt ſoon force him to ſeek ſome other way of recovering and ſupporting his authority in Ireland.

THE confederates were alarmed; they apprehended, that Ormond might join with the parliamentarians; they ſuſpected that overtures had been already made, and favourable conditions already offered to him. They grew humble and complying; they apologized for their failures, and promiſed to fulfil all their engagements; they conſented to omit the publication of Glamorgan's treaty; the articles concluded with Ormond were immediately to be publiſhed by mutual conſent: when a letter from the king forbad all farther proceedings, and inhibited the lieutenant from engaging him with the Iriſh on any conditions. Ormond might have been perſuaded that this order was extorted; but it was not eaſy to perſuade others. On each ſide all was ſuſpenſe and confuſion. The lieutenant and council, in their anſwer to the king, enumerated the diſtreſſes of Iriſh government; pleaded the abſolute neceſſity of at leaſt renewing the ceſſation, though the royal orders ſeemed to forbid it; and urged the impoſſibility of commencing war without large ſupplies of money and military ſtores. The confederates declared, that they could not proceed any farther in their negociation, in the preſent uncertainty of the king's circumſtances and condition. In this juncture lord Digby arrived opportunely from the continent. He declared, that the king was held in captivity by the Scots, and could not ſend any inſtruc-

Carte, vol. III. No. ccccliii.

No. cccclxi.

tions to his ſervants but ſuch as they extorted from him. That of this his ſevere reſtraint, he had found means to ſend private notice to Paris, directing that the queen, the prince, and all his miniſters, ſhould purſue the orders he had given, while free; that in all points, he had not then determined, the prince ſhould give ſuch orders as he judged moſt advantageous to the crown; that particularly, in the affairs of Ireland, the lord lieutenant ſhould proceed agreeably to his former inſtructions, without regard to any orders ſurreptitiouſly or forcibly obtained; that the queen and prince of Wales ſhould aſſure him of his majeſty's firm adherence to the meaſures he had formerly directed; and that as the great ſeal of England was likely to fall into the hands of his enemies, no attention was to be paid to it in Ireland, *unleſs the king ſhould ſignify under his own hand, in cypher, that it had been uſed agreeably to his free choice and inclination.*

A LETTER from the prince of Wales aſſured the marquis of his concurrence and ſupport in the proſecution of the Iriſh treaty. Lord Digby attended the privy council at Dublin. He declared, that the king's letter forbidding all farther negociations with the confederates was ſurreptitiouſly or forcibly obtained, contrary to what he knew to be his majeſty's free reſolution. *He offered to anſwer with his life for this preſent declaration of the king's will and pleaſure.* It was ſigned with his name, and entered in the council books. Ormond, in the ſame manner, regiſtered his proteſtation, that he was fully ſatisfied of his authority to conclude a peace upon the articles depoſited with the marquis of Clanricarde. No reluctance now appeared on the part of the confederates. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the inſtruments were delivered by both parties reſpectively. The council iſſued a proclamation, ratifying the articles of peace; and all perſons were enjoined to receive it with due obſervance and ſubmiſſion.

Carte, vol. III. No. cccclx.

Vol. I. p. 573.

Cox, vol. II. p. 165.

From ſuch an event, it ſeems natural to expect ſome public ſettlement and compoſure, an aſpect of affairs more ſerene and pleaſing, than had for ſome years appeared in Ireland. But the peace of forty-ſix, as it was called, had been the work of a diſtreſſed government, ſo utterly diſclaimed by the prevailing power in England, that lord Liſle was already appointed chief governour of Ireland by the parliament. The great body of covenanters in Ulſter deſpiſed the whole negociation; the parliamentarians of Munſter oppoſed any peace with the Iriſh. Theſe reformers, in the fullneſs of their zeal, could be contented only with the extirpation of popery and the rebellious Iriſh race. A numerous and powerful party of the catholics with the ſame abſurd violence, aimed at the utter extirpation of Engliſhmen and their religion. *Through the whole progreſs of the* treaty, Rinunccini *was indefatigable in his oppoſition to any* peace, but one framed by the pope; to any civil treaty ſeparate from the eccleſiaſtical; to any eccleſiaſtical which ſhould not fully gratify his extravagant expectations of an immediate, a complete, and ſplendid eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh worſhip.

Carte, vol. I. p. 574.

So miſerable a politician was this buſtling prelate, that whatever attention to the king's intereſts he publicly expreſſed, yet in a letter to cardinal Pamfilio he declared his opinion, *that the deſtruction of the king would prove of moſt advantage to the* Iriſh; *and the final triumph of the parliamentarians in England, moſt effectual to the eſtabliſhment of popery in Ireland.* Poſſeſſed with this ſtrange idea, he ſecretly rejoiced in every miſfortune of the royal party, and ſtrenuouſly contended againſt every meaſure which might ſupport the king's tottering cauſe. He harangued, he remonſtrated, he proteſted againſt the treaty with Ormond; he preached the neceſſity of union among the confederates, without any attention to the king's miniſters, or any thought of peace. He exhorted them to look abroad for ſupport; to ſeek the protection of ſome foreign power; and pointed out the pope as their natural and aſſured protector. But as a great and powerful party of the confederates were ſtill earneſt for a final accommodation, and were ſupported by general Preſton and his troops, the nuncio was ſenſible, that neither his own induſtry, nor the practices and clamours of his clergy would prevent the peace, without ſome power to ſupport them againſt an army ready to execute the orders of the ſupreme council.

Owen O'Nial, and his Ulſter forces, ſeemed a fit inſtrument of the nuncio's purpoſes. Both the leader and his followers were diſguſted at the ſupreme council. No proviſion had been made in the articles of the civil treaty for thoſe who pretended to be aggrieved by the plantation of Ulſter, and both Owen and all his officers had their grievances to plead. Their forces were chiefly compoſed of what were called in Ireland, Creaghts, a race of barbarous rovers, without any ſettled reſidence, wandering with their cattle in ſearch of ſubſiſtence, to the great annoyance of the diſtricts which they viſited. Their depredations in Leinſter had proved ſo oppreſſive, that the council of Kilkenny iſſued orders for oppoſing them by arms, and thus provoked their reſentment. The nuncio addreſſed himſelf to their commander; he aſſured him, that the ſupplies he had brought or expected, ſhould be all applied to the ſupport of his army; he gave him ſome money as an earneſt of his future bounty; he eaſily prevailed on a bold adventurer to declare againſt the peace; and the Ulſter Iriſh, who derived no advantage but from public commotion, were with equal eaſe induced to call themſelves the nuncio's ſoldiers. They were collected with ſuch diligence, that about the end of May, Owen had aſſembled near five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and at the head of this body advanced towards Armagh.

The Scottiſh general, Monroe, was alarmed at this motion, and naturally apprehended ſome attempts againſt the Britiſh garriſons

Carte, Vol. I. p. 574.

riſons of Ulſter. He drew out ſix thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe; and, by a forced march, arrived by midnight at Armagh, in order to ſurprize O'Nial in his quarters. Here he learned, that the Iriſh army lay ſeven miles farther, at a place called Benburb, ſtrongly poſted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, thought difficult to be paſſed. On the next morning, Monroe marched on the other ſide of the river, in full view of O'Nial, to meet a conſiderable reinforcement which he expected; when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he croſſed the river, and advanced on the Iriſh. Each army was drawn up in order of battle; but, inſtead of coming to a general engagement, the Iriſh general contrived to waſte the day, and amuſe the enemy with ſkirmiſhes. The ſun, which had been favourable to the Scots, was now declining on the back of his army. A detachment, which he had ſent to oppoſe the troops expected by Monroe, had been foiled in the attempt, and now haſtened to join the main body. Monroe was alarmed at ſeeing the enemy reinforced by a conſiderable troop, which, as they advanced, he had miſtaken for his own men. He prepared to retreat, and in that moment was furiouſly attacked by the Iriſh, in full confidence of victory. An Engliſh regiment, commanded by lord Blaney, maintained their ground, till he and moſt of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottiſh cavalry was ſoon broken, caſt the foot into diſorder, and produced a general rout. More than three thouſand of the Britiſh forces were ſlain on the field of battle, with the loſs only of ſeventy killed on the part of the Iriſh. The Scots' artillery, moſt of their arms, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of booty and proviſions were taken. Monroe fled with the utmoſt precipitation, abandoned ſeveral poſts of ſtrength, ſummoned the whole northern province to take arms againſt the victorious Iriſh, was vigorouſly purſued, and Ulſter on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Nial, when this general was ſuddenly called by the nuncio into Leinſter to oppoſe the peace, and inſtantly marched at the head of ten thouſand barbarous ravagers, for to this number had his army ſwelled by the victory of Benburb.

Carte, vol. I. p. 577.

The proſpect of a ſupport ſo powerful, inſpired all the adherents of the nuncio with the utmoſt confidence; and the effects appeared in the reception given to the proclamation of peace in ſeveral parts of Ireland. It had been immediately proclaimed at Dublin, and in the camp of general Preſton, and officers were ſent to proclaim it in ſeveral cities of the Iriſh quarters. At Waterford and Clonmel they were, on frivolous pretences, prevented from doing their office. At Limerick the chief magiſtrate attended the proclamation, but was ſuddenly attacked by a tumultuous crowd led on by ſome clergy, who wounded the mayor and the heralds, ſome of them mortally, impriſoned them for ten days; and received the thanks and benediction of the nuncio for this outrage. By his own authority, he diſplaced thoſe magiſtrates who had attempted to ſupport the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city on a man who had been leader and conductor of the tumult. He convened his clergy at Waterford; they pronounced all who adhered to the peace guilty of violating their oath of aſſociation; they excommunicated the commiſſioners, and all who had been inſtrumental in the treaty; they pronounced an interdict on all places where the peace had been admitted; ſuſpended all the clergy who preached in favour of it, and all confeſſors who abſolved any adherents of the peace. Excommunication was denounced againſt thoſe who paid or levied any money aſſeſſed by the council of Kilkenny, and all ſoldiers who ſhould ſupport the execution of their orders. For the better union of their party, a new oath of aſſociation was framed, whereby they engaged not to adhere to any peace, but ſuch as ſhould be honourable, ſecure to their conſciences, and ſo approved by the congregation of Iriſh clergy *.

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* THESE violent meaſures, it ſeems, were contrary to the inſtructions which the nuncio had received from Rome, and made it neceſſary for him to ſend an apology to the pope. Mr. Carte hath given us from the nuncio's Memoirs another inſtance in which he was accuſed of deviating from the intentions of the holy ſee, too curious to be paſſed unnoticed. In a ſpeech to the council of Kilkenny, he had recommended fidelity firſt to God and religion, and next to the king. A copy of this ſpeech he ſent to Rome; and, in return, was ſeverely reprimanded by cardinal Pamfilio; "for that THE HOLY SEE NEVER "WOULD BY ANY POSITIVE ACT APPROVE THE CIVIL ALLEGIANCE WHICH "CATHOLIC SUBJECTS PAY TO AN HERETICAL PRINCE: and the diſpleaſure "of the court of Rome was greater as he had depoſited a copy of *his ſpeech* "with the council; which, if *publiſhed, would furniſh heretics with argu-* "*ments againſt the papal authority over heretical princes; when the pope's* "own miniſter ſhould exhort catholics to be *faithful to ſuch a king*." The nuncio was directed to recal the copies of this ſpeech. He got the original from the ſecretary of the council, and returned him another, in which the offenſive paragraph was altered.

YET, in the fury of his zeal againſt the peace, he was betrayed into the ſame offence. He was the firſt to ſign a proteſtation of the clergy, in which they declared warmly for religion, and for the king. Pamfilio again reproved him: he reminded him, that "it had been the uninterrupted practice of "the ſee of Rome NEVER TO ALLOW HER MINISTERS TO MAKE OR CONSENT "TO PUBLIC EDICTS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE CROWN AND PERSON OF AN "HERETICAL PRINCE." He condemned his procedure, as furniſhing a pretence to the adverſaries of the ſee to reflect upon her, as deviating from her eſtabliſhed maxims and rules of conduct. "But as the pope," ſaid he, "knows very well how difficult it is in ſuch aſſemblies to ſeparate the rights "of religion from thoſe which relate to the obedience profeſſed by catholics "to the king; he will, therefore, be ſatisfied if his miniſter doth not ſhew "by any public act, that he either knew or conſented to ſuch public proteſta-"tions of that allegiance, which, for political conſiderations, the catholics "were either forced or willing to make."—Rinunccini, in his apology, declared, "that all the Iriſh biſhops had, without ſcruple, taken the oath which "contained this exceptionable clauſe of allegiance to the king; and that it "was ſo thoroughly rooted in the minds of *all* the Iriſh, even the clergy, "that

The cenſures thundered out by the nuncio and clergy had their full effect upon an ignorant and bigotted people, and every where produced the moſt violent exclamations againſt a peace, in which the intereſts of religion were not amply and explicitly ſecured. The ſupreme council prepared an appeal againſt theſe cenſures; but it was neither exhibited in form, nor publiſhed. Inſtead of rigorouſly enforcing their authority, they endeavoured to ſooth the clergy; they received their extravagant propoſitions without diſdain or reprehenſion, and thus confirmed them in the opinion of their own power. Owen O'Nial, they knew, was devoted to the nuncio, and provoked at the neglect of his merits, which they had betrayed in their nomination of generals, to be commiſſioned by the lord lieutenant on the peace. Preſton, from whom alone they could expect any oppoſition to O'Nial, had already diſcovered ſome ambiguity of conduct; and part of his army had been diſbanded for want of pay, part had deſerted to the clergy. In theſe circumſtances, the council looked to the marquis of Ormond for ſupport. They earneſtly invited him to repair to Kilkenny, in order to aſſiſt them to maintain the peace againſt the violence of the nuncio, and to concert meaſures for checking the progreſs of lord Inchiquin, who over-ran the ſouthern province, regardleſs of the orders of government, and in defiance of the proclamation of peace.

However deſperate and deplorable the preſent ſituation of the king appeared, however impracticable the tranſportation of Iriſh forces, and however ineffectual, yet a peace was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport even the name of royal authority in Ireland. A chief governour without forces, without money or

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" that if he had in the leaſt oppoſed it, he would preſently be ſuſpected of " having other views, beſides thoſe of a mere nunciature; which, without any " ſuch handle, had been already charged upon him by the diſaffected."

proviſions, threatened at once by the parliamentarians of Ulſter, Connaught, and Munſter, and by the catholics of theſe, and the remaining province, could ſubſiſt ſcarcely for a day. The kingdom muſt unavoidably be reduced by the king's enemies of Britain, or become the prey of ſome foreign power. His commiſſion for concluding a peace with the confederates was determined by the peace already concluded: if this ſhould not take place, there was no poſſibility of renewing a treaty for another. Ormond, therefore, readily accepted the invitation of the confederates. With a train of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horſe, attended by the marquis of Clanricarde and lord Digby, he repaired to Kilkenny, and was received with ſuch reſpect, and ſuch abundant joy, as ſeemed to indicate a general diſpoſition in the people to be again admitted into the king's protection. But this gay proſpect was ſoon clouded by diſappointment and ſuſpicion. Preſton, on pretence of indiſpoſition, refuſed to attend the lord lieutenant. An emiſſary he had diſpatched to practiſe with Owen O'Nial, could not by the moſt magnificent offers detach him from the nuncio. The earl of Caſtlehaven was ſent to this prelate and his clergy at Waterford, to diſſuade them from their violent meaſures, and reconcile them to the peace. But he found them obſtinate and inexorable; and was juſtly ſcandalized at the virulence of Rinunccini, who declared his firm purpoſe of oppoſing the peace to the utmoſt, and uttered "other expreſſions," ſaith the earl, "relative to blood, not becoming a churchman." To compoſe the tempers of the people, Ormond attempted ſome excurſions into Munſter; he prepared to march to Caſhel; when one of his own kinſmen appeared in arms to oppoſe him; and the magiſtrate of this town aſſured him, that the utmoſt vengeance was denounced againſt the inhabitants, ſhould they preſume to give him admittance, and that O'Nial was on his march to execute theſe threats. From the privy council at Dublin he received

Carte, vol. I. p. 580.

Caſtlehaven's Memoirs.

alarming intelligence of the motions and deſigns of this general. So confident were they that O'Nial intended either to intercept the lieutenant, or in his abſence to lay ſiege to the capital, that preparations were made for the defence of Dublin.

With whatever reluctance Ormond received theſe rumours, and whatever was his anxiety for effectuating the peace, he ſoon received the cleareſt and moſt authentic information of his preſent danger. Immediately on his departure for Kilkenny, the nuncio, who had attached O'Nial to his party by large ſums of money, urged him either to undertake the ſiege of Dublin, or to intercept the lieutenant on his return. He choſe this latter enterprize as the leaſt hazardous. Preſton, at length, yielded to the inſtances of Rinunccini, and was engaged in the ſame deſign. Ormond was aſſured, that both theſe generals were actually on their march to cut off his retreat. There was now no time for expoſtulation or reproach. By forced marches, with ſome difficulty, and ſeveral alarms, he regained the capital, where he was received with the joy natural to people who had for ſome days been perſuaded that he and his whole party were cut off.

Carte, vol. I. p. 582.

The triumph of the nuncio now ſeemed complete. The way was open for his return to Kilkenny. Owen O'Nial lay with his whole army in the neighbourhood of this city, ready to execute his orders. Preſton profeſſed to be devoted to his ſervice. Soldiers and officers, gentry and commonalty, crowded to this vain prelate, breathing vengeance againſt the Ormondists, (ſo the favourers of peace were called) and clamouring for religion, for the clergy, and the papal miniſter. In a moment, all that power which the confederate catholics had ſo long ſupported, the authority of their aſſemblies, the dignity of their councils, were utterly diſſolved and loſt. A few eccleſiaſtics ſeemed abſolute lords of the kingdom. The nuncio made his public entry into Kilkenny with all the pomp of royalty and victory; and all affairs civil and eccleſiaſtical were reſigned to his direction. Intoxicated with power and flattery, he ordered the members of the ſupreme council, and other promoters of the peace, to be impriſoned; and general Preſton executed his order. By a ſolemn decree iſſued in his own name, and by his own authority, he appointed a new council, conſiſting of four biſhops and eight laymen. In this aſſembly he himſelf acted as preſident; modelled his armies, appointed his officers, and in the fullneſs of authority, determined and commanded at his pleaſure.

Of all the infatuated people who reſigned their underſtandings and their intereſts to this prelate, the earl of Glamorgan was moſt obſequious. He had lately received a private letter from the king, in which Charles expreſſed his affection and attachment to the earl, and ſolemnly aſſured him, *that it* was his purpoſe, *if poſſible,* to *effect* an eſcape, and *caſt himſelf* into the arms of him and the nuncio. This letter was communicated to Rinunccini; and he, and his favourite, amuſed themſelves with idle projects for conveying the king into Ireland. To a nobleman of ſuch conſequence with his ſovereign, and, at the ſame time, ſo devoted to the holy ſee, the nuncio deigned to ſhew extraordinary marks of favour. He created him general of Munſter, in the room of lord Muſkerry, who was diſgraced and impriſoned: and, though the levity, the vanity, and inſtability of this earl were now generally underſtood, yet were they all redeemed by his abject ſubmiſſion to the pope and his miniſter. Rinunccini promiſed to appointed him lord lieutenant, when Ormond ſhould be driven from Dublin. He recommended him to Pamfilio as the perſon fitteſt for this office. Glamorgan was tranſported by ſuch favours: by a new engagement, he vowed eternal obedience to the nuncio; ſwore, that in all his conduct, he would be guided by his direction, and ſubmit to his deciſion; that he would, at any time, reſign the lieutenancy at his command; and, in all things, pay obedience to the

Birch, Inquiry. p. 244.

Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 584.

the holy ſee. And ſo confident was the ambitious prelate of immediately becoming maſter of Dublin, and eſtabliſhing his creature in the government, that he wrote to Rome for directions about adjuſting the ceremonial between the papal miniſter and the new chief governour.

Ormond, in the mean time, expected and prepared againſt a ſiege. The inhabitants, who had neglected the fortifications of Dublin, were rouſed by the apprehenſions of immediate danger, and proceeded vigorouſly to repair them. The old Iriſh of the North, (and theſe were the beſiegers now expected) had rendered themſelves generally odious by their barbarities, and were objects of particular horrour to the Engliſh inhabitants of Dublin. To animate their zeal againſt theſe murderers of their countrymen, the marchioneſs of Ormond, and other women of quality, appeared at their head, carrying baſkets of earth to the fortifications. But, amidſt all theſe preparations againſt a ſiege, the lieutenant was pierced with a deep ſenſe of his preſent deſperate ſituation. He was utterly unprovided for the ſuſtenance of an army; he could not ſupport the out-garriſons, nor draw them into Dublin to encreaſe the general diſtreſs. The moment that the enemy ſhould take poſſeſſion of the adjacent country, the exciſe, and all his wretched temporary reſources muſt utterly fail. He had mortgaged his eſtate for twenty-three thouſand pounds, expended in the public ſervice. Two thouſand more, received from his tenants at Kilkenny, were quickly exhauſted in purchaſing the ſubſiſtence of a few days. He could not maintain a ſiege; he could not treat with the Iriſh; he could not rely on their adhering to any treaty. The whole power of the confederate catholics had now devolved on the OLD IRISH, the moſt deſperate and barbarous, the moſt averſe to all of Engliſh race, who in their pride had threatened them with extirpation, had breathed diſdain and defiance of Engliſh government, and were now labouring to reduce the nation under a foreign power. To ſuch men he could not ſubmit. The parliamentarians he deteſted. Yet to this deteſted party he was reduced to apply; and, in order to preſerve the appearance of an Engliſh government in Ireland, at length, reluctantly addreſſed him for relief to the parliament at London.

Carte, Orm. vol. I. p. 586.

HE required an immediate reinforcement of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, three months pay for his army thus augmented, ſecurity for the perſons and eſtates of his adherents, of thoſe who had for ſome time after the rebellion been forced to continue in the Iriſh quarters, of all unoffending catholics, and of ſuch rebels as by the lieutenant and council, with conſent of the Engliſh parliament, ſhould be admitted as adherents to the *king's proteſtant ſubjects. On theſe conditions he engaged to carry on the war, as he ſhould be enabled* and directed by parliament. It was, however, intimated by his agents, that rather than the ſupplies ſhould be obſtructed, the lieutenant and council would, with the king's permiſſion, reſign their patents, provided that their perſons and eſtates were ſecured, and that they were indemnified from their public engagements. And this latter overture only was accepted. Commiſſioners were named to treat with Ormond *for the ſurrender* of his government and garriſons; and, *in the mean time,* two thouſand foot *and three hundred horſe,* were ordered for the immediate relief of Dublin.

THE nuncio, in full confidence of ſucceſs, now concerted his enterprize againſt the capital. His reliance was on Owen O'Nial; and his favour confined to this general and his army. The aſſiſtance of Preſton was rather accepted than deſired; and the nuncio manifeſted his ſuſpicions, by requiring him to take an oath that he would proceed faithfully and vigorouſly in the ſiege of Dublin. Preſton, naturally choleric, could but reſent this partiality. The forces of O'Nial were violent and indiſcriminate in their ravages. The gentry of Leinſter were provoked, and flocked in great numbers to Preſton for defence againſt the barbarous Northerns. Thus, by the indiſcretion of the nuncio, and the outrages of his favourite troops, his two generals became rivals, and their forces were ready to draw the ſword againſt each other. Lord Digby was on the point of going to France, either to procure ſupplies for war, or to prevail upon that court to interpoſe with the Iriſh and incline them to peace, when he learned the ſecret diſcontents of Preſton; and hence formed a project to detach him from the nuncio. A private treaty was commenced. Preſton demanded ſecurity for religion; and, on this condition, promiſed to unite with Ormond. Some aſſurances were offered by Digby with reſpect to religion, from the queen and prince. Preſton demanded the additional ſecurity of the marquis of Clanricarde, to whoſe direction he ſeemed willing to ſubmit. Both theſe noblemen were ſolicitous to prevent any accommodation between Ormond and the Engliſh parliament. Digby, more ſanguine in his expectations, not only poſſeſſed himſelf with a firm perſuaſion that Preſton would be eaſily gained, but was amuſed with the hopes of making the nuncio his priſoner, by ſurprize. But this ſcheme proved ineffectual; and Ormond, who deſpiſed and ſuſpected the faith and ſtability of Preſton, could not be perſuaded to take his part in the treaty with this general, who now advanced toward Dublin, in conjunction with O'Nial, at the head of ſixteen thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe.

Carte, vol. III. No. ccccxcii.

To proceed with the appearance of form and deliberation, their propoſitions were ſent to the marquis of Ormond, to which his immediate anſwer was required. They demanded, that the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be as free and public in all the Engliſh garriſons, as in Paris or Bruſſels; and that Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Carlinford, and other places in the Engliſh quarters, ſhould be garriſoned by catholics.

Vol. I. p. 588. Cox, vol. II. p. 173. Borlaſe.

Ormond, in the midſt of his diſtreſſes, diſdained an anſwer to theſe inſolent propoſitions. Thirty barrels of powder received from a parliament ſhip was the only proviſion for defence he had been enabled to make. He applied to the agents of the Engliſh parliament, now reſiding in Ulſter: they refuſed to procure him any ſuccours, unleſs he ſhould deliver Drogheda into heir hands. He addreſſed himſelf to the Scots of this province: they ſeemed inclined to the king's ſervice; but, by heir detachments to Scotland, and their defeat at Benburb, were too much weakened to ſend the ſuccours he required. In his extremity, he attempted to tranſport his wife and children o the Iſle of Man: he had the mortification to be denied the uſe of a ſhip, unleſs to convey them to ſome place under the parliament's obedience; and, rather than accept this offer, he determined that they ſhould ſhare his danger. Some faint hopes he formed from the approach of winter, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which might render it impracticable for the enemy to lye long encamped before the city. To make their ſituation ſtill more diſtreſsful, he demoliſhed the mills and bridges, deſtroyed the corn within ſeveral miles of Dublin, and thus waited the approach of the confederates.

Carte, vol. I. p. 589.

THEY approached, and took their ſtations near the city with an appearance highly formidable. But the animoſities of the Leinſter and Ulſter generals ſtill ſubſiſted; nor were their forces ſufficiently provided againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the poverty of the country. Whatever plan of operations was ſuggeſted by either, his rival eagerly oppoſed. O'Nial was dark and ſarcaſtical, cautious of diſcovering his ſentiments, jealous, captious, and ſevere. Preſton, irritable, open, and unreſtrained, expreſſed his reſentment with an indiſcreet and indecent violence. The nuncio was alarmed at the conflict of ſuch tempers, and was difficultly diſſuaded from committing Preſton to cuſtody. O'Nial affected to dread ſome inſidious deſign againſt him and his forces. The officers of each party adopted the jealouſies and reſentments of their leader. Thoſe of Leinſter expreſſed contempt and abhorrence of the barbarous Northerns: in return, they were inſulted by thoſe of Ulſter with the opprobrious appellation of Engliſhmen, and threatened with deſtruction, when Ireland ſhould revert to its original and only rightful poſſeſſors. Thus were the two armies ready to draw the ſword againſt each other, inſtead of carrying on the ſiege with due concert and alacrity.

Lord Digby was ſtill ſolicitous to take advantage of theſe animoſities, to reconcile the whole body of the Iriſh to peace, on what he deemed reaſonable terms; or, at leaſt, to detach Preſton from their confederacy, and by uniting him with Ormond, to prevent the hateful treaty with the Engliſh parliament. The marquis of Clanricarde, at his inſtances, repaired to the confederates. He was received with the reſpect due to a catholic lord of ſuch diſtinguiſhed character, and commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council. He undertook for the repeal of all laws againſt catholics; that they ſhould retain poſſeſſion of the churches until the king's pleaſure ſhould be ſignified, upon a full ſettlement of the nation; that the queen and prince ſhould confirm theſe articles, and the crown of France be guarantee for their performance. The nuncio, in the extravagance of his bigotted expectations, objected to theſe overtures as ſtill inſufficient. They were warmly ſupported by the moderate and ſenſible part of the confederates. In the midſt of their debates, intelligence arrived, that the forces of the Engliſh parliament were landed in Dublin. They ſtarted from council; O'Nial called off his men from their poſts, and decamped in the night; the ſupreme council haſted to Kilkenny, and were followed by the nuncio; while Preſton and his officers continued the negociation with Clanricarde, promiſing, on ſecurity for the conditions he propoſed, to obſerve the late peace, to be obedient to the king's authority, and to unite with Ormond againſt all his enemies.

THE marquis, thus extricated from his immediate danger, was more at leiſure to treat with the commiſſioners ſent by the Engliſh parliament. They ſaw the wretched ſtate of Dublin, and imagined that Ormond muſt purchaſe their ſupplies on the ſevereſt terms. The proteſtant inhabitants regarded them as their deliverers; they urgently petitioned that their forces ſhould be admitted into the city; and Ormond found it neceſſary to comply ſo far with their demands, that he permitted the ſoldiers to debark, and take their quarters peaceably in the ſuburbs. From the tranſactions of Clanricarde ſome hopes ſtill remained of an accommodation with the Iriſh. He, therefore, treated with the commiſſioners not as a man totally deſperate, but with the dignity ſuited to his character and ſtation. They propoſed to take the proteſtants of Ireland under the protection of parliament, and to allow the marquis his eſtate, or an annual penſion of two thouſand pounds, for five years, if he ſhould not receive ſo much from his rents. On theſe conditions they demanded that he ſhould reſign his government. He objected to the lax and uncertain manner in which their overtures were expreſſed. He obſerved, that they had brought no anſwers to thoſe propoſitions which he had tranſmitted to London; that they offered no ſecurity to any proteſtants but on condition of their obedience to all the ordinances of parliament; that they could not particularly inform him what theſe ordinances were, nor aſſure him that thoſe which enjoined the covenant were not included in this number; that they offered no ſecurity to thoſe papiſts who were untainted by rebellion; no aſſurance of being continued in the public ſervice, to any officers civil or military; that they brought no ſpecific orders from the king which might juſtify his reſignation of the government. In ſuch circumſtances, he declared, that he muſt ſtill retain the charge entruſted him: but that the kingdom might not be deprived of their ſuccours, he propoſed, that their ſoldiers ſhould be diſtributed into garriſons, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known, and their inſtructions from the parliament enlarged; and that they ſhould ſupply him with three thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the army. Theſe propoſitions were rejected; the forces were re-embarked and conveyed to Ulſter; where the Scots, with difficulty, conſented to receive them.

During this negociation, Ormond found himſelf inſenſibly involved in another tranſaction, ſcarcely reconcileable to his principles of religion, of honour, or of policy. The marquis of Clanricarde, in his treaty with general Preſton, had promiſed the ſecurity of the queen and prince for the advantages ſtipulated in favour of religion. To render this effectual, it was neceſſary that Ormond ſhould promiſe to obey all orders in favour of the catholics received from the queen or prince, or ſuch as ſhould be certified by lord Digby, ſecretary to the king, to be his majeſty's free and real pleaſure. But he who had received ſuch proofs of the king's indulgence to the Iriſh catholics, he who knew the principles and the counſellors of the queen, could not but apprehend, that ſuch a promiſe might bind him to the moſt dangerous and extravagant conceſſions, ſuch as he had hitherto rejected with diſdain. Digby required him to declare, that his majeſty's gracious intentions to ſecure the catholics in the free exerciſe of religion, were purpoſely omitted in the laſt articles of peace, by the ſubtilety of ſome of the Romiſh party, in order to enflame the people againſt a treaty ſo eſſentially defective. Such a declaration, he well knew, was inconſiſtent with truth. He was to promiſe that no advantage ſhould be taken of the omiſſion, but that the penal laws ſhould be repealed, and the churches left in poſſeſſion of the catholics until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. This were to adopt the religious articles granted by Glamorgan. He was not

Carte, vol. III. No. DIV.—DXXII.

only to employ Preſton and his officers, and to grant them commiſſions under the marquis of Clanricarde, who was to take the chief command of the catholic forces, but to admit theſe forces into the king's garriſons; and, particularly, to receive ſome of Preſton's regiments into Dublin. This was dangerous, and juſtly and highly offenſive to the proteſtant party.

WHILE in treaty with the commiſſioners of parliament, Ormond took no notice of the engagements of Clanricarde, returned no anſwer to the ſolicitations of Digby. On the departure of theſe commiſſioners, he ſtated his objections to the particulars required from him. Clanricarde had precipitately engaged for his compliance in theſe particulars. Digby exerted all his ingenuity to reconcile them to his judgment and principles. Both lords expreſſed the utmoſt confidence in the ſincerity of Preſton, and his diſpoſitions to the king's ſervice. Both entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes from reconciling him to government. Ormond, wearied by importunity, at length, conſented to write to Preſton, a man whom he ſuſpected and deſpiſed. He firſt, aſſured him in general terms, that he and his officers, on ſubmiſſion to the peace, ſhould receive all due encouragement. He was again perſuaded to promiſe him, that in full reliance on his fidelity, he and his army ſhould be employed both in the field and in the king's garriſons. In another oſtenſible letter to the marquis of Clanricarde, he declared his reſolution of obeying all the king's free commands in favour of Iriſh catholics, or during his reſtraint, all the commands of the queen and prince, or the ſignifications of his majeſty's pleaſure, by his ſecretary, lord Digby *.

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* Ormond ſeems to have felt conſiderable pain at thus departing from his uſual dignity and firmneſs of conduct. So ſenſible was he of the impropriety and danger of this declaration, that he, in effect, retracted it. In a letter to lord Digby, on his ſuppoſed departure to France, the marquis expreſſes himſelf thus.—" One thing I ſhall beſeech you to be careful of, which is, to

" take

THE negociation of Clanricarde now ſeemed happily concluded; a negociation which promiſed to relieve the lieutenant from the odious neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Engliſh parliament, and to enable him to proſecute all impugners of the peace with vigour and ſucceſs. Clanricarde received his commiſſion to command the Leinſter army. Carte, vol. I p. 194. Preſton conſented to become his major-general, conſulted with Ormond on the operations of war; engaged to make an attempt for ſecuring Waterford and Kilkenny, and was ſpeedily to be joined by the lord lieutenant and his forces. He began his march; when ſuddenly ſome agents appeared from the nuncio, who commanded him to ſtop; to diſperſe his forces; and, in caſe of diſobedience, denounced the ſentence of excommunication on him and all his followers. *The contemptible bigot was terrified; and eaſily wrought to a full reconciliation with the nuncio and his party.* Ormond was on his march to join the Leinſter army, when Clanricarde, who attended him, to his utter confuſion and mortification, received a letter from Preſton, informing him, that his officers had all been driven from their reſolutions by the terrours of excommunication; and therefore adviſing, [f] that the lieutenant ſhould proceed no farther, but wait the iſſue of a general aſſembly at Kilkenny. In three days after this mean apology, he publiſhed a formal Cox, vol. II. p. 183.

"take order that the commands that ſhall be directed to me touching this "people (if any be) thwart not the grounds I have laid to myſelf in point of "religion; for in that, and in that only, I ſhall reſort to the liberty left to "a ſubject, to OBEY by SUFFERING. And this, I mention, leſt the king's "ſervice ſhould ſuffer by my ſcrupulouſneſs in things another would find "leſs difficulty in. No man knows better than your lordſhip where in this "particular I ſtick; yet I hold it not amiſs to remember you, that it is in "what concerns any conceſſion that may ſeem to perpetuate to the Roman "catholics either churches, or church-livings, or that may eſſentially take "from ours, or give to their clergy eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction."—CARTE, vol. III. No. DXXV.

renunciation of his treaty with Clanricarde, on pretence that articles were not performed on the part of government.

Carte, vol. I. p. 595—599.

ORMOND was not ſurpriſed at this perfidy; nor did he form any hopes from the new general aſſembly. Yet, to deprive the Iriſh of all excuſe, he reſolved to ſtruggle with his difficulties a little longer, and to expect the reſult of this meeting. While the neceſſities of Dublin obliged him to march into Weſt Meath, to ſeek ſubſiſtence for his troops, this aſſembly was convened. The moſt extravagant propoſitions were preſented by the nuncio and his clergy. They demanded the full eſtabliſhment of popery, the full poſſeſſion of all churches and benefices throughout the kingdom, the repeal of the common law ſo far as it gave the crown any eccleſiaſtical power, liberty to erect popiſh univerſities, to appoint proviſions to all church-dignities, and to exerciſe their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction *in its full extent*; and they required a new oath for continuing the aſſociation until theſe points ſhould be effectually obtained. The ſubſtance of theſe propoſitions was readily accepted. By a formal reſolution they condemned the late peace. The nuncio contended for cenſuring thoſe commiſſioners who had tranſacted it. But in oppoſing this violence, the aſſembly was betrayed into a ridiculous inconſiſtency. They voted, *that the commiſſioners had acted honeſtly in making, and the clergy alſo in violating the peace.* In contradiction to the ſenſe of the French court, ſignified by its miniſter, in contempt of a ſpirited remonſtrance from the marquis of Ormond, they pronounced it null and void.

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HERE was a full period to all hopes from the Iriſh. Ormond, ſurrounded by a party exaſperated at the repeated perfidy of this odious race, provoked at the diſtreſſes to which they had been reduced in the royal ſervice, and unable any longer to ſupply the demands of a famiſhed army, found himſelf, after a long ſeries of toilſome efforts for the intereſts of his ſovereign, deceived,

ceived, deſtitute, and abandoned. He could no longer ſupport the king's cauſe, or protect his proteſtant ſubjects; he, therefore, determined as his laſt deſperate reſource, to depoſite the rights of the crown with the Engliſh parliament. Thoſe who ſtill adhered to Iriſh government, however zealouſly affected to the king, however averſe to the proceedings of his opponents, yet could not deny the neceſſity of this reſolution. The privy council concurred in it: it was approved by a parliament held in Dublin. The king was now delivered up to the commiſſioners appointed by the two houſes to receive him from the Scots; and Ormond was aſſured, his majeſty had ſignified his pleaſure, that in a caſe of extreme neceſſity, he ſhould ſubmit rather to the Engliſh than the Iriſh. The king's private letters afforded Ormond abundant reaſon to doubt the truth of theſe aſſurances, yet they ſerved to juſtify the reſolution he had now formed to the public. He wrote to the parliament commiſſioners, offering to reſign his government and garriſons on their own conditions.

Carte, vol. I. p. 600.

Vol. II. Append. No. xxvi.

THE confederates, who had ever profeſſed loyalty to the king, were not entirely inſenſible to the odium of forcing his lieutenant into a ſubmiſſion to his enemies; and, at leaſt, thought it neceſſary to affect a ſolicitude for preventing it, by renewing their overtures for an accommodation. But, as the nuncio ſtill influenced their councils, the terms offered by the agents were inſolent and extravagant. They ſerved, however, to give the marquis ſome reſpite, and ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, until his treaty with the parliament ſhould be concluded. Lord Inchiquin now regarded him as a friend, ſent him ſome ſupplies, and conſulted him on his operations againſt the Iriſh in Munſter. This lord was at the head of five thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, and was reinforced from England. He took ſeveral places from the Iriſh, and threatened Waterford

Vol. I. p. 601.

with a ſiege. Preſton was recalled from his petty expeditions in Leinſter, to oppoſe the progreſs of lord Inchiquin; for O'Nial would obey no orders, not even of the nuncio, though his rapacious followers called themſelves the pope's army. This refractory leader had lately been made general of Connaught, he was in poſſeſſion of ſome counties of Leinſter, and in all the Iriſh quarters through the northern province abſolute commander. His affectation of independency, his ſubtile, dark, and enterprizing temper; the inſolence of his followers, who could not conceal the pride and prejudices of their ancient deſcent, and claimed the whole iſland as the property of the old Iriſh, filled the confederates with fears and diſcontents. Thoſe of Leinſter, and all the catholics of Engliſh race, dreaded extirpation from theſe ſavages. So that the body of *Iriſh inſurgents*, who had given ſuch conſequence, and ſuch *dignity to* their original conſpiracy; who had extorted the moſt abject condeſcenſions from the king, and preſcribed law to his lieutenant, was now on the point of breaking into virulent factions, and declaring deſperate war againſt each other.

Yet ſtill were they apparently ſo powerful, and ſo infatuated by an ambitious, ignorant, and preſumptuous clergy, that no A. D. 1647. inteſtine diſorders could abate their extravagance. The propoſitions of the marquis of Ormond were accepted by the parliament, and their treaty commenced. But before any ſignature of the treaty; and when Ormond, by the delay of thoſe ſuccours promiſed, in the interim, was ſtill at liberty to recede, Leyburne, one of the queen's chaplains, arrived in Ireland under the fictitious name of Winter Grant. He was ſent with expedients for advancing a peace, and directed to act entirely in concert with the marquis of Ormond. Here was a fair occaſion offered to the Iriſh of correcting their errours, and treating, by this agent, on fair and moderate terms. They, indeed, offered their propoſitions by Grant, but they were the propoſitions dictated by the clergy, and already rejected; and they were again rejected with diſdain *.

NOTHING now remained for Ormond but to conclude his treaty with the parliament. His ſecond ſon, lord Richard Butler, afterwards earl of Arran, the earl of Roſcommon, colonel Chicheſter, and Sir James Ware, were ſent to England as hoſtages for the performance of his ſtipulations. A conſiderable force marched out of Ulſter to Dublin, and reinforcements ſent from England were admitted into the city. On the nineteenth day of June, the articles were ſigned. Ormond engaged to deliver up Dublin, and all the king's garriſons, his ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, together with the ſword of ſtate, and other enſigns of his government, on the twenty-eighth of the ſucceeding month, or ſooner, if required by parliament, on notice of four days. The commiſſioners on their part promiſed, that proteſtants ſhould be protected; that all who choſe to attend the marquis out of Ireland ſhould have free liberty to depart; that popiſh recuſants who had not engaged in the rebellion, might reſt ſecurely in the favour of parliament, according to their future demeanour; that the marquis of Ormond ſhould have liberty to reſide in England, on condition of ſubmitting to the ordinances of parliament. They acknowledged that the ſum expended

Cox, Append. No. xxxviii.

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* We are told, that even Owen O'Nial now began to apprehend the conſequences of driving Ormond from the kingdom, and entered into ſome negociations with him. Ormond propoſed, that if he could procure a ceſſation for one year, he would break off his treaty with the parliament, but required an anſwer within fourteen days. O'Nial diſpatched his nephew, Daniel O'Nial, to recommend this meaſure to the ſupreme council. The propriety of it he explained at large to his friend Mac Mahon, the popiſh biſhop of Clogher, and earneſtly exhorted him to ſupport it. But the infatuated council, whether influenced by this prelate or no, effectually defeated the whole project, by impriſoning Daniel until the fourteen days limited by the marquis were expired. BORLASE.

expended by him in the king's ſervice amounted to thirteen thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds. They engaged to pay three thouſand of this ſum before his departure, and to ſecure the remainder by ſufficient bills of exchange.

THE parliamentarians were now complete maſters of Dublin, and ſcorned to delay the exerciſe of their authority until Ormond ſhould depart. Scarcely had the treaty been ſigned, when the commiſſioners, without any ordinance of parliament, by their own abſolute will and pleaſure, forbad the uſe of the liturgy, (the only form of worſhip eſtabliſhed by law) and obtruded the directory on all places of worſhip. The Iriſh catholics had already refuſed the leaſt toleration of the eſtabliſhed *worſhip* in any place ſubject *to their power*, and in *the extravagance of* their expectations, had *diſputed whether the king ſhould be allowed* one chapel *in* the capital, *when their dominion* was to extend over the whole kingdom. With the ſame ſpirit of bigotry, theſe zealous reformers rejected the remonſtrance of the clergy, and thundered their menaces againſt the heinous guilt of worſhipping God in any form or manner but their * own. Although they were not careful to perform the ſtipulations of parliament; and, particularly, to enable the lieutenant to diſcharge his debts, by paying him the ſum for which they ſtood immediately engaged, yet were they impatient for his departure. He had delayed the reſignation of his authority until the twenty-eighth day of July, in hopes of obtaining permiſſion to tranſport five thouſand men for the ſervice of France, which was much deſired by that court, and would ſerve to dignify his exile. But this overture was rejected by parliament, although the troops were to be formed of their enemies. Their commiſſioners, on the ſixteenth

Carte, vol. I. p. 605.

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* Their prohibition was confined to the city, or at leaſt not obeyed without the walls. For, in the univerſity, the biſhop of Meath ſtill continued to uſe the liturgy. And hither the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church crowded with particular fervour to divine worſhip in this time of perſecution.

of this month, ſummoned him to remove from the caſtle, and deliver the regalia within four days. He could not oppoſe their demand; but as his preſent removal was inconvenient, he contented them with reſigning the caſtle to the cuſtody of their own guards; and the ceremonial of delivering his ſword was by agreement deferred to the day mentioned in the treaty.

The moderate and ſenſible of the confederates were now caſt in the utmoſt conſternation, convinced at laſt of their own errours, and the extravagances of their party. Owen O'Nial grew every day more terrible. He was, with difficulty, reſtrained by the nuncio from ſeizing Kilkenny; and the catholics of Munſter expected every moment to be expoſed to his depredations. Carte, vol. II. p. 2. Their new general, Glamorgan, diſcovered too great an inclination to concur with this leader of the papal army. Lord Muſkerry, the rival of this earl, and the enemy of the nuncio and O'Nial, at the moment that his deſtruction was meditated, fled to the Munſter army, was received as their leader, and Glamorgan depoſed. But, notwithſtanding this inſtance of ſucceſsful vigour, it was ſtill apprehended, that the turbulence of the nuncio muſt encreaſe, and that O'Nial would attempt ſome deſperate purpoſe on the departure of the marquis of Ormond. Sir Robert Talbot, Darcy, Belling, ſome of the moſt eminent of the confederates, and even Preſton himſelf, was now convinced, that their preſervation depended on a union with Ormond. In a private conference with lord Digby, they earneſtly entreated that the marquis ſhould continue for ſome time longer in Ireland. Vol. III. No. DLX. But their application was too late; and their ſincerity too juſtly ſuſpected. Ormond could diſcover no good purpoſe to be anſwered by his farther reſidence in the kingdom, nor could he ſtoop to conceal himſelf in ſome retreat when he had reſigned his public character. He left the regalia to be delivered to the commiſſioners, embarked on the day appointed, and landed at Briſtol.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

State of Ireland on the departure of the marquis of Ormond.—Preſton defeated at Dungan-hill.—Owen O'Nial called to the defence of Leinſter.—Progreſs of lord Inchiquin.—Battle of Knocknoneſs.—General aſſembly at Kilkenny.—Intemperance of the nuncio.—Agents choſen for Rome and France.—Their inſtructions.—Anſwer of the queen and prince to the Iriſh agents.—Iriſh treat about a ceſſation with lord Inchiquin.—He revolts to the royaliſts.—The nuncio oppoſes the ceſſation.—It is concluded.—Excommunication pronounced on thoſe who ſhould ſupport it.—Appeal againſt the excommunication.—O'Nial and the nuncio declare war againſt the ſupreme council.—The nuncio driven to Galway.—O'Nial treats with Jones.—Succeſſes of Monk.—Antrim unites with O'Nial.—Their ill-ſucceſs.—Return of the agents from France.—The nuncio admoniſhed to depart from the kingdom.—Arrival of the marquis of Ormond.—He commences a treaty of peace with the confederates.—Clamours of the clergy.—Treaty interrupted,—renewed,—and concluded.—Appointment of COMMISSIONERS OF TRUST.—*Charles executed.—His ſon proclaimed in Ireland.—Conſternation and flight of the nuncio.—Various parties and intereſts in Ireland.—Ormond practiſes with O'Nial, with Coote, and with Jones,—but in vain.—Difficulties and diſtreſſes of the marquis.—The king purpoſes to repair to Ireland.—Ormond takes the field.—Jones embarraſſed. O'Nial treats with Monk.—Preſton's officers corrupted.—Ormond advances to Dublin.—Inchiquin marches to Drogheda.—His ſucceſſes.—Coote relieved in Derry.—Succours arrive in Dublin.—*

Dublin.—Alarming intelligence.—Lord Inchiquin detached to Munſter.—Battle of Rathmines.—Effects of Ormond's defeat.—He conceives new hopes from a junction with Owen O'Nial.—He relieves Drogheda.—Arrival of Oliver Cromwell.—Storm and maſſacre of Drogheda.—Progreſs of the parliamentarians in Ulſter.—Ormond urges the king to repair to Ireland.—The deſign prevented.—Wexford ſtrengthened,—betrayed to Cromwell.—Roſs ſurrendered.—Siege of Duncannon raiſed.—Ormond reinforced.—He reſolves to engage Cromwell,—who inveſts Waterford.—Perverſeneſs of the citizens.—Their garriſon reinforced.—Cromwell raiſes the ſiege.—Ormond prevented from attacking his rear.—The Munſter garriſons revolt to Cromwell.—Conſequence of this event.—The cities refuſe to admit Ormond's garriſons.—Obſtinacy and inſolence of the citizens of Waterford.—Ormond's forces diſperſed.—His conduct maligned.—Aſſembly of biſhops.—Their declaration.—County-agents at Kilkenny,—alarmed at the approach of Cromwell.—He retires.—Again returns to Kilkenny,—which is ſurrendered.—He marches to Clonmel.—Brave defence of Hugh O'Nial.—Attempt to relieve Clonmel,—defeated by lord Broghill.—Reſolution of a biſhop of Roſs.—Clonmel ſurrendered.—Cromwell embarks for England.

A. D. 1647. Carte, Orm. vol. II. Borlaſe.

IRELAND, on the departure of the marquis of Ormond, ſeemed reduced to its ancient ſtate of anarchy and diſtraction. Harraſſed by different armies, different factions, various pretenders to power and authority, waſted by war, oppreſſed by poverty, the nation ſeemed ready to ſink under its complicated miſeries. In the capital, colonel Michael Jones was appointed governour by the parliament, and commander of their forces in Leinſter. The inhabitants, who had been habituated to the ſtate and decorum of Ormond and his court, were ſhocked at the vulgar manners of this republican and his unpoliſhed train, and provoked at his ſeverity and reſerve. Some weak attempts to reſtore diſcipline, only ſerved to irritate a famiſhed ſoldiery. They plundered the inhabitants; they inſulted their officers; and Jones, who could not ſupply their neceſſities, found it neceſſary to connive at their outrage. Three different armies of catholics were quartered in different ſtations. Owen O'Nial, and his barbarous followers, were equally enemies to the king and to the ruling powers of England; they profeſſed an entire devotion to the pope and his nuncio. The army of Preſton, and that of Munſter, ſeemed at length convinced of the errour and obſtinacy of their party, wiſhed for the return of Ormond, and were inveterate enemies to the parliamentarians. The Scots of Ulſter were offended at the late proceedings of England, and averſe to the preſent government. In *Munſter*, lord Inchiquin was incenſed at *ſome attempts to remove him from his command, during the time that lord Liſle reſided in* this province, with the inſignificant title of the parliament's chief governour. On the ſame principle which had ſeduced him from the ſervice of the king, he was now diſpoſed to abandon his preſent maſters. Such was the diſunion both of catholics and proteſtants. And from this ſtate of confuſion we are now to deduce the affairs of Ireland, to the laſt conflict of its parties, and the complete and final reduction of the kingdom under the dominion of the crown of England.

Lord Digby, who ſtill continued to reſide near Dublin, was indefatigable in practiſing againſt the parliamentarians, and to effect the return of Ormond. His dependence was on the catholic armies of Munſter and Leinſter; and with their leaders he concerted his deſigns. The Munſter army was now entruſted to the command of lord Taafe, with the conſent of Muſkerry, that he might have leiſure to attend the ſupreme council, and ſupport the intereſts of their party in this aſſembly. That of Preſton was compoſed of ſeven thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, ready for action; and, with this force, he advanced into the Engliſh quarters. Naas, and ſome other inconſiderable places, he ſoon reduced, and had the honour of repelling Jones in two ſkirmiſhes. By inveſting Trim, he again called out this general; and, by the advice of lord Digby, reſolved to ſeize the advantage of his abſence from the capital. The garriſon was weak; many of the inhabitants diſaffected to the parliament. By a forced march, Preſton advanced towards Dublin, in full hope of ſuddenly ſurpriſing it. Jones purſued with equal alacrity; and, at a place called Dungan-hill, the armies came to an engagement. The Engliſh general had been reinforced by ſome northern troops, ſo that his numbers were nearly equal to thoſe of Preſton. They ruſhed upon the enemy with an impetuous valour and enthuſiaſtic hatred of the Iriſh; and, though they fought without regard to orders, or any ſettled ſcheme of attack, they ſoon gained a complete and bloody victory. As Jones could not improve this advantage, from the want of proviſions, he returned to Dublin, poſſeſſed of the enemy's arms, cannon, and baggage, with a number of priſoners, ſeveral of diſtinguiſhed rank and conſequence; while Preſton fled to Carlow with his horſe, and there collected the ſhattered remains of his infantry. Borlaſe.

The nuncio, and his creatures, dreaded, that this general, if poſſeſſed of Dublin, would reſign it to Ormond, and invite the prince of Wales into Ireland, to the utter confuſion of all their fantaſtical projects. They received the intelligence of his defeat with joy; and inſiſted on the neceſſity of recalling O'Nial from ſome petty hoſtilities which he carried on in Connaught, and entruſted him with the defence of Leinſter. Preſton had the mortification of receiving an order from the ſupreme council, to reſign moſt of his remaining forces to his rival. O'Nial derided the general who could be forced to an engagement againſt his will, and cautiouſly avoiding this errour, eluded every attempt of Jones to meet him in the field, al- Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 5.

though

though his depredations were extended even to the walls of Dublin.

The preſervation of the Munſter army, commanded by lord Taafe, became now of greater conſequence; and the general ſeemed determined againſt expoſing it to any wanton hazard. Lord Inchiquin was obliged to act with vigour againſt the Iriſh, as well to ſupply the neceſſities of his men, as to allay the ſuſpicions of the ruling powers in England. He over-ran ſome counties, took ſeveral forts, and inveſted Cahir, an ancient caſtle, environed by two branches of the river Sure, ſtrongly fortified, and difficult of acceſs. No ſooner had ſome of the outworks been gained, when the caſtle, which, *in the reign of Elizabeth, had ſuſtained the aſſaults of the earl of Eſſex and his whole army for a conſiderable time, was, in a few hours, ſurrendered to lord Inchiquin. Thus, was a way opened for his* famiſhed troops to range freely over the fertile county of Tipperary. Without any oppoſition from Taafe, he continued his victorious progreſs, and advanced againſt the city of Caſhel. The inhabitants fled to their cathedral church, ſeated on a rock well fortified, and provided with a ſtrong garriſon. Inchiquin propoſed to leave them unmoleſted, on condition that they would advance him three thouſand pounds, and a month's pay for his army. But, as this propoſal was raſhly rejected, he took the place by ſtorm, with conſiderable ſlaughter both of the citizens and ſoldiery. Here he gained a prodigious booty; yet ſtill inſufficiently provided for continuing in the field, on the approach of winter he diſperſed his army into garriſons.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 7. In ſtormingthe rock of Caſhel, about twenty eccleſiaſtics had fallen in the indiſcriminate ſlaughter, an incident ſhocking to the nuncio, who inveighed againſt this ſacrilegious cruelty, and clamoured for revenge. He imputed the inactivity of Taafe to ſome ſecret concert between this lord, Muſkerry, and Inchiquin. To this traitorous deſertion of the catholic cauſe he aſcribed all the calamities of the faithful, the innocent blood ſhed before the holy altars, and every outrage and enormity of the heretical army. His whole party were on fire, and ſo violent and ſo popular were their clamours, that lord Taafe was obliged to take the field in November. Inchiquin collected his forces, and encountered him at a place called Knocknoneſs. The left wing of the Iriſh, commanded by lord Taafe, was quickly broken, nor could he ſtop the flight though he killed ſeveral of the fugitives with his own hand. On the right, an officer of the family of Mac-Donnel, famed in the Iriſh wars, and known by the name of Kolkitto, or the left-handed, commanded a gallant body of Highlanders, ſupported by two regiments of horſe. After one diſcharge of muſketry, the Highlanders, according to their cuſtom, fell ſword in hand upon the enemy, broke, purſued, ſlaughtered them, and ſeized their cannon and carriages. On the return of Inchiquin to the aſſiſtance of his left wing, they were abandoned by the cavalry, and by the fall of Kolkitto left without a commander. Yet ſtill they obſtinately ſtood their ground, until ſeven hundred of their number were ſlaughtered; when the remains of this brave body laid down their arms, and accepted quarter. Thus was the victory of Inchiquin complete, more than three thouſand Iriſh, the flower of their Munſter army, were cut to pieces; ſix thouſand arms, all their baggage and artillery, their general's tent and cabinet, thirty-eight colours and ſtandards fell into the hands of the victors. Borlaſe.

THESE repeated calamities had their full impreſſion on the more temperate of the confederates. Several reſolved to contend no longer with the pride and violence of the nuncio, and the outrages of O'Nial, but to abandon a cauſe ſo deſperate, and a country ſo miſerably waſted by war, and threatened with the extremity of famine. Lord Muſkerry prevailed on them, with difficulty, to make one attempt more to give their country peace, and thus to avert its impending ruin. For this purpoſe, it was in the firſt place neceſſary to gain their party a ſuperiority in the general aſſembly now ſummoned to Kilkenny; and they laboured ſo vigorouſly, and ſo ſucceſsfully for this point, that the nuncio ſoon diſcovered the deſign of ſubverting his power, and reſolved to counteract it. He had recommended eleven perſons to Rome, to be made biſhops. He prevailed on the ſupreme council, formed of his own creatures, to ſummon theſe eccleſiaſtics by writ to the aſſembly. The lawyers objected, that their bulls were not yet arrived, that they were not conſecrated, nor inveſted with their temporalties. The nuncio, at firſt, threatened to conſecrate them himſelf; but as the ſafer and more expeditious method, ordered them to take their ſeats directly. The aſſembly was *intimidated, and acquieſced*; and the nuncio, of conſequence, grew *more inſolent*. Ulſter had uſually ſent ſixty-three members to the general aſſembly; nine only now attended from this province; he inſiſted, that as the war had prevented a full election, theſe nine ſhould be allowed ſixty-three voices, but the oppoſite party proved ſtrong enough to reject this extravagant demand.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 17. In deſpite of all the oppoſition of Rinunccini, the aſſembly now declared almoſt unanimouſly for peace; and, for this purpoſe, reſolved to ſend agents to the queen and prince in France, the only perſons with whom they could commence a treaty. The nuncio dreaded ſuch a deputation, as the firſt ſtep to recalling Ormond, and inviting the prince of Wales to Ireland. He vehemently oppoſed it; he preſſed the aſſembly to addreſs themſelves to Rome, and to implore the protection of the pope: and ſo far were his inſtances ſucceſsful, that it was reſolved to ſend deputations to Rome and Madrid, as well as to France; that thoſe to Rome ſhould depart firſt, and that the agents deſtined to France ſhould there await their anſwer. The choice of theſe agents was a point of delicate diſcuſſion. The oppoſers of the nuncio laboured to have ſuch perſons nominated as were likely to obſtruct their meaſures, if continued in the aſſembly. By their management, the popiſh biſhop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, two zealous enemies to peace, were appointed to repair to Rome. But, when they proceeded to nominate MacMahon of Clogher to go to France, in conjunction with lord Muſkerry and Geoffry Browne, this active partizan of the nuncio ſaw through their deſign, and poſitively and haughtily refuſed to obey the order of the aſſembly. This inſult raiſed a conſiderable ferment; but ſo effectually was Mac Mahon ſupported by the nuncio, that it was ſoon found neceſſary to ſubſtitute the marquis of Antrim in his place.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 19.

THE inſtructions to be given to theſe agents was a point in which the nuncio was particularly intereſted. He and his clergy had, *in the fullneſs of their pride and folly*, ſubſcribed a declaration, that they never would conſent that either the queen or prince ſhould be invited into Ireland, until the pope's articles relative to religion were ſecured; that any but a Roman catholic ſhould ever be appointed chief governour; that the forts and armies of the confederates ſhould ever be delivered to heretics, or that any peace ſhould be concluded which might leſſen the preſent ſtate and public exerciſe of their religion. They now contended, that the inſtructions of the agents deſtined to France, ſhould be ſubmitted to their inſpection, and modelled agreeably to this declaration. The oppoſite party ſuffered theſe zealous churchmen to amuſe themſelves with framing the inſtructions, and inſerting all their extravagant demands; as Muſkerry and Browne had privately agreed to neglect them, and not to inſiſt upon demands which had been already rejected, which muſt ever be rejected, or which tended to the ſubjection of their country to a foreign power, now the avowed deſign of the clergy and the old Iriſh *.

p. 18.

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* It was particularly avowed in a tract written by an Iriſh Jeſuit, printed about this time, and privately diſperſed through the nation. The poſitions

As the ſeſſion of the aſſembly drew towards a concluſion, each party was ſolicitous about the choice of members of the ſupreme council. After ſome debates it was agreed, that the council ſhould be formed equally of both parties. Lord Muſkerry artfully ſuggeſted, that as the public affairs might call away ſeveral members from their attendance, it was neceſſary to appoint ſome ſupernumeraries to ſupply their places. His propoſal was haſtily embraced; and among theſe occaſional counſellors, he contrived to introduce forty-eight of his own partizans, to the utter confuſion of the nuncio.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 20.

In the mean time, the agents proceeded in their voyage to France, arrived at Saint Germains, and were graciouſly received by the queen and prince. Notwithſtanding her majeſty's partiality to the marquis of Antrim, ſhe ſoon learned that her attention was to be given principally to lord Muſkerry and Geoffry Browne, as men of more real conſequence and power. She conferred with them in private; they produced ſecret inſtructions, ſigned by Preſton and lord Taafe, whereby they were directed to aſſure her of the unſhaken loyalty of their party, and their unalterable adherence to the king's cauſe, in deſpite of thoſe who laboured to introduce a foreign juriſdiction into Ireland; to entreat the countenance and aſſiſtance of her majeſty

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of the author were, that the kings of England never had any right to Ireland; that ſuppoſing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and neglecting the conditions of pope Adrian's grant; that the old Iriſh natives might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their anceſtors by uſurpers of Engliſh and other foreign extraction; that they ſhould kill not only all the proteſtants, but all the Roman catholics of Ireland who ſupported the crown of England; that they ſhould chuſe an Iriſh native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners.—The prieſt in whoſe cuſtody this book was ſeized eſcaped puniſhment by the intereſt of the nuncio, who laboured to ſave the book from cenſure. But, to his utter mortification, it was condemned by the ſupreme council, and ordered to be burnt at Kilkenny by the common hangman. CARTE, ORM. Vol. II. p. 17.

majeſty and the prince; and to propoſe, as the meaſure moſt effectual for ſupporting the royal authority, that the prince ſhould come over with arms and money, condeſcend to the requeſts of moderate and well affected ſubjects, and take them under his command. Having thus executed their private commiſſion, they attended Antrim to a public audience, and preſented the propoſitions dictated by the clergy, as the mere form and ceremonial of their office.

IN theſe tranſactions the queen found an able and uſeful aſſiſtant in the marquis of Ormond. On his departure from Ireland, this lord had been permitted to preſent himſelf before the king at Hampton-Court, and was received with the affection due to his ſervices. When he tendered his commiſſion for the lieutenancy of Ireland to the king, lamenting that it had ſucceeded *ſo unhappily*, Charles refuſed to receive it, and generouſly replied, that the marquis alone ſhould uſe it hereafter, and, he truſted, with better ſucceſs. The king conſulted him with the utmoſt confidence, and when the jealouſies of the army forced the marquis to return to London, directed him to confer with the Scotch commiſſioners, and concert meaſures for engaging Scotland and Ireland in his ſervice. The retreat of Charles to the Iſle of Wight retarded his ſecret negociations, but could not damp his zeal. The committee of Derby-houſe were alarmed; *they required him to engage not to take any meaſures diſſerviceable to the parliament*; they ſought pretexts for ſeizing him: he was aſſured that a warrant had iſſued for this purpoſe, and inſtantly reſolved to eſcape to France, whither he was ſoon followed by his eldeſt ſon, lord Oſſory. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 11.

BY advice of the marquis, the queen and prince returned a general and gracious anſwer to the Iriſh agents. They gently condemned the violation of the late peace, but expreſſed their ſatisfaction that the confederates ſeemed at length to diſcern their true intereſt. They obſerved, that the agents were not p. 26.

yet ready to propoſe their particular deſires with reſpect to religion, nor empowered to conclude finally on other points of moment, which might require particular diſcuſſion and alteration. In theſe circumſtances, they were aſſured, that the queen and prince would take the only part that could be reaſonably expected; that a perſon ſhould be ſpeedily ſent into Ireland, duly authoriſed to receive full and particular propoſitions from the confederates, and to grant them every grace conſiſtent with juſtice and the honour and intereſt of his majeſty.

THE earl of Glamorgan had been for ſome time in Paris ſoliciting the lieutenancy of Ireland, with recommendations from Rinunccini to cardinal Mazarine. The marquis of Antrim indulged himſelf with ſanguine hopes, that he ſhould be advanced to this ſtation by the favour of the queen. But Muſkerry and Browne were privately aſſured, that the perſon intended for the government of Ireland was no other than the marquis of Ormond; and that he was ſpeedily to be ſent with ſuch aids as could be procured from France. Next to the prince, who declared againſt an adventure into Ireland while the nuncio continued in the kingdom, no perſon was more acceptable than Ormond to theſe agents and their party. They took their leave with perfect ſatisfaction in their ſucceſs, and returned to circulate the pleaſing intelligence.

Belling. Vindiciæ, cap. 7.

DURING theſe negociations in France, the ſupreme council was deeply impreſſed with the preſent dangerous ſituation of the catholic confederacy. Two ſucceſſive defeats had almoſt totally deſtroyed their armies. Their reſources were exhauſted, their adherents, impatient of diſtreſs, grew querulous and mutinous. Their declining cauſe was every day deſerted by numbers, who purchaſed protection from the parliamentarians by grievous compoſitions. Their enemies were powerful in every province, and prevented only by the ſeverity of winter from falling on them with irreſiſtible violence. With ſome of them it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to effect a ceſſation. Even the nuncio himſelf recommended a truce either with the Scots of Ulſter, or with lord Inchiquin, the more formidable enemy, that the confederates might be thus enabled to march ſecurely to Dublin and exterminate the odious ſectaries.

A. D. 1648.

Borlaſe.

Lord Inchiquin was prepared to meet their wiſhes. Immediately after his victory at Knocknoneſs, he had given ſome ſign of diſaffection to the parliament, by a bold remonſtrance againſt their neglect of his forces, and the diſtreſſes to which he had been abandoned. And though he continued his operations againſt the Iriſh, and even threatened Kilkenny with a ſiege, yet he held a ſecret correſpondence with the marquis of Ormond, and projected ſchemes for recalling him to Ireland, and uniting with him againſt the governour of Dublin and his party. Lord Broghill, ſecond to Inchiquin in command, had conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt this lord. Ormond contrived to reconcile them, and to engage Broghill in their deſign. An emiſſary was diſpatched to the confederates to treat about a ceſſation. Taafe and Preſton bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to ſupport the king's rights, and to obey his lord lieutenant. Inchiquin entered into the ſame engagements. The Scots of Ulſter gave aſſurances of uniting with Ormond, not only againſt Owen O'Nial and all the *Iriſh* who continued in their diſobedience to the crown, but againſt the independent party of England and Ireland. Thus was a powerful union ſucceſsfully concerted in favour of the royal cauſe, when ſome Engliſh officers of Munſter attached to the independent party, ſuſpecting the deſign of their general, formed a ſcheme of defeating it, by ſeizing Cork and Youghall. They were diſcovered and impriſoned. But this incident obliged lord Inchiquin publicly to avow his revolt, before the neceſſary meaſures were ſufficiently ſecured; and particularly before the ceſſation with the Iriſh was concluded; a point of the utmoſt moment, as it was to prepare the way for a powerful conjunction of the confederates with the proteſtant royaliſts.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 31.

But in this point, embarraſſments and delays were now experienced. The nuncio had but a few weeks ſince earneſtly recommended a ceſſation. Equally an enemy both to the royal and popular party, he indulged his imagination with projects of detaching Ireland entirely from the Engliſh government, in whatever form, and by whatever powers it was adminiſtered. Tranſported by his viſions of a pope ſupreme monarch of Ireland, and a ſtately hierarchy to execute his government, he turned his eyes from the calamities of the nation with a ſteady inſenſibility; and, from the moment that Inchiquin declared for the king, exclaimed loudly *againſt any ceſſation with this lord. The ſupreme council repeatedly endeavoured to obviate* his wild objections. The nuncio, as uſual, recurred to the clergy. A number of biſhops aſſembled at his houſe, and proteſted againſt the ceſſation. The council was provoked and aſtoniſhed at this extravagance; yet, not entirely ſuperiour to the fear of excommunication, heſitated and delayed. Clanricarde, Taafe, and Preſton, laboured to confirm them in the reſolution of giving ſome relief to their diſtracted country. The ſupernumerary members of the ſupreme council ſupported the ſentiments of theſe leaders; the provincial aſſemblies of Leinſter and Munſter appeared at Kilkenny, and loudly urged the neceſſity of a ceſſation. The nuncio, and his clergy, while they raved of the church and its rights, of oppoſing heretics, of avenging the ſlaughter of their holy brethren, and the pollution of their altars at Caſhel, could propoſe no reaſonable ſcheme for carrying on the war. It was, therefore, reſolved, after various debates and conferences, that the ceſſation ſhould be concluded, with the clauſe of mutual aſſiſtance againſt all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it by hoſtilities.

The nuncio was enraged even to a degree of phrenzy. He fled ſecretly from Kilkenny, and caſt himſelf into the arms of his favourite, O'Nial, whom he conjured to march without delay againſt the profane betrayers of the church. The council reſpectfully entreated him to return, and to confer temperately on public affairs. He diſclaimed all connexion with them, unleſs the generals of their Leinſter and Munſter armies were diſplaced, proviſions and quarters aſſigned to the forces of O'Nial, and the whole conduct of peace and war ſubmitted abſolutely to the clergy. He cauſed their proteſt againſt the ceſſation to be affixed on the doors of the cathedral in Kilkenny; and, when this was contemptuouſly torn down, his ſentence of excommunication was thundered againſt all thoſe who contrived or favoured the ceſſation, and an interdict denounced on all places in which it ſhould be accepted or maintained.

Rinunccini, in the blindneſs of his preſumption, conceived that theſe ſeverities muſt have the ſame force and effect with the cenſures publiſhed on the peace of forty-ſix. But times and circumſtances were changed. By fulminating his ſpiritual terrours upon many trivial occaſions, he had rendered them contemptible. Men were gradually rouſed by his violences from a ſtate of ſtupid ſubmiſſion, and grew aſhamed of their ſuperſtitious fears. In his former ſentence of excommunication, he had been ſupported by a conſiderable number of biſhops, now only by four. The pretence for the firſt was, that no proviſion had been made for religion in the articles of peace. In the preſent treaty there were expreſs proviſions for the intereſts of the clergy, and the freedom of the catholic worſhip; and theſe ſeemed ſo favourable, that eight prelates retracted the proteſt formerly ſigned againſt the ceſſation, and recommended pacific meaſures to the nuncio. The ſupreme council ventured to appeal in form againſt his cenſures, in which they were ſupported by two archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, all the ſecular clergy of their dioceſes, by all the Jeſuits and Carmelites, many of the Auguſtinians and Dominicans, above five hundred Franciſcans, the moſt exemplary and intelligent of all thoſe legions of eccleſiaſtics which overſpread the nation.

Belling. Vindiciæ, cap. 12.

THOUGH the power of the nuncio was thus evidently on the decline, yet ſtill he was ſupported by no inconſiderable party. Thoſe of the clergy who expected preferment from his favour, thoſe of the laity who looked for the reſtoration of their paternal lands by the expulſion of the Engliſh and Scots, they who were oppreſſed by debts, and they who only ſubſiſted by public commotions, all declared for deſperate meaſures, and crowded to the ſtandard of Owen O'Nial; who, though ſworn to obey the orders of the confederates, yet acted as if the nuncio had abſolved him from his oath, and ſolemnly denounced war againſt the ſupreme council and their adherents. Taafe, Preſton, and Clanricarde, took vigorous meaſures for oppoſing him. Their armies were ſo formed, that the officers, to a man, deſpiſed the cenſures of the nuncio. Though it was in their power to have ſeized him and O'Nial as they lay at Maryborough, yet they induſtriouſly avoided all violent meaſures. They contented themſelves with deſiring that the nuncio ſhould not trouble them with any letters or orders, as they were determined to obey thoſe only of the ſupreme council; and a conſiderable force was detached to Kilkenny to ſupport the authority of this aſſembly.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 35.

WAR being thus declared between the different parties of the confederates, O'Nial contrived to make a truce with the Ulſter Scots, in order to be more at leiſure to proſecute his operations. He collected his forces from Connaught and Ulſter; but the nuncio had now no money to ſupply them. Their ravages were univerſally deteſted, and they ſoon found themſelves unable to contend with the army of Preſton, reinforced by ſome troops of Inchiquin and Taafe. Athlone, which had for ſome time been poſſeſſed by the nuncio's partizans, was beſieged by Preſton and the marquis of Clanricarde, reduced before O'Nial could arrive to its relief, and the nuncio driven from this city to Galway. Here he endeavoured to convene a ſynod of the clergy, in order to confirm his cenſures by their ſanction. Clanricarde, by order of the ſupreme council, prevented them from aſſembling, inveſted the city, and obliged the inhabitants to proclaim the ceſſation, to pay a conſiderable ſum of money, and utterly to renounce the nuncio and his adherents.

THIS prelate, ſtill undiſmayed, iſſued his comminations in his own name, and by his own authority, ſince he could not collect the clergy, and declared thoſe who favoured or adhered to the ceſſation to be guilty of mortal ſin. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe ridiculous cenſures of all thoſe who preſumed to treat with heretics, his favourite, Owen O'Nial, was permitted to make overtures of accommodation to Jones, at Dublin, the inveterate enemy of the king, the confederates, and Roman catholic religion. Jones had not been inattentive to the diſtractions of the Iriſh, but could not venture to take advantage of them, as he ſuſpected the fidelity of his garriſon, and was perſuaded that numbers of his officers only waited for the arrival of Ormond to declare in favour of the king. To quiet his apprehenſions, he boldly ſeized the moſt ſuſpected, ſent ſome to England, impriſoned others in the caſtle of Dublin; while Monk, to whom the parliament had entruſted the command of Ulſter, made a bold irruption into this province, ſurpriſed Carricfergus, ſeized Monroe, and ſent him priſoner to England; eaſily reduced Belfaſt and Colerain, and ſtationed his garriſons on the frontiers, to reſtrain the incurſions of the Iriſh. Owen O'Nial, who, in effect, declared againſt the marquis of Ormond, was received with open arms by theſe triumphant independents. Jones readily conſented to an accommodation with him, and permitted him to march unmoleſted through Leinſter, in proſecution of his deſigns againſt the common enemy. Diſappointed in his attempt to relieve Athlone, Owen now formed a bold deſign to ſurprize Kilkenny, and at once to ſeize the whole ſupreme council.

In this city, the capital of the Iriſh quarters, and chief ſeat of their government, there were not wanting a number of buſy ſpirits, impatient for innovation, and zealous for the intereſt of the nuncio and O'Nial, thoſe champions of the church. Of theſe, one Paul King, an eccleſiaſtic, engaged to form a party, and betray Kilkenny to O'Nial. No ſeaſon could be more favourable to ſuch a deſign. The marquis of Antrim had lately returned from France, with all his hopes of being advanced to the government of Ireland utterly confounded. Provoked at this diſappointment, he joined the party who oppoſed the ceſſation, and gave O'Nial the moſt magnificent aſſurances of ſupport, by his intereſt in Ulſter. This conjunction ſerved to encreaſe the conſequence of Owen, and to animate his partizans. On the other hand, the forces of his adverſaries were diſperſed. But the ſlow and cautious procedure of this general was not calculated for an enterprize of alacrity. The deſign on Kilkenny was diſcovered, and Inchiquin had already arrived to the aſſiſtance of the ſupreme council, when his forces were ravaging the country at ſome miles diſtance from this city.

Belling. Vindiciæ, cap. 14.

O'Nial could now but continue his depredations, while Inchiquin and part of Preſton's army advanced cloſe upon him. Unable to contend with their united numbers, he craftily propoſed an accommodation to lord Inchiquin, offering to leave Munſter unmoleſted, provided that his operations in the other provinces were not oppoſed. Inſtead of accepting this propoſition, Inchiquin endeavoured to force him to an engagement; but the wary Northern eluded all his attempts, and after ſome inconſiderable operations and ſucceſſes gained on each ſide, at length found it neceſſary to retreat to Ulſter.

Carte, Orm, vol. II. p. 42.

Nor was the marquis of Antrim more ſucceſsful in his attempts to oppoſe the ceſſation. He had led a party of Scottiſh Highlanders into Ireland, reinforced them by ſome Iriſh partizans at Wexford, and ſeemed to grow to ſome degree of conſequence and power, when his party was ſuddenly attacked by a detachment of the confederate forces, and defeated, with the ſlaughter of his brave Highlanders. The nuncio, diſmayed at this accident, fled to O'Nial; but the vanity of Antrim was not abated, he addreſſed himſelf to Jones, he boaſted his power in the Northern province, and promiſed the moſt important ſervices againſt the Iriſh. Jones agreed to ſupport him; O'Nial conſented to ſerve under him; but his ſanguine hopes and oſtentatious engagements only ſerved, as uſual, to expoſe him to diſgrace. His inſignificance was ſoon diſcovered, and the command, raſhly conferred upon him, was reſumed by O'Nial.

Belling. Vind. Borlaſe.

In the mean time, a general aſſembly was convened at Kilkenny, compoſed almoſt entirely of thoſe who wiſhed for peace, and condemned the exceſſes of the nuncio. Muſkerry and Browne arrived from France, and aſſured them, that the marquis of Ormond was ſpeedily to follow, and to co-operate with them in reſtoring the public tranquility. Encouraged by this intelligence, they proceeded with unuſual vigour and reſolution. They formally approved and ratified the ceſſation made by the ſupreme council. Provoked at the outrages of Owen O'Nial, and affecting the utmoſt horrour at his tranſactions with Jones, equally repugnant to loyalty and religion, they declared him a traitor by proclamation. Scarcely did they diſcover more tenderneſs to the nuncio. They renewed the appeal to Rome againſt his ſentence of excommunication; and, when Rinunccini contrived to have their meſſenger to the pope ſecured, and his papers ſeized, this new outrage only ſerved to enflame their reſentments. All the catholics of Ireland, and particularly thoſe of Galway, where his influence was greateſt, were forbidden,

bidden, under the ſevereſt penalties, to hold any intercourſe or correſpondence with him; at the ſame time he received a letter ſigned by the prolocutor of the aſſembly, exhorting him to depart from a kingdom ſo long harraſſed by his factious turbulence, and to prepare his defence againſt thoſe articles of accuſation which the aſſembly had drawn up, and intended to exhibit to the pope, whoſe inſtructions he had neglected, and whoſe authority he had ſo notoriouſly diſgraced.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 39. SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when the marquis of Ormond embarked, at the repeated inſtances of lord Inchiquin, arrived at Cork, and was received with the reſpect due to a chief governour. The object of his enterprize was to unite the proteſtant and popiſh royaliſts, which, in the preſent deſperate ſituation of the king, ſeemed to be the only expedient left for averting his ruin. It was, in the firſt place, neceſſary to conciliate the Munſter army commanded by Inchiquin. As he had been diſappointed in his expectations from France, and the ſmall ſums of money he had been enabled to procure, were totally exhauſted, he was obliged to recur to artifice and evaſion to conceal his poverty; laviſhed his promiſes of an immediate ſupply; and particularly aſſured them, that the prince would ſend that part of the navy which had revolted to him, to ſome port of Munſter, to aſſiſt them with large quantities of corn, and to enrich the ſoldiery by continual prizes. Theſe promiſes he enforced by a declaration, addreſſed to all the proteſtants of Munſter. Cox. Append. No. xlii. In the uſual ſtyle of ſuch addreſſes, he apologized for his late ſurrender of Dublin; profeſſed, that in obedience to his majeſty's commands, founded on obſervation of that integrity which the proteſtant army of this province had manifeſted, he was now returned for recovery of the king's rights; that he was reſolved, at the hazard of his life, to oppoſe all rebels; and, particularly, to ſuppreſs the independent party: that all engaged in this cauſe ſhould be treated with equal favour, and without any invidious diſtinction; and that his utmoſt diligence ſhould be exerted to provide for their ſubſiſtence, and preſervation from thoſe hardſhips they had formerly experienced.

For the preſent, the army appeared ſatisfied; and the marquis was in the next place to treat with the general aſſembly at Kilkenny. His authority, as lord lieutenant, ſtill ſubſiſted, but his commiſſion for concluding a peace with the confederates had determined upon the treaty made in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-ſix. The queen and prince, indeed, had given him powers to treat; but, in a tranſaction which demanded the utmoſt caution and delicacy, he required immediate inſtructions from the king. Charles was, at this time, engaged in the treaty of Newport. Among his other conceſſions to the parliament commiſſioners, he agreed, that an act ſhould paſs, reſcinding all ceſſations and treaties with the Iriſh, and inveſting the houſes with a full power of proſecuting the war in Ireland. He inſtantly notified this incident to his lieutenant, at the ſame time directing him to take no notice of any of his public commands, during his preſent ſtate of reſtraint, but to obey thoſe of the queen. "Be not ſtartled," ſaid he, "at "my great conceſſions concerning Ireland, for they will come "to nothing." It is not here neceſſary to enter into a diſcuſſion of this conduct of the king, or to conſider how far it may be defended by the nature of his negociations at Newport, in which the conceſſions on his part were but conditional, and to be valid only on the final concluſion of the whole treaty. Let it be ſufficient to obſerve, that Ormond had now an additional authority, to ſatisfy the ſcruples of thoſe who might object to the ſufficiency of his powers from the queen and prince.

Carte, ut ſupra.

In full expectation of receiving ſuch authority, he had notified to the general aſſembly, that, agreeably to their petition preſented at Saint Germains, he was ſent with power to conclude a peace, and that as little time might be loſt as poſſible, he would expect their commiſſioners at his houſe at Carrick, about fourteen miles diſtant from Kilkenny. Their commiſſioners were appointed, to the utter mortification of the nuncio and his party. In the agonies of their expiring power, theſe eccleſiaſtics exclaimed outrageouſly againſt the impiety of betraying the holy church, and all her rights, and precipitating the concluſion of a pernicious treaty, without even waiting the return of their emiſſaries from Rome, who were daily expected with vaſt ſums of money to ſupport the catholic cauſe. Nor were ſuch clamours without their effect. The aſſembly were the more careful to ſhew their attachment to the church. A biſhop was appointed one of their commiſſioners; and he was admitted by the lord lieutenant, *contrary to his former ſentiments*. Their demands relative to religion were extenſive and explicit, and for twenty days became the ſubject of perpetual conferences.

Borlaſe. THE commiſſioners who attended at Carrick were ſo limited in their inſtructions, and ſo much time was waſted in reporting their proceedings to the aſſembly, receiving their farther directions, returning to the marquis, and renewing their conferences, that the aſſembly invited Ormond to repair to his own caſtle at Kilkenny, *where he might reſide with honour and ſecurity, and carry on the treaty with expedition*. He accepted the invitation. He was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the whole body of the aſſembly, nobility, clergy, and gentry, conducted with the utmoſt pomp, received by the magiſtrates in their formalities, lodged in his caſtle, and ſurrounded by his own guards, with all the honour due to his ſtation, and every expreſſion of reverence and affection. But, while Ormond was here engaged in negociation, a dangerous ſpirit of mutiny in the army of lord Inchiquin required his preſence in Cork. Theſe forces, confounded at the ſucceſs of the independent

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 44.

independent party, and diſappointed in their expectations of money, grew diſcontented and clamorous. Some of their officers thought it neceſſary to make their peace in time with the ruling power of England. Propoſitions were ſent to parliament, in which it was pretended that Inchiquin himſelf concurred; they complained of dangerous conceſſions meditated by Ormond in favour of the Iriſh; they talked of joining with Jones at Dublin, or forcing their way to the quarters of Owen O'Nial. The treaty was thus neceſſarily ſuſpended. The general aſſembly conſented to continue their ſeſſion while the marquis was called away to the aſſiſtance of lord Inchiquin. A meſſenger from the prince landed opportunely at Cork, with aſſurances, that the fleet was ſpeedily to arrive with ammunition and proviſions; that the duke of York was immediately to ſail, and that the prince of Wales was ſoon to follow. This flattering intelligence, together with the vigilance of Inchiquin, and the addreſs of Ormond, ſoon quieted the commotions of the army. Some officers were impriſoned, others diſplaced, and the forces ſo modelled, as to enſure their future quiet and attachment. And thus was the marquis of Ormond enabled to return to Kilkenny, and reſume his negociations.

Borlaſe.

A copy of his letter to the ſupreme council, notifying his arrival in Ireland, and his powers of concluding a peace, had by this time been procured by Jones, tranſmitted to England, and ſent by the parliament to their commiſſioners in the Iſle of Wight. Charles was required to diſavow this proceeding; and, by a public letter to the marquis, he commanded him to deſiſt from any farther treaty with the Iriſh. But he had already contrived to convey a private anſwer to the application made by Ormond for his immediate inſtructions. He repeated his direction that he ſhould obey the queen's commands, and proceed in the courſe he was purſuing. He, therefore, proceeded without ſcruple.

During the interval of his abſence at Cork, the Iriſh agents arrived from Rome, laden with reliques and benedictions, but without ſupplies of any kind. The pope pleaded the diſtreſſes of the holy ſee, which prevented him from advancing any money to the Iriſh; nor would he expreſs his ſenſe of the conditions fit to be demanded in matters of religion, but left them to purſue the dictates of their own judgment. This diſappointment ſerved to confirm the moderate part of the confederates in their diſpoſitions to peace. Yet ſtill the various paſſions, prejudices, and intereſts, which prevailed in the general aſſembly, embarraſſed the progreſs of the treaty, and obliged Ormond to remonſtrate warmly againſt the extravagance of their demands, and the danger of their delay. But, what was of *ſtill greater effect*, the remonſtrance of the *army to the parliament of England*, requiring that the *king ſhould be brought to juſtice*, was about this time received by lord Inchiquin, and ſent to Kilkenny. Its effect in Ireland was ſudden and powerful. All complaints in the proteſtant army were ſilenced; the confederates, ſtricken with a violent impreſſion of the king's ſituation, and poſſibly of their own danger, at once acceded to the terms propoſed by Ormond. The treaty was concluded, the peace proclaimed; and even the clergy, however diſappointed in ſome of their extravagant demands, expreſſed their ſatisfaction, and by declarations, and circular letters, recommended the ſtrict obſervance of this peace. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 49.

With reſpect to civil affairs, the articles were generally copied from thoſe of the year forty-ſix. In religion, the conceſſions of the marquis of Ormond were ſuch as he had formerly rejected with firmneſs, and ſuch as had been abhorred by the general body of proteſtants. All the penal ſtatutes were to be repealed, and the catholics left to the free and ſecure exerciſe of their religion. They were not, indeed, expreſsly allowed their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, nor the grant of churches and church- Cox, Append. No. xliii.

church-livings; *nor were* they expreſsly reſtrained in theſe points. On the contrary, they were ſecured in the poſſeſſion of ſuch churches as they now held, until the king's pleaſure ſhould be freely and authentically declared. And that greater preciſion was not uſed, and more extenſive conceſſions granted in theſe articles, was imputed entirely to the limited powers of the lieutenant. What was equally odious, and appeared highly dangerous, the marquis conſented to diveſt himſelf of the full power inherent in his office, in order to allay the fears of thoſe who were conſcious of their former perfidy and guilt, and dreaded that the articles of the preſent treaty might not be obſerved. Twelve commiſſioners were named by the general aſſembly, and ſtyled COMMISSIONERS OF TRUST. They were *to take care that the articles of peace ſhould be duly performed, until they ſhould be ratified in a full and peaceable convention of parliament.* They were to be joint ſharers with the lord lieutenant in his authority; ſo that he could neither levy ſoldiers, raiſe money, nor even erect garriſons, without the approbation of the major part of theſe commiſſioners.

Belling. Vind. cap. 17.

Clarendon. Hiſt. of the Iriſh Reb. p. 74.

ORMOND, ſenſible that ſuch conceſſions muſt prove highly offenſive to the zealous proteſtants, inſtantly publiſhed a declaration to explain and juſtify his treaty. He profeſſed, that his care *for the proteſtant religion*, and the intereſts of the crown had been continued through *his* whole conduct, to the concluſion of the peace; for this he appealed to the articles, which, as he alledged, amounted to no more than ſome moderate indulgence to the confederates, together with ſome things neceſſary to their preſent ſecurity, until an act of oblivion ſhould be paſſed in parliament. He obſerved, that he had made no accommodation with thoſe who had any ſhare in the barbarities committed in the beginning of the rebellion; that he had not condeſcended to any articles, until the treaty between the king and parliament had been broken off, and the army proclaimed

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 52.

their horrid deſign againſt the king's life. "This," ſaid he, "we mention not to invalidate any of the conceſſions made unto this people; but, on the contrary, to render them in every point the more ſacred and inviolable, by how much the neceſſity on his majeſty's part for granting them is greater, and the ſubmiſſion on their part to his majeſty's authority, in ſuch his great neceſſity, more opportune and ſeaſonable; as alſo, to call the world, (and whomſoever either any peace at all with the Iriſh, or the terms of this peace may be diſtaſteful unto) to teſtify hereafter, that as the full benefit thereof cannot without great injuſtice, and ſomewhat of ingratitude (if we may ſo ſpeak in the caſe of his majeſty) with reference to this laſt act of theirs, be denied unto them;—ſo any blame thereof, ought to be laid on thoſe alone who have impoſed the ſaid neceſſity, the ſaddeſt to which any king was ever reduced."

But whatever hopes the marquis conceived from his liberal conceſſions to the Iriſh; whether he ſtill flattered himſelf with expectations of leading a powerful army of royaliſts to the king's reſcue, whether he fancied that the proſecutors of this unhappy prince might be terrified from their preſent purpoſe, by the apprehenſions of a powerful invaſion from Ireland; it was now too late to ſerve his royal maſter. Charles was brought to his trial; and, before the intelligence of the Iriſh treaty arrived at London, he had already received the fatal ſtroke.

Borlaſe. The news of this cataſtrophe was received by the marquis of Ormond at Youghal, as he returned from viſiting prince Rupert; who, to the great conſolation of the royaliſts, had arrived at Kinſale with the fleet ſo long expected. He inſtantly proclaimed the prince of Wales king, and cauſed the like proclamation to be made in all places ſubject to his authority. Such was the deteſtation expreſſed by the Iriſh at the execution of Charles, that the nuncio at once concluded the whole party

would

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 56.

would ſubmit to the lord lieutenant. He had for ſome time continued in Ireland, notwithſtanding his diſgraces, in hopes that ſome favourable incident might draw the nation into his meaſures. His hopes were now deſperate; he reſolved to retire from a country, which he had ſo long diſtracted by his ſenſeleſs ambition: he embarked privately; and, from France, ſtill continued to enflame the Iriſh clergy by his letters, until he was recalled to Rome.

Borlaſe.

A. D. 1649.

The marquis of Ormond, who was confirmed in his government by the new king, and whoſe attachment to the royal cauſe was firm and invariable, had now a variety of enemies and difficulties to encounter. The capital was in poſſeſſion of the parliament; and Jones, their governour, expected powerful reinforcements. Sir Charles Coote maintained Derry for the parliament. The Britiſh forces of Ulſter profeſſed an abhorrence of the king's death; but their abhorrence of the Iriſh was equally violent. They diſdained any connection with the confederates or their ſupreme council, and neither acceded to the peace, nor acknowledged the authority of the lord lieutenant. Owen O'Nial, leader of a formidable Iriſh army, ſtill declared in favour of the nuncio's meaſures, and bad defiance to the royal party. Some of theſe various enemies were, if poſſible, to be reconciled. Ormond firſt applied to O'Nial, who conſented to a treaty. But the commiſſioners of truſt, who hated and dreaded him, refuſed to allow him ſuch a number of forces as he demanded on an accommodation. The treaty was thus broken off. The marquis next addreſſed himſelf to Coote. Coote returned only vague and general profeſſions, although he had formerly declared againſt taking any part with thoſe who ſhould change the government, or injure the perſon or poſterity of the king. He endeavoured, in the laſt place, to practiſe with Jones. Jones declared his firm reſolution of adhering to his principles and party, and ſupporting the Engliſh intereſt. To his pathetic repreſentations of the king's injuries and ſufferings, he coldly anſwered, that Ormond muſt blame himſelf for the death of this unhappy prince; for, by his arrival and tranſactions in Ireland, while the treaty of Newport was depending, he had impreſſed the minds of men with a firm perſuaſion of the king's total inſincerity, and determined them to deſperate meaſures. It ſcarcely ſerved to allay the mortification ariſing from theſe repeated diſappointments, and the diſtreſſes of the marquis, that the Britiſh forces of Ulſter declared for the king, and blocked up Sir Charles Coote in Derry.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 60.

ORMOND was now to collect an army from men of different nations, religions, intereſts, and paſſions; to unite *thoſe who* for eight years had waged bitter war againſt each other *with* every circumſtance *of barbarous animoſity and revenge.* He had few officers on *whoſe affection* and abilities he could rely; was utterly ignorant of the circumſtances of the confederate party, their ſtores, magazines, artillery, liſts, and quarters of their men; the ſtate of their garriſons, and diſpoſitions of the commanders in their ſeveral forts and cities. They had engaged for an army of fifteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe. But the provinces could not maintain this number; and thoſe whom they diſmiſſed found a ready entertainment from O'Nial. The leaders contended with each other for military honours and commands, and perplexed the lord lieutenant by their rivalſhips and competitions. The marquis of Clanricarde ſoon perceived his diſtreſs; and with a diſintereſted zeal for the royal ſervice, reſigned his poſt of lieutenant general, to aſſiſt him in contenting the various claimants. The commiſſioners of truſt, attentive only to their private intereſts, took little care to provide magazines or money. They had, indeed, applotted ſixty thouſand pounds upon the kingdom; but, when the marquis was to take the field, no part of this applotment was collected. He applied, in perſon, to ſeveral cities and incorporate towns. Theſe, like ſo many petty republics, obeyed no orders of the general aſſembly, but directed all contributions by their own acts, and granted or denied them, as they deemed moſt ſuitable to their own convenience. At Waterford, he procured ſeven thouſand pounds, by mortgaging the king's rents and cuſtoms; five thouſand were promiſed by Limerick, Galway engaged for the ſame ſum. The ſecurities were reluctantly accepted, and the money ſlowly paid.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 65.

SOME aſſiſtance he expected from the fleet under the command of prince Rupert, though this fleet was not directly ſubject to his orders. But Rupert, whether he envied the glory which Ormond might acquire from reducing Ireland to the king's obedience, or from whatever other mean and factious motive, ſtudied from the firſt to diſconcert the lieutenant. He had deſired one thouſand landmen to man his fleet; and, no ſooner were they granted, when his partiality to the Iriſh encouraged them to ſedition. Contrary to the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate their maſs in the ſea-ports; and, ſpirited up by the attendants of the prince, they inſulted the proteſtants, and raiſed ſuch commotions, as all the diligence and prudence of lord Inchiquin were ſcarcely ſufficient to allay. Rupert himſelf held a correſpondence with Antrim, O'Nial, and other diſcontented Iriſh. Encouragement was given in his name to all who were willing to ſerve the king in "an oppoſite "way to the preſent government." Thus was a turbulent ſpirit excited in Connaught, which Clanricarde with difficulty repreſſed; ſchemes were formed for raiſing forces in the South; Ormond diſcovered theſe practices, and Rupert was aſhamed to avow them. As the marquis now meditated the deſign of inveſting Dublin, the prince was intreated to block up the harbour with his fleet. Jones muſt have thus been ſpeedily reduced to extremity; but, a ſervice ſo eaſy and ſo eſſential to the king's intereſt, prince Rupert unaccountably declined. With the ſame obſtinacy he refuſed to favour the blockade of Derry, and to cut off the ſupplies expected by Sir Charles Coote; nor would he furniſh Ormond with the money which the king had directed him to pay to his lieutenant for the public ſervice.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 62. IN this complicated diſtreſs, Ormond earneſtly urged that the king himſelf ſhould repair to Ireland. The power of the commiſſioners of truſt would be thus diſſolved; the loyaliſts enlivened; every man would preſs forward to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the ſervice of his ſovereign; moſt of the forces of Jones would deſert; Owen O'Nial would be reconciled to government. He had already aſſured the king of his ſubmiſſion immediately on his arrival, on the terms of being included in the act of oblivion, allowed liberty of conſcience, employed in his majeſty's army, and advanced to the dignity of an earl. The king himſelf ſeemed perfectly convinced of the propriety of this adventure; when the Scottiſh commiſſioners attended him at the Hague, he referred them to his arrival in Ireland for an anſwer to their imperious propoſitions. His heavy baggage and inferiour ſervants were embarked, and actually landed. But three months were waſted in a vain expectation of aſſiſtance from the States; more time loſt at Saint Germains; and, though the king ſtill adhered to his reſolution, and proceeded to the Iſle of Jerſey, yet the time of action was already arrived, and Ormond obliged to take the field.

p. 69. THE reduction of Dublin was now the great object of his enterprizes. To gain this city, was, in effect, to gain the whole kingdom. He flattered himſelf that it would alſo produce an inſurrection in England; that numbers who deteſted the king's death would be encouraged to declare themſelves; and was particularly aſſured that many London merchants only waited until Dublin ſhould be in the hands of the royaliſts, to tranſport themſelves and their effects, amounting to an immenſe value, and carry on their commerce in Ireland. For an attempt of ſuch conſequence, Ormond was miſerably provided: he had no magazines, no money; the forces on which he was to depend grew mutinous by their diſtreſſes; and the Iriſh, in particular, were unuſed to diſcipline, impatient of reſtraint, without zeal for the cauſe in which they were engaged, and only to be bribed to their duty; proud of being found neceſſary to the king's ſervice; filled with their own imaginary conſequence, and inſolent to their fellow-ſoldiers. About two thouſand of the Munſter army, which Ormond contrived to collect in the month of May, were employed under the earl of Caſtlehaven to reduce thoſe places in Leinſter which were ſtill poſſeſſed by the forces of Owen O'Nial; and, though they ſtruggled with extreme difficulties, yet they performed this ſervice. Sir George Monroe, whom the king had commiſſioned to command in Ulſter, was detached into Connaught to make a diverſion in favour of the forces employed againſt Coote; and, having in conjunction with Clanricarde, reduced the parliamentarian garriſons in the Weſt, marched to the ſupport of the army which lay before Derry. In the mean time, the lord lieutenant muſtered ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, near Carlow; and, by the help of ſome money borrowed from private perſons, put this body in motion. He reduced Kildare, and other places held by the enemy; but the neceſſities of his army were a fatal impediment to his progreſs; ſo that when Jones had marched to ſome diſtance from the capital, and Ormond had the faireſt opportunity of engaging him to advantage, he was forced to keep his ſtation weſtward of the Liffey, and to ſuffer the governour to retire unmoleſted.

Nor was Jones without his difficulties and diſtreſſes. A great part of his garriſon was diſaffected, held a ſecret correſpondence with Ormond, and impatiently expected his approach. His proviſions were exhauſted; nor were his forces ſufficient to meet the enemy in the field, even if no ſuſpicions were entertained of their fidelity. But, as prince Rupert obſtinately and repeatedly refuſed to block up the harbour of Dublin, he ſoon gained ſome reinforcements and ſome proviſions from England. Nor did he want addreſs and induſtry to find reſources in Ireland. Owen O'Nial, whoſe overtures had been diſdainfully rejected by the confederates, commenced a treaty with the parliamentarian leaders, which Jones found it highly expedient to encourage. Owen was now encamped in the county of Monaghan, with his rear to Dundalk, Newry, Carlinford, and other places poſſeſſed by Monk. Their mutual intereſts produced a ceſſation between theſe two commanders. The Iriſh general even declared his readineſs to form a permanent accommodation with the ruling powers of England; offered his propoſitions, and was amuſed with frequent conferences. To Jones he promiſed, that he would find full employment for the marquis of Ormond, if he were furniſhed with money and ammunition; and of theſe he was readily aſſured. At the ſame time, the governour of Dublin found means of practiſing with the officers who ſerved under Preſton, and ſo wrought on theſe, and their general, that they formed a baſe deſign upon the life of Ormond, which was either timely diſcovered, or which they had not the hardineſs to execute.

Belling. Vind. cap. 19.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 71—78.

In the midſt of theſe dangers and difficulties, Ormond was reinforced by two thouſand of lord Inchiquin's foot; and, having received ſome ſupplies of money by the induſtry of Caſtlehaven and Taafe, proceeded in his expedition. At Naas, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to advance againſt Dublin. He marched to Caſtle-knock, within cannon ſhot of the gates, in hopes of raiſing ſome commotion within the walls; but, after ſome inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes, found it neceſſary to encamp at Finglaſs, within two miles of the city. Here he received intelligence, that Jones had detached moſt part of his horſe to Drogheda, a motion, which by cutting off his proviſions, muſt reduce his army to extreme diſtreſs. Lord Inchiquin was inſtantly ſent in purſuit of them with a ſtrong body of cavalry, ſurpriſed, and routed the party, laid ſiege to Drogheda, and ſoon obliged this city to ſurrender. Having intelligence of a body of horſe and foot employed to eſcort ſome ammunition furniſhed by the parliamentarians to Owen O'Nial, he attacked and routed the horſe, cut the infantry to pieces, inveſted Dundalk, which Monk, was forced, by his own ſoldiers, to ſurrender; and, having reduced ſome leſs conſiderable garriſons, returned triumphantly to the camp at Finglaſs.

On the return of Inchiquin, the army was found to conſiſt of ſeven thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, a force inſufficient to form the ſiege of an extenſive and populous city, defended by a numerous garriſon. It was reſolved, however, to encompaſs Dublin on all ſides; and while lord Dillon of Coſtello was left on the north with two thouſand five hundred men, Ormond, with the reſt of the army, croſſed the Liffey, and encamped at Rathmines, propoſing to extend his works to the eaſt, ſo as to command the entrance of the river. Some diſagreeable advices ſerved to damp the joy ariſing from the late ſucceſſes of lord Inchiquin. In the northern province, the Britiſh troops who had inveſted Derry, from their averſion to the independent party, began to ſuſpect that their leaders, regardleſs of the ends of the covenant, really intended to reſtore the king without conditions, and to re-eſtabliſh the hated order of biſhops. Poſſeſſed with theſe fears, they refuſed obedience to their general, lord Montgomery of Ardes, renounced the cauſe and adherents of an uncovenanted king, deſerted in great numbers, and diſperſed. Sir Charles Coote ſeized the advantage of this diſſenſion; and, addreſſing himſelf to Owen O'Nial, engaged him, by a large ſum of money, to march to his relief. Lord Ardes was too much weakened to await his approach; and, therefore, raiſed the ſiege of Derry, at the time when Coote was reduced to extreme diſtreſs. What was ſtill more alarming to the army before Dublin, three Engliſh officers, Reynolds, Hunks, and Venables, arrived at this city with two thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe; a conſiderable ſum of money, and various neceſſaries for the garriſon, at the time when Ormond was on his march to Rathmines. By the very ſhips which brought theſe ſuccours, intelligence was conveyed to Ormond and Inchiquin, that Dublin was now thought to be ſufficiently defended; that Cromwell lay at Briſtol with a great army, and that he deſigned to land in Munſter.

In this province many were devoted to the ruling power of England: the royal garriſons were weak; and Cromwell, it was juſtly ſuppoſed, would be perfectly informed of their condition. By reducing Munſter, he would become maſter of the beſt ports of the kingdom, he would cut off the proviſions of the army; ſo that, if Dublin were reduced, they muſt be ſtill diſtreſſed; and, ſhould they fail in their preſent attempt, their cauſe muſt be utterly deſperate. It was, therefore, reſolved without heſitation, that lord Inchiquin ſhould march to the South with three regiments of horſe to ſtrengthen the garriſons, and, by his preſence, to confirm the people in their attachment to the royal cauſe. At the ſame time, it was determined to continue the blockade of Dublin, as it muſt prove a dangerous diſcouragement to their party, ſhould the preſent enterprize be abandoned. Yet, as their diminiſhed numbers required greater caution, it was the opinion of a council of war, that the marquis (when the enemy's party was firſt driven from Rathfarnham, a ſervice eaſily effected) ſhould remove from Rathmines to a ſecurer quarter, at a place called Drumnagh, whence he might hold an uninterrupted communication with the party ſtationed on the north ſide of the river.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 79—81.

A motion, which had the air of a retreat, was utterly intolerable to many officers, who had more confidence than ſkill.

They repreſented the reduction of Dublin as a work of leſs difficulty than was pretended; they obſerved, that the enemy's horſe ſubſiſted only by the convenience of ſome meadows near the walls on the ſouth-ſide of the river; that to deprive them of this paſture, and thus, in a few days, to ſtarve their horſe, nothing more was neceſſary than to poſſeſs the adjoining caſtle, called Baggatrath, which might be ſufficiently fortified in one night. Hence might the works be advanced ſecurely to the river, ſo as to cut off the garriſon from farther ſuccours, and provoke them to compel their officers to relieve their intolerable diſtreſs by a ſurrender of the city.

An overture ſo plauſible was approved by the council of war; nor did Ormond venture, by his own authority, to forbid an enterprize of gallantry, which, in the opinion of his principal officers, was practicable and promiſing. At the cloſe of day, an officer of the name of Purcell was detached with fifteen hundred foot to Baggatrath, while the reſt of the forces were drawn up in battalia to ſupport him againſt any interruption from the town. Although the caſtle lay but about a mile diſtant from the camp, yet the whole night was waſted in traverſing the adjacent country, before Purcell could gain his place of deſtination and commence his works. The treachery of the guides alone could have occaſioned this delay; and one Reily, an eccleſiaſtic, who had carried on a correſpondence between Jones and O'Nial, afterwards claimed the merit of betraying the royal army. Ormond had been all night employed either in the field, or in his tent. In the morning, he found Baggatrath not ſo ſtrong, nor his works ſo far advanced as he expected. Parties of the enemy were diſcovered lying between this caſtle and the ſtrand. It was evident, that Jones would hazard an engagement; and, as the whole army muſt now be drawn out, it ſeemed not more dangerous to ſupport their party in their works, than to cover their retreat. Ormond, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, in full expectation of a ſally, retired to his tent to take ſome repoſe, but was quickly rouſed by repeated vollies; and, ſcarcely had he ridden one hundred yards, when he found the party of Purcell driven from their works; Sir William Vaughan, another of his officers, routed and ſlain; his horſe flying, and his whole right wing completely broken. When he had, in vain, endeavoured to correct this diſorder, he forced his way to the left; but here the troops at once caught the pannic, and fled, without firing on the enemy. Thoſe ſtationed on the other ſide of the river, inſtead of endeavouring to recover the victory from an enemy in confuſion, and ſolely intent on plunder, conſulted only their preſent ſecurity, and caſt themſelves into Trim and Drogheda; while the marquis retired to Kilkenny with ſome ſhattered remains of his army. Fifteen hundred private ſoldiers, and three hundred officers, were made priſoners; about ſix hundred ſlain; many of theſe, to the diſgrace of the conquerours, when they had accepted quarter and laid down their arms.

Such was the event of this enterprize againſt Dublin, an event naturally to be expected from a general controuled in his authority, an army weak and unprovided, compoſed of diſcordant parts; the officers faithleſs, negligent, and ignorant, countenanced in their diſobedience by the commiſſioners of truſt; the men undiſciplined, unuſed to danger, indifferent to the ſervice, and ſecure of an aſylum among their Iriſh aſſociates, when, on the firſt alarm of an enemy, they ſhould abandon their leaders. The loſs of ſuch men was not ſo conſiderable as that of arms and ordnance. And the ſtill more important effects of this diſaſter, were the dejection of the friends, and exultation of the enemies of the royal cauſe, the diminution of that reverence which had generally been paid to Ormond, and the fears, jealouſies, and complaints induſtriouſly propagated by the enemies of the late peace; who imputed the misfortune of the confederates entirely to the marquis, and tranſmitted the intelligence of his defeat to Rome with the utmoſt joy and triumph. Borlaſe.

* ORMOND, himſelf, was not diſpirited by this accident. Owen O'Nial had grown diſguſted with his new friends, the independents. They had rejected his overtures in England; they had formally condemned the treaties made with him by Monk and Coote; thus they offended his pride, and convinced him of the neceſſity of conſulting his ſecurity by other meaſures. He renewed his treaty with the marquis of Ormond; the marquis was ſolicitous to gain him; the commiſſioners of truſt were rendered more tractable by misfortune; the treaty was carried on with ſome appearance of ſucceſs; and, it was expected, that O'Nial would ſoon join the king's lieutenant with ſix thouſand well appointed foot, and five hundred horſe. The proſpect of ſuch a reinforcement inſpired Ormond with hopes of ſucceſsfully renewing his attempt on Dublin, (eſpecially if any accident ſhould detain the ſupplies expected from England) and even of reducing the whole kingdom. To confirm him in his hopes of better fortune, when about a week after the battle of Rathmines, he advanced only with three hundred horſe to Drogheda; which, as he expected, was inveſted by Jones, this governour was ſo alarmed, that he raiſed the ſiege precipitately, and retired to Dublin.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 82.

BUT, the time was now come, when the ruling powers of England were ready to demonſtrate, that if they had ſo long appeared inſenſible to the diſtreſſes of Ireland, it aroſe from neceſſity,

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* Soon after his defeat, the marquis wrote to Jones, deſiring that he would ſend a liſt of the priſoners he had taken. In the pride of his ſucceſs, the republican governour returned the following laconic anſwer.

"My Lord,

"SINCE I routed your army, I cannot have the happineſs to know where "you are, that I may wait upon you.

MICHAEL JONES."

from their ſtill more important concerns in England, from their attention to a momentous cauſe, which engaged all their faculties, and all their reſources. From the moment that their triumph over the royal power was completed, the neceſſity of reducing Ireland was ſeriouſly and ſincerely weighed, and motions made in parliament for a powerful army to be ſent into this kingdom, for the chaſtiſement of popiſh rebels, and the relief of their proteſtant brethren. The oppoſite intereſts of the preſbyterian and independent parties for ſome time ſuſpended the deſign. The firſt contended for entruſting the Iriſh expedition to the command of Sir William Waller; the latter were for employing Lambert. The diviſions between the parliament and the army raiſed new obſtacles. The revolt of Wales, inſurrections, preparations of the Scots to invade England, baniſhed all thoughts of an Iriſh expedition; and, had not the confederates of Ireland been obſtinately hardened in their infatuation, had they formed a real and a timely union under the marquis of Ormond, they muſt have ſoon expelled every partizan of the Engliſh parliament from their country. But a dreadful chaſtiſement was reſerved for their pride and bigotry. The progreſs of Ormond again awakened the parliament to a lively ſenſe of the danger of their cauſe in Ireland. Waller was no longer conſidered as a general proper to be employed in this country: Lambert was ſecretly ſupplanted by a more powerful competitor. Cromwell was perſuaded, that the conduct of an Iriſh war was not unworthy of his own abilities, and might add to his power and conſequence. He contrived, by his intrigues to be choſen lord lieutenant of Ireland, by an unanimous vote of parliament.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 83.

THE preparations for his expedition, the ſuppreſſion of the levellers, who ſaw through the deſign of tranſporting them into Ireland, and oppoſed it by violence, the reluctance of many others to ſerve in Ireland, where their countrymen had hitherto been abandoned to diſtreſs and famine, and ſome difficulties in procuring ſhips, occaſioned conſiderable delays. It began to be queſtioned whether Cromwell would at all embark. But his armament was at length completed; the late change of affairs, by the action of Rathmines, or the accidents of wind and weather, diverted him from his purpoſe of invading the ſouthern province; he ſteered his courſe to Dublin; and, on the fifteenth day of Auguſt, landed with eight thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand pounds in money, a formidable train of artillery, and all other neceſſaries of war. Ludlow.

In Dublin, he exerciſed his new authority; regulated all civil and military affairs, offered indemnity and protection to all thoſe who would ſubmit to the parliament, an offer readily embraced by many of the bittereſt adverſaries to the peace and Ormond; and, having committed the care of the city to a new governour, Sir Theophilus Jones, took the field with ten thouſand choſen men. Ormond, who was now reduced to act on the defenſive, rightly judged that Cromwell would make his firſt attempt on Drogheda, a frontier town, the moſt expoſed, and of greateſt conſequence for opening a communication with the northern province. He inſpected and repaired the fortifications of this city; committed it to the government of Sir Arthur Aſton, a catholic officer, diſtinguiſhed by his gallantry. His garriſon was augmented to two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, all choſen men, encouraged by the preſence of many officers of reputation, and furniſhed with a full proportion of ammunition and proviſions. Such diſpoſitions were deemed ſufficient for the ſecurity of Drogheda; and, while Ormond retired in expectation of being reinforced by lord Inchiquin, he indulged his hopes that the numbers of the enemy would be ſpeedily diminiſhed by their unſucceſsful aſſault, and by the inconveniences and ſeverities of a ſiege. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 84.

But Cromwell was poſſeſſed with that intrepidity and vigour which quickly diſſipated theſe expectations. Diſdaining all regular approaches and formal operations of a ſiege, he ſummoned the governour to ſurrender; and, on his refuſal, thundered againſt the walls for two days, until he had made a ſufficient breach. The aſſault was given, and his men twice repulſed. In the third attempt, led by Cromwell himſelf, the town was gained. Quarter had been promiſed to all thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms; a promiſe obſerved until all reſiſtance was at an end. But the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell, with an infernal calmneſs and deliberation, reſolved by one effectual execution to terrify the whole Iriſh party. He iſſued his fatal orders, *that the garriſon ſhould be put to the ſword. His ſoldiers, many of them with reluctance, butchered their priſoners*. The governour, and all his gallant officers, betrayed to ſlaughter by the cowardice of ſome of their troops, were maſſacred without mercy. For five days this hideous execution was continued with every circumſtance of horrour. A number of eccleſiaſtics was found within the walls; and Cromwell, as if immediately commiſſioned to execute divine vengeance on theſe miniſters of idolatry, ordered his ſoldiers to plunge their weapons into the helpleſs wretches. *Some few of the garriſon contrived to eſcape in diſguiſe. Thirty perſons only remained unſlaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppreſſed by carnage; and theſe were inſtantly tranſported as ſlaves to Barbadoes.* Borlaſe.

This execrable policy had the intended effect. The garriſons of Trim and Dundalk, in their conſternation, neglected the orders of the marquis of Ormond to burn theſe towns, and demoliſh the fortifications; ſo that they were immediately poſſeſſed by the enemy. Venables was detached into the province of Ulſter. He ſoon reduced Carlinford: Newry was ſurrendered: Carte, ut ſupra.

dered: in marching againſt Liſburne, he was attacked, and expoſed to ſome danger, but fortunately extricated himſelf, and was received into the town without reſiſtance. Belfaſt was ſurrendered upon articles, in four days after his approach; Colerain was betrayed to Sir Charles Coote, who drove Sir George Monroe from the counties of Downe and Antrim, and reduced the whole country except the caſtle of Carricfergus.

During this rapid progreſs, the marquis of Ormond, in all the mortification of a diſcomfited general, kept himſelf retired, at the head of fifteen hundred foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, moſt of them new raiſed levies, and many of ſuſpected faith. He, indeed, expected to be reinforced both by lord Inchiquin and lord Ardes; but he had neither money nor proviſions. In the abſence of the commiſſioners of truſt, he iſſued his own warrants for raiſing both. The commiſſioners, with unabated inſolence, complained of this procedure as an infringement of the articles of peace, and talked of treating with the enemy. The only meaſure now to be purſued was, that of putting the confederate forces into garriſons; and, as winter was approaching, to proſecute their levies, and diſcipline their men. But the conſent of the commiſſioners was neceſſary for forming any new garriſons, and appointing any governours; and theſe men had neither power nor credit with the cities moſt likely to be attacked, either to force or perſuade them to admit garriſons. Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, peremptorily declared, that they would neither obey orders, nor receive ſoldiers.

In this diſtreſſed and embarraſſed condition, Ormond ſaw no means of preventing the utter ruin of the king's intereſts, but his own preſence in Ireland. While the event of his deſign on Dublin was uncertain, he had recommended that the king ſhould ſuſpend his purpoſe of appearing in this kingdom. Charles ſeemed ſtill diſpoſed to ſhare the common danger with his Iriſh ſubjects. His emiſſary was ſent to Ormond to learn his

Carte, ut ſupra, p. 86.

opinion of the propriety of ſuch an adventure, and to preſent the marquis with the enſigns of the order of the Garter. Ormond returned a melancholy account of the weakneſs, dejection, and confuſion of the royaliſts; yet ſtill recommended that his majeſty ſhould repair to Ireland, as the only meaſure for preſerving any remains of intereſt and authority in this kingdom. If the progreſs of the enemy ſhould be thus ſtopped, it would prove their ruin to oppoſe them under ſuch diſadvantages, would be honourable to the king, whatever the event might be; and the ſecurity of his reſidence, and the conveniences of a retreat, might ſtill be as great in Ireland as in Jerſey. While the embarkation of Cromwell was preparing, Blake was ordered to keep prince Rupert's ſquadron blocked up in the harbour of Kinſale; when the forces were once landed, the Engliſh admiral retired; this ſquadron, therefore, was deſtined to attend the king, and convoy him from Jerſey; and Ormond exerted all his efforts to furniſh the ſhips with ſeamen and proviſions. But Charles, by this time, liſtened to new counſels; accepted the propoſitions of the Scottiſh commiſſioners; and choſe rather to attempt the recovery of his dominions by hypocriſy and perjury in Scotland, than by any gallant enterprize in Ireland.

p. 88.

In the mean time, Cromwell with his uſual vigour, reſolved to ſeize the advantage of the conſternation and diſſenſions of his enemies, and to proceed in his operations notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon of the year. He had his correſpondencies in Munſter, his ſecret partizans in the cities and forts poſſeſſed by the Iriſh, and now marched with nine thouſand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of his army; and the country people, aſſured of protection, and made to believe that they ſhould enjoy the liberty of their religion, crowded to his camp with proviſions, for which they immediately received the full value. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferiour note were at once ſurrendered; and, on the firſt day of October, he ſat down before Wexford. The citizens had hitherto neglected all means of defence, and obſtinately refuſed to admit any troops. In their preſent terrour, which was artfully enflamed by thoſe who held intelligence with Cromwell, they firſt propoſed to open their gates to the enemy; at the urgent inſtances of the marquis of Ormond, they at length deigned to accept of ſuccours; yet, with a fanaticiſm not peculiar to popery, they continued in their extremity to reject the aſſiſtance of heretics, and demanded a garriſon compoſed entirely of the faithful. Ormond was by this time conſiderably ſtrengthened; he, therefore, contrived to throw fifteen hundred catholic troops into Wexford; and, at the requiſition of the magiſtrates, five hundred more. Having thus provided for the ſecurity of the city, he retired with the remains of his army, and arrived ſecurely at Roſs, though an attempt had been made to intercept him by a party under the command of Michael Jones.

BUT all the proviſions made for the defence of Wexford, could not ſecure it from ſecret treachery. One Stafford, governour of the caſtle, had been ſuſpected by Ormond; but, as he had the merit of being a catholic, the commiſſioners of truſt would not conſent to remove him. No ſooner had Cromwell's batteries began to play, when this man admitted his ſoldiers into the caſtle upon conditions. The citizens were ſuddenly confounded at ſight of his colours waving on the battlements, and their own cannon pointed againſt the town. In the firſt tumult of terrour and conſternation, they ſent commiſſioners to treat with the enemy; but the townſmen were impatient of delay; the ſoldiers ran tumultuouſly from the walls; every man conſulted only his own ſafety, and thus were all deſtroyed. The enemy gained the city without farther reſiſtance, and proceeded to put all to the ſword who were found in arms, with an execution as horribly deliberate as that of Drogheda. Hence

Carte, ut ſupra. p. 92—98.

Cromwell proceeded to lay ſiege to Roſs, a town ſituated on the river Barrow, and more conſiderable for navigation than that of Wexford. At the ſame time he detached a ſtrong party under the command of Ireton, to inveſt Duncannon. Such was the general conſternation, occaſioned by the progreſs and ſeverities of Cromwell, that the citizens of Waterford, though nearly intereſted in the defence of this fort, refuſed to ſupply it with proviſions, and ſeemed ready to ſubmit on the firſt appearance of an enemy; while the commiſſioners of truſt, ſeated at Kilkenny in all the futile pomp of authority, began to tremble for their ſecurity, and were ſcarcely reſtrained from flying to ſome place more inacceſſible to the parliamentarians. To confirm theſe terrours, the town of Roſs was immediately ſurrendered upon articles.

THE fort of Duncannon made a more honourable reſiſtance: and ſo conſiderably had the victorious army been reduced by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, in a country at this time unfriendly to Engliſh conſtitutions, that a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was ſent from Dublin, and had been ſome time expected by Cromwell. Lord Inchiquin was informed of the march of theſe forces; and, with conſent of Ormond and the commiſſioners of truſt, reſolved to intercept them. In this attempt he was foiled and defeated. Yet Wogan, the officer who commanded in Duncannon, continued to make a brave defence. By the aſſiſtance and encouragement of lord Caſtlehaven, he made a ſally with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that the enemy at once raiſed the ſiege, not without ſome confuſion. On retiring to their main body, they found the general tranſporting his troops to the county of Kilkenny, by a bridge of boats conſtructed on the Barrow, a device utterly ſtrange and aſtoniſhing to the rude Iriſh. Ormond, who had concluded his accommodation with Owen O'Nial, and already received part of his forces, made ſome preparations for diſputing the paſſage

Caſtlehaven's Memoirs.

Borlaſe.

of the river; but Cromwell, ſuperiour in vigilance and expedition, as well as numbers, had already tranſported his army, and obliged the marquis to retire gradually to the city of Kilkenny. Here he found the reſt of the northern Iriſh forces ready to receive his commands. The preſence of their favourite general was ſtill wanting; for O'Nial now laboured under a grievous malady, which ſoon after put a period to his life *. So powerful a reinforcement, however, encouraged Ormond to the deſign of meeting the enemy in the field. Carte, ut ſup.

He repreſented to his ſoldiers the neceſſity of fighting, in order to enlarge their quarters, and the glory of making one brave effort for their country, inſtead of periſhing ignobly by famine. He demanded an explicit declaration of their ſentiments: they declared unanimouſly for battle: he iſſued from Kilkenny in ſearch of the enemy; but Cromwell, who had advanced within five miles of this city, and reduced the fort of Knocktopher, paſſed ſuddenly with all his army over the Sure, and marched to inveſt Waterford. This city, with the uſual obſtinacy of popiſh corporations, had diſdainfully rejected the aſſiſtance of lord Caſtlehaven, who was ſent with ſome troops to provide for their ſecurity, as well as that of the neighbouring fort of Paſſage, over-againſt Duncannon. But the approach of a bloody enemy rendered them more tractable. While Inchiquin was detached to recover Carrick, which Cromwell had ſurpriſed in his march, Ormond haſtened to the defence of Waterford. The citizens accepted a reinforcement of fifteen hundred Ulſter troops, under their commander Ferral, all immaculate in the faith, without any mixture of heretical depravity; and the marquis was on the point of returning to Carrick,

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* The Iriſh did him the honour frequently paid to great perſonages, of diſcovering ſomething extraordinary in his ſickneſs and death. They were aſcribed to poiſon conveyed by a fatal preſent of a pair of ruſſet boots.

in full confidence that his forces were already maſters of the town, when he received intelligence that they had failed in their attempt, and retired to Clonmel. With the few troops he had left, he ſought the ſame place, by an indirect and tedious march, through a country filled with terrour; the inhabitants collecting their wretched effects, abandoning their habitations; peaſants, citizens, women, children, all flying different ways, to find ſome ſhelter from the Engliſh army.

Carte, ut ſup. p. 99—104.

THIS conſternation was encreaſed by the reduction of Paſſage fort. The citizens of Waterford now declared, that unleſs they were inſtantly ſupplied with additional troops and proviſions, they could make no reſiſtance. Though the commiſſioners of truſt ſat in uſeleſs ſtate at Kilkenny, without contributing to the public *ſervice, or concurring in any meaſures for* relieving the *diſtreſſes of the ſoldiery, yet Ormond contrived to* march once more to Waterford, and to ſtrengthen the garriſon with a new reinforcement. He had the gratification of diſcovering the enemy in ſome terrour at his approach, and raiſing the ſiege with evident marks of confuſion. But when he propoſed to fall on the rear of an army waſted by fatigue and ſickneſs, and mortified by their preſent diſappointment, the inſolence of the citizens revived; they now conſidered his ſoldiers as an uſeleſs and oppreſſive burden, and *refuſed to ſupply boats* for ferrying them over *the river,* until the opportunity of annoying the enemy was loſt.

THE marquis, on his return to Clonmel, found himſelf involved in new vexations and diſappointments. Antrim was detected in labouring to corrupt his ſoldiers, and ſecretly to enflame that ſpirit of inſolence and diſobedience which had already been diſcovered in the corporate towns. He had *forged* articles of agreement between Michael Jones and Inchiquin, whereby this lord engaged to betray the royaliſts. The forgery was detected and confeſſed. What was ſtill more afflicting, ſeveral deſigns formed in Munſter againſt the king's cauſe, though hitherto defeated by Inchiquin, were now on the point of final ſucceſs. Cromwell, before his departure from London, had learned that lord Broghill intended to repair to the king and attend him into Ireland. He ſurpriſed this lord by a viſit; informed him, that his deſigns were no ſecret to the council of ſtate; terrified him with the proſpect of immediate impriſonment; promiſed, that if he would engage in the ſervice of the commonwealth, no diſagreeable oaths ſhould be impoſed on him; that he ſhould draw his ſword only againſt the Iriſh, and be inveſted with an honourable command. Broghill readily complied, arrived in Ireland about the end of October, raiſed a troop for the ſervice of Cromwell, and practiſed ſecretly and ſucceſsfully with the Munſter proteſtants. Theſe men ſoon repented of their unnatural conjunction with the confederate Iriſh; and thoſe among them who had not already determined to forſake their preſent ſervice, were eaſily ſeduced. In a moment all the chief garriſons of Munſter declared for Cromwell; who thus, having firſt reduced Dungarvan, found commodious quarters for his harraſſed and diſtempered forces, without conducting them by a tedious march to Dublin.

Memoirs of lord Orrery.

THIS ſudden defection, in a juncture ſo critical, when the diſtreſſes of Cromwell, from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, the ſickneſs of his army, and ſcarcity of proviſions, had raiſed men's ſpirits, and inſpired them with favourable hopes, diſſolved the whole frame of the royal party, and extinguiſhed all remains of confidence between the Engliſh and Iriſh, who were originally united by the principle of obedience and ſubmiſſion to their leaders, not incorporated by inclination and affection. Ormond was now obliged to give his troops ſome reſpite. He repreſented to the commiſſioners of truſt the neceſſity of quartering them in the cities, from whence they might be readily collected in the ſpring. But, except Kilkenny and Clonmel, none of theſe cities could be perſuaded to admit them. The magiſtrates of Waterford even refuſed his few troops a paſſage through their city to ſuccour Ferral, who had failed in his attempt to recover the fort of Paſſage, and was ſeen flying in diſorder; ſo that half the party was cut to pieces before he could appear, and deter the enemy from their purſuit. He propoſed to renew the attack of this fort, if his forces were but permitted to take their quarters under the walls in huts, where they ſhould not be burdenſome to the city, but depend on the country for ſubſiſtence: but this propoſal was rejected; and ſo inſolent were theſe burghers, ſo obedient to the clergy, and ſo infected by the malicious ſuggeſtions of their faction, that it was propoſed in their council to ſeize the perſon of the lord lieutenant, and fall on all his adherents. *The propoſal, indeed, was rejected, but without any reprehenſion.*

The only part now left for Ormond, was to diſmiſs his forces to ſeek ſhelter and ſubſiſtence wherever they were moſt likely to procure them. Thoſe of Connaught retired to their own province; lord Dillon diſpoſed his men in Meath, and the neighbourhood of Athlone; lord Inchiquin, with that part of the Munſter army which had not yet deſerted, gained the county of Clare. Daniel O'Nial, who, as a native of Ulſter, and nephew to Owen, was acceptable to the northern Iriſh, and, as a proteſtant, unexceptionable to the Scots, was ſent with two thouſand men to aſſiſt lord Ardes and Sir George Monroe in recovery of thoſe places lately loſt in the counties of Down and Antrim. After a tedious march, he found theſe commanders routed by Sir Charles Coote, Carricfergus ſurrendered, and the whole northern province in the hands of the parliamentarians, except Claremont and Enniſkillen.

To what hath been already obſerved of that inſolence and bigotry which appeared in ſeveral of the cities, it ſeems ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that they were under the dominion of the moſt turbulent and refractory of the Iriſh eccleſiaſtics. The conſequence of ſuch men revived with the public misfortunes. Theſe, with an ignorant and vulgar malignity, they imputed to the miſconduct of their governours, and laboured to infuſe their illiberal prejudices into the minds of all thoſe who liſtened to their inſinuations. They were aſſiſted by the marquis of Antrim, who ſtill aſpired to the ſtation of chief governour, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to render Ormond odious to the people, and obnoxious to the king. A general diſcontent, ſuſpicions, jealouſies, murmurs, were the natural conſequence of ſuch practices. And the clergy now affected a ſolicitude to allay thoſe diſorders, which they themſelves had excited. About twenty of their biſhops aſſembled voluntarily at Clonmacnoiſe, on the banks of the Shannon, to deliberate on the ſtate of the nation. The whole Iriſh party was anxious for the event of this ſelf-appointed council, and looked for nothing leſs important than a violent proteſtation againſt the government of Ormond. Happily the temper of one of their biſhops, Heber Mac Mahon, the Romiſh prelate of Clogher, diſappointed theſe expectations. From the time of the accommodation between Ormond and Owen O'Nial, in which Mac Mahon had been inſtrumental, the marquis frequently converſed with him on public affairs, and inſpired him with an high opinion of his talents for government, and his zeal for the intereſts of Ireland. With theſe ſentiments he entered the aſſembly of his brethren, where he had the conſequence naturally derived from ſuperiour abilities. He ſilenced the factious, he encouraged the moderate, he defeated all the ſecret practices of Antrim; and, at length, with difficulty, prevailed on the prelates to declare, by a formal inſtrument, that no ſecurity for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell; to expreſs their deteſtation of all odious diſtinctions and animoſities between old Iriſh, Engliſh,

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 105.

and Scottiſh royaliſts, and their reſolution of puniſhing all the clergy who ſhould be found to encourage them.

But theſe declarations did not operate on the public diſorders with any conſiderable effect. What the factious clergy could not venture to declare in full aſſembly, was ſecretly whiſpered and propagated. A people irritated by the galling burden of contribution and aſſeſſment, provoked by diſappointments, and weary of a declining cauſe, readily liſtened to thoſe who taught them to aſcribe the effects of their own perfidy and diſobedience to the miſconduct of the king's governour. Some of their clergy, more particularly devoted to the nuncio and his principles, did not ſcruple to inſinuate, that if their countrymen muſt accept of an heretical adminiſtration, they might as well ſubmit to Cromwell as to Ormond; and ſome were ſaid to have even offered public prayers for the ſucceſs of the republican general. The marquis, conſcious of his own rectitude and zeal, was provoked at ſuch ingratitude. He deſired the king's permiſſion to retire from Ireland; the king conſented that he ſhould withdraw himſelf when the neceſſity became unavoidable. But, as his treaty with the Scots was to produce a diverſion in England, which might have an happy effect upon his Iriſh intereſts, the lieutenant was ſtill to ſtruggle with his difficulties. He addreſſed himſelf to the commiſſioners of truſt. He demanded the reaſon of thoſe diſſatisfactions, by which the people had been ſeduced from their obedience, and abandoned all thoughts of union and defence. The commiſſioners recommended, that the ſeveral counties ſhould be directed to ſend agents to Kilkenny, to repreſent their grievances, and to propoſe means for their relief; an expedient ſuggeſted by thoſe who were ſecret enemies to Ormond, and calculated to enflame, rather than to ſuppreſs ſedition. Should the marquis oppoſe it, he muſt be reproached with a conſciouſneſs of guilt, and a re-

Belling. Vind. cap. 24.

Borlaſe.

Carte, ut ſup.

luctance to hear, or to relieve the people. The agents were ſuffered to aſſemble. They menaced, they clamoured, they ſpread their ſlanders; but when they attempted to form a remonſtrance, they could find no grievances to compoſe it. In the midſt of their futile deliberations, they were alarmed at the approach of Cromwell; fled to Ennis, and there found it equally difficult to frame their remonſtrance. Borlaſe.

CROMWELL had advanced in a dreary ſeaſon, not prepared for a regular ſiege, but relying on the promiſes of an officer called Tickle, that he would betray the city of Kilkenny into his hands. The plot was diſcovered, and the agent executed. Ormond, at the head of a little troop, compoſed of his friends and domeſtics, ſo animated the citizens, and diſplayed ſuch an appearance of defence, that the enemy retired; and the cuſtody of the city and adjacent country was entruſted to lord Caſtlehaven, with a body of twelve hundred men. But the fate of Kilkenny was but ſuſpended. Cromwell, ſenſible that his preſence muſt ſpeedily be demanded in England, and that the Iriſh, who wanted proviſions, muſt be particularly diſtreſſed by an early campaign, took the field about the end of February. Fatigue and ſickneſs had conſiderably diminiſhed his Engliſh forces. But the revolt of the Munſter garriſons furniſhed him with ſoldiers inured to the climate, and habituated to the ſeverities of an Iriſh war. One part of his army he entruſted to Ireton; and each commander reduced ſeveral places in his march. They met at Callan, which was inſtantly taken. At Gouran they received an additional reinforcement, commanded by colonel Hewſon, now governour of Dublin; and thus they were enabled to inveſt Kilkenny with a conſiderable army.

A PLAGUE, by which moſt parts of Ireland had been infeſted, raged particularly in this city, obliged Caſtlehaven to retire, and reduced the garriſon to about four hundred and fifty. With Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 114.

this body Sir Walter Butler made a brave defence, and repelled the aſſaults of the beſiegers with ſuch ſpirit and ſucceſs, that Cromwell, deſpairing to gain the town with that expedition which his affairs required, began to meditate a retreat, when A. D. 1650. the mayor and citizens invited him to ſtay, and promiſed to receive him into their town. His aſſaults were renewed, and again repelled. But a weak and ſickly garriſon, every moment in danger of being betrayed, was ſoon obliged to capitulate. They ſurrendered the city and caſtle upon honourable terms; and were applauded by Cromwell for their defence.

FROM Kilkenny Cromwell proceeded to inveſt Clonmel, and here met with a ſtill more obſtinate reſiſtance. Hugh O'Nial, a northern officer, with twelve hundred of his provincials, maintained the town with ſuch valour, that in the firſt aſſault two thouſand of the beſiegers were loſt; and Cromwell determined rather to ſtarve, than force the city to ſubmiſſion. Harraſſed and enfeebled by delay, he made the moſt preſſing inſtances to lord Broghill to haſten to his aſſiſtance. On the other hand, Ormond laboured indefatigably to ſuccour the garriſon. Notwithſtanding the infatuated obſtinacy of the commiſſioners of truſt, who defeated all his attempts, he prevailed on lord Roche, a perſon of conſiderable power in the South, to collect a body of troops for the relief of Clonmel; but theſe were encountered and defeated by lord Broghill. The Romiſh biſhop of Roſs, who had been particularly active in raiſing and animating theſe unfortunate troops, was taken priſoner in the engagement. A man ſo diſtinguiſhed in his oppoſition to the parliamentarians could expect no mercy; Broghill, however, promiſed to ſpare his life, on condition that he ſhould uſe his ſpiritual authority with the garriſon of a fort adjacent to the field of battle, and prevail on them to ſurrender. For this purpoſe he was conducted to the fort; but the gallant captive, un-

Cox, vol. II. part iii. p. 16.

ſhaken by the fear of death, exhorted the garriſon to maintain their poſt reſolutely againſt the enemies of their religion and their country, and inſtantly reſigned himſelf to execution. His enemies could diſcover nothing in this conduct but inſolence and obſtinacy, for he was a papiſt and a prelate.

In the mean time, Cromwell was repeatedly called into England, where the alarm of a Scottiſh invaſion rendered his preſence abſolutely neceſſary. But his reputation muſt be conſiderably impaired, ſhould he abandon his preſent enterprize; he, therefore, continued to inveſt Clonmel. After a brave defence of two months, the garriſon found their ammunition and proviſions totally exhauſted, without any proſpect of relief. Hugh O'Nial withdrew ſecretly with his forces, and conducted them to Waterford; while the townſmen treated with the beſiegers, and were permitted to ſurrender the city upon honourable terms. Cromwell now reſigned his army to the care of Ireton, and embarked for England.

CHAP. II.

State of Ireland on the departure of Cromwell.—Attempt to recover Ulſter from the parliamentarians.—Defeat and death of Heber Mac Mahon.—Limerick refuſes to receive a garriſon from Ormond.—He applies to the clergy.—Their factious and inſidious conduct.—Ormond threatens to retire from the kingdom.—The nobility alarmed.—The citizens of Limerick relent.—They invite Ormond to their town.—He is excluded by a tumult.—Traduced by the clergy.—Their aſſembly at James-town.—They require Ormond to depart from the kingdom.—Their declaration againſt his government.—Their excommunication of all his party.—Progreſs of the parliamentarians.—Iriſh prelates ſuſpend, but refuſe to revoke their excommunication.—They are enflamed by the king's declaration from Scotland.—Ormond's propoſitions to the commiſſioners of truſt.—New general aſſembly,—influenced by the clergy.—Ormond retires to France.—Marquis of Clanricarde lord deputy.—Attempt on Limerick defeated.—Iriſh clergy diſpoſed to a treaty with the parliamentarians.—They are intimidated,—yet ſtill averſe to the king's authority.—Their agent ſent to the duke of Lorrain.—Occaſion, progreſs, and event of the tranſactions with this prince.—Ireton prepares for the ſiege of Limerick,—croſſes the Shannon,—and inveſts the city.—Valour of Henry O'Nial.—Lord Muſkerry marches to the relief of Limerick,—is defeated by lord Broghill.—Limerick betrayed to the beſiegers.—Severe executions.—Ungenerous treatment of Henry O'Nial.—Death of Ireton.—Ludlow prepares for a new campaign.—General conſternation.—The clergy ſtill inſolent.—Galway ſurrendered.—Extreme diſtreſs of Clanricarde.—He accepts terms,—and departs from the kingdom.—Acts for diſtribution of lands in Ireland.

land. — Trials of Iriſh rebels. — Sir Phelim O'Nial ſeized. — His trial and execution.—Diſpoſitions of the forfeited lands.— Oliver proclaimed lord protector in Ireland.—Henry Cromwell ſent into Ireland.—Fleetwood lord deputy,—ſucceeded by Henry Cromwell.—His character and conduct.—He is created lord lieutenant on the acceſſion of his brother Richard.—He reſigns his office on the reſtoration of the rump-parliament.—Deſigns and proceedings of the royaliſts.—Their leaders,—Their ſucceſs.— Convention of eſtates.—The king proclaimed in Ireland.

ALTHOUH the faction and obſtinacy of the Iriſh in oppoſing every reaſonable proviſion for defence, had facilitated the progreſs of Cromwell; and, although he had reduced ſeveral places of importance, yet a great part of the kingdom was ſtill free from the power of the parliamentarians. The province of Connaught was entirely poſſeſſed by the catholics; Waterford, Limerick, Galway, were in their hands, which might be made ſo ſtrong, as to fear no force that Ireton could command, and were ſo ſituated for receiving ſuccours by ſea, that, if well ſupplied, they might maintain a war againſt the whole kingdom. They had the forts of Duncannon and *Sligo*, the caſtles of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow, and *Nenagh. They could readily collect forces* in number more than double of their enemies. *But they had* neither union, order, nor reſolution. Borlaſe.

DURING the campaign of Cromwell, an attempt was made to recover Ulſter from the parliamentarians, by a conjunction of the northern Iriſh with the Britiſh royaliſts of this province, under the command of the marquis of Clanricarde. The Iriſh refuſed to follow any leader but one of their own election; the Britiſh were perſuaded by Antrim, that deſigns were formed to extirpate them, and refuſed to concur with the Iriſh, whom they eaſily ſuſpected of the baſeſt purpoſes; thus, was the deſign

ſign defeated. Ormond, however, judged it neceſſary to comply with the northern catholics, and permitted them to elect a general in the place of Owen O'Nial. Their election fell on Mac Mahon, the prelate of Clogher, a man, who by his eccleſiaſtical authority could collect, but was utterly unfit to command, an army. The conſequences were ſuch as might be expected from a choice ſo injudicious. The biſhop, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced officers, ventured, with inferior numbers, to encounter Sir Charles Coote near Letterkenny. In the action he diſplayed an intrepidity ſuited to his new character: but his army was defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter. In the purſuit, he had the misfortune of being taken priſoner, and was ſoon after executed by order of the Engliſh parliament. The victors proceeded to lay ſiege to Charlemont, which ſurrendered after a brave defence; Enniſkillen had been already given up to Coote; and thus he had the honour of reducing the whole northern province.

Ormond, in the mean time, patiently contending with his difficulties, formed a ſcheme for proſecuting the war with vigour and effect. He caſt his eyes on Limerick, a place of the utmoſt conſequence; and which, probably, would be ſoon attempted by the parliament forces. Could he prevail on this city to receive a garriſon, he had no doubt of ſecuring it; and, by the countenance of ſuch a ſtation, and the convenience of the river Shannon, to find quarters for his forces, to raiſe contributions for their ſupport, to diſcipline and recruit his army, ſo as to be enabled by ſpring to meet the enemy in the field. He went to Limerick; he repreſented to the citizens the abſolute neceſſity of their receiving fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, not only for their own ſecurity, but the preſervation of the kingdom: the citizens rejected his propoſal.

Borlaſe.

Ormond imputed this alarming obſtinacy to the true cauſe, the malignant practices of thoſe clergy and their partizans, who, from their oppoſition to the peace, had uniformly perſevered in diſtreſſing and traducing his government, exulting in his miſfortunes, enflaming the general diſcontent, and artfully encreaſing the dejection and terrour which drove men daily to conſult their private ſecurity, by making compoſitions with the enemy. By advice of the commiſſioners of truſt, he condeſcended to expoſtulate with the clergy. He ſummoned twenty-four of their biſhops to attend him at Limerick, that he might confer with them and others of the nobility, and, by their advice and aſſiſtance, reſolve on ſome effectual meaſures for the advancement of the king's ſervice, and preſervation of his people. However they really diſregarded the king and his ſervice, yet they obeyed the orders of the marquis, and aſſembled with apparent *reſpect* and *ſubmiſſion*. *He* conferred *freely* with them on the diſtracted ſtate of affairs, repreſented the danger of that diſobedience which the citizens of Limerick had diſcovered, the ruin that muſt attend the nation, and the diſhonour to himſelf, ſhould he be contented with a nominal authority, without the real power of a chief governour. If they had conceived any diſtaſte to his adminiſtration he deſired they ſhould expreſs their ſentiments with freedom, and propoſed, that "either "they *would* procure a due obedience to be yielded to him, "or *recommend ſome other* way, by his quitting the king"dom, how it might be preſerved."

With an affected deference they preſented him ſome propoſitions for removing thoſe diſcontents which prevailed among the people, moſt of them looſely expreſſed, general, and indeterminate. The moſt preciſe and important of their demands were, that the receiver-general ſhould account for the ſums levied ſince the peace, (a demand evidently calculated to encourage the ſuſpicions they themſelves had raiſed, of ſome miſapplication of the public money), and that a privy council ſhould be compoſed of the native nobility, ſpiritual and temporal,

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 118.

poral, to aſſiſt the chief governour; by which they really meant to eſtabliſh themſelves in the adminiſtration of public affairs. Ormond readily conſented that all thoſe who had received any money for the king's ſervice ſhould be brought to a ſtrict account; and, as to the ſecond demand, he obſerved, the king alone could name a privy council; yet, if they would ſpecify what particular acts were neceſſary to be done by ſuch a council, he promiſed to qualify perſons free from juſt exceptions, with ſufficient powers. They could not object to theſe anſwers; they, therefore, publiſhed a declaration, that they would endeavour to root out of men's hearts all jealouſies and ſiniſter opinions of the marquis, and the preſent government, deſiring his farther directions, and promiſing the utmoſt care and induſtry on their part.

It was natural to expect that ſuch a declaration muſt have a favourable influence on the citizens of Limerick. Some of the biſhops undertook to perſuade them to receive a garriſon. Ormond himſelf deigned to practiſe with their magiſtrates and principal leaders. But his conciliating addreſs was ſecretly counteracted. They now refuſed to treat him with thoſe forms of reſpect due to his ſtation. The commanders of the city guards neither came to him for orders, nor imparted to him thoſe they had received. No officer could gain admittance to him but by licence of the chief magiſtrate. A catholic lord, who ſerved in his army, was committed to priſon, for preſuming, by his order, to quarter a few ſoldiers within the liberties of the city. Exaſperated at ſuch inſults, Ormond retired, in diſdain, to Loghrea, whither he was followed by the biſhops.

Nor was it the leaſt part of his preſent mortification, that he was obliged to keep terms with theſe eccleſiaſtics, who, by their ignorance and preſumption, their illiberal artifice and duplicity, diſgraced their profeſſion, and became the moſt deſpicable of any order of men who ever acquired an influence in any country. In their private conferences with Ormond, they declared, that all the jealouſies of the people aroſe from their ſuſpicions of Inchiquin and his puritanic forces; and even demanded, that all the Engliſh troops ſhould be removed from the kingdom, as the moſt effectual meaſure for allaying the general diſcontent. To Inchiquin they, at the ſame time, profeſſed the utmoſt attachment. He was of a noble Iriſh family; and, therefore, they obſerved, muſt be peculiarly dear to the Iriſh. Should he be inveſted with the government, he would be readily obeyed, and ſoon grow ſtrong enough to oppoſe the enemy, and recover his country. Theſe inſinuations were communicated by theſe noblemen to each other, and only ſerved to convince them that the clergy wiſhed to get rid of both, and to make themſelves abſolute maſters of the kingdom.

Every day afforded ſome occaſion of diſcovering the hypocriſy of their public profeſſions. The earl of Caſtlehaven, who had been appointed to command in Leinſter, repreſented that the royal intereſts in this province were in danger of immediate ruin by the Iriſh inhabitants, who ſubmitted in great numbers to the enemy, and, by their contributions, furniſhed the greateſt part of their ſubſiſtence. It was propoſed, that the biſhops *ſhould iſſue their* excommunication againſt thoſe who were guilty of ſuch compliances. But this engine of their authority was to be reſerved for more factious purpoſes; they could not be prevailed on to employ it in the king's ſervice. Ormond, wearied by their inſolent and inſidious conduct, declared his reſolution of making uſe of the licence he had received from the king, and withdrawing himſelf and his authority from Ireland. However acceptable his departure might be to the clergy, yet the full power to which they aſpired was not yet completely ſecured. The nominal authority of chief governour they wiſhed to be depoſited with ſome one of their creatures, but were

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 121.

not agreed upon the perſon muſt likely to ſerve their purpoſes. The nobility and commiſſioners of truſt were terrified at the thoughts of anarchy and public confuſion; and all united in endeavouring to detain the marquis. However indulgently they ſpake of the diſobedience of Limerick, yet they promiſed to renew their inſtances with the citizens, and to reduce them to a juſt ſubmiſſion. The citizens were alarmed at the approach of ſome parties of the enemy; they ſeemed to relent; they no longer objected to accept a garriſon; they required only that it ſhould conſiſt of ſuch troops, and be commanded by ſuch officers as they ſhould chuſe; that they ſhould be quartered without the walls, and demand no ſubſiſtence from the city. Propoſitions were received from the parliamentarian general, offering them *a free exerciſe of their religion, the enjoyment of their eſtates, churches, and church-livings, a free trade and* commerce, without any garriſon to be impoſed on them, provided that they would allow his forces to march through their city into the county of Clare. The citizens rejected theſe propoſitions; and thus, ſeemed to return gradually to a better temper.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 121. Borlaſe.

Ormond, encouraged by theſe promiſing appearances, ſuſpended his purpoſe of embarking, and drew his few forces to Clare, within twelve miles of Limerick. Here he received a reſpectful invitation from the magiſtrates of this city, that he would honour Limerick with a viſit, and regulate the garriſon. He conſented, on condition of being received with the honours due to his ſtation, and quarters being provided for his guards. But when he had advanced near the walls, he ſuddenly received intelligence, that a ſeditious friar, called Wolfe, had raiſed a tumult in the city to oppoſe his entrance, and gaining the keys, either by force or connivance, had ſet a guard on the gates, while other lawleſs incendiaries rifled the magazines, diſpoſing of the corn at their pleaſure. The biſhops pretended to condemn theſe outrages, but refuſed to excommunicate the authors. They had even the preſumption to intercede with Ormond for an officer of the name of O'Brian, who took a principal part in the tumult, and deſired not only that he might be pardoned, but employed.

This incorrigible obſtinacy and diſobedience of Limerick, rendered it impoſſible for the marquis either to collect an army, or to keep it in a body, on either ſide of the Shannon. To complete his diſtreſs, the example of this city was ſoon followed by that of Galway, which refuſed to admit any garriſon but ſuch as ſhould be appointed and commanded by the magiſtrates. Should the enemy paſs the river, or pierce into Connaught by any other way, Ormond could have no retreat. The conduct of the diſobedient cities demonſtrated a purpoſe either of yielding to the enemy at once, or of erecting an authority independent of the king. The refractory clergy were evidently poſſeſſed with this latter deſign. They had already petitioned ſeveral catholic powers for protection; they continued to inveigh with bitterneſs and malice againſt the adminiſtration of Ormond; and he ſuſpected, not without reaſon, that the leaſt proſpect of advantage might induce ſome of their partizans to betray him to the enemy. In circumſtances ſo deſperate, he naturally reſumed his purpoſe of retiring from the kingdom.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 126.

No ſooner had this purpoſe been intimated, when the clergy and their faction redoubled their clamours. Among other proofs of Ormond's inviolable attachment to the royal cauſe, he had formerly rejected their own inſidious overtures of placing him on the throne of Ireland, provided he would unite with the nuncio and embrace their religion. Yet now they imputed his reſolution of retiring to a ſecret agreement with the parliamentarians. Not yet ſatisfied with the effect of ſuch inſinuations on the ignorant and bigotted, in the fullneſs of their hopes, and extravagance of their pride, they reſolved on more direct meaſures for renouncing the king's authority, and the government of his lieutenant.

A LETTER ſigned by the popiſh archbiſhops of Dublin and Tuam, informed the marquis, that in the preſent melancholy ſtate of public affairs, they and their brethren, the prelates of Ireland, had reſolved to aſſemble at a place called James-town, to deviſe ſome meaſures for the defence of their religion, and the ſecurity of the nation. In a ſtyle ſufficiently imperious, they declared their readineſs to receive any propoſals from the marquis, and did not want "willingneſs to prepare a good "anſwer." The marquis replied, by a ſevere reprehenſion of their former conduct, to which he aſcribed all the public calamities, and the deſtructive progreſs of the enemy, *refuſing to* make any new propoſals, *yet allowing their convention, and* expreſſing his wiſhes *that it might* be attended *by ſome happy* conſequences. Inſtead of receiving overtures, they were thus obliged to make them, and they were quickly made in a ſtrain of ſuch inſolence, as could not be expected even from theſe inſolent eccleſiaſtics. They required that his excellency ſhould ſpeedily repair to the king, leaving his authority "in the hands "of ſome perſon faithful to his majeſty, and truſty to the "nation, and ſuch as the affections and confidence of the peo"ple would follow."

Borlaſe.

IT ſeems natural to expect, that an addreſs of ſuch a nature, framed by ſuch men, and preſented with ſuch careleſs preſumption, would have excited the indignation of the ſenſible and moderate, and expoſed the authors to the ſevereſt puniſhment. But the ignorance of the vulgar had ſtamped ſuch a degree of reverence and authority on the eccleſiaſtical character, that the dictates of the meaneſt of this order were ſuperiour to all power civil and military. It was known, that when a regiment was detached on ſome particular ſervice, a ſeditious friar ſeizing the colours, had pronounced eternal perdition on thoſe who ſhould preſume to march; and that the whole body, at his word, caſt down their arms, and diſperſed to their ſeveral habitations. Even thoſe who were moſt zealous for the king, and moſt offended at the violence of their clergy, were yet ſo tender of their immunities, granted in the darkeſt periods of popery, and now revived in their full extent, that they could not harbour a thought ſo profane, as that of inflicting puniſhment on a churchman by any but an eccleſiaſtical authority. So that, if Ormond had attempted to correct the inſolence of theſe prelates, or any other of the clerical faction, he muſt have not only determined by his ſingle judgment, but executed his determination with his own hand. No proteſtant officer was left about him, but the captain of his guard. He was, therefore, obliged to condeſcenſion and forbearance: at the deſire of the commiſſioners of truſt, he ſummoned the biſhops to a conference; they refuſed to attend him; he expoſtulated with their agents, and endeavoured to convince them of the dangerous and ruinous nature of the propoſition they had made. Unable entirely to ſuppreſs his diſdain of a contemptible faction, he now declared that he would not remove from the kingdom until forced by inevitable neceſſity.

But the biſhops were not to be diſſuaded or deterred from their purpoſe. Without waiting any anſwer to their addreſs, and even before it was preſented, they had already drawn up, and now publiſhed an inſtrument, entitled, "A declaration of "the prelates and dignitaries of the ſecular and regular clergy, "againſt the continuance of his majeſty's authority in the marquis of Ormond; for the miſgovernment of the ſubjects, the "ill-conduct of the army, and the violation of the peace." In this declaration they magnified their own zeal and ſervices, particularly in procuring vaſt ſums of money for maintenance of the king's cauſe. They complained of abuſes in the expenditure of theſe ſums; of the improvidence and ill conduct of Ormond, particularly in the fatal action of Rathmines; of his partiality to proteſtants, his averſion to the catholic religion, his cruel treatment of its profeſſors and clergy, and his miſrepreſentations to the king: they threatened to preſent articles of accuſation againſt him to his majeſty, and enjoined the people to obey no orders but thoſe of the congregation of clergy, until a general aſſembly ſhould be convened. To give this edict greater weight, it was attended with a ſolemn ſentence of excommunication, fulminated againſt all thoſe who ſhould adhere to the lord lieutenant, or give him ſubſidy, contribution, or obedience.

Carte, Orm. Borlaſe.

THE folly, the iniquity, and ingratitude of this proceeding, appear more ſtrongly, when we conſider the progreſs of the parliamentarian forces, and the preſent ſituation of the marquis of Ormond. Immediately after the ſurrender of Clonmel, Trecrohan, a fort of great conſequence, on account of the quantity of ſtores and artillery there depoſited, was reduced, notwithſtanding a brave attempt made by lord Caſtlehaven to relieve it. Huſon, the noted republican, had taken Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Caſtledermot, and other places; Carlow was inveſted and reduced; Waterford was ſurrendered by Preſton; the ſtrong fort of Duncannon ſoon ſhared the ſame fate. Ireton, not yet prepared for the ſiege of Limerick, detached Ingoldſby and Sir Hardreſs Waller, to block it up at a diſtance, who gained ſome advantages over detached parties of the Iriſh, and ſome adjacent forts. While the parliamentarians ranged over the adjacent country, Ormond, with a few troops, and thoſe haſty levies, which particular diſtricts ſupplied, by what were called their *riſings-out*, contended at once with famine and a victorious enemy, and made the moſt deſperate efforts to prevent them from paſſing the Shannon. In the mean time, Ireton and Sir Charles Coote advanced towards Athlone, and thus alarmed the Iriſh with the apprehenſions of loſing the whole weſtern province. Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppoſe them, but the ſentence of excommunication was publiſhed at the head of his troops, ſo as to diſcharge them from all obedience to government. The commiſſioners of truſt, the nobility, the more moderate of the clergy, ſome who repented of their violences, and would now retract them, all made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the congregation, remonſtrated, expoſtulated, conjured them in this dangerous juncture to ſupport the preſent government, and not to abandon their country to an enemy who ſought their utter extirpation. But neither danger, nor entreaty, nor the moſt obvious ſuggeſtions of duty or policy could induce theſe prelates to revoke the ſentence of excommunication. In their infatuated pride, they conſented only with a ſtately reluctance to ſuſpend it, during the expedition made for the relief of Athlone. They proceeded to levy forces by their own authority, ſo that Ormond had now a new enemy to contend with; and, though their ſanguine hopes were in a great meaſure diſappointed, and ſome of their parties defeated, yet they ſtill continued their ſeditious clamours, invoking the full weight of divine wrath upon the people, for contempt of their own cenſures and thoſe of the nuncio, to which they impudently aſcribed all the calamities of the nation.

A NEW incident ſerved to enflame their violence, and to give ſome plauſible colour to their proceedings. Among other conceſſions of Charles, he now indulged the fanaticiſm of the Scots, by his famous declaration, in which he acknowledged the ſin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family, declared, that all the bloodſhed of the late war was to be charged to his father, expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own former prejudices againſt the cauſe of God, his repentance for his paſt life, which had been a courſe of enmity to God's work; and, among other particulars, his utter abhorrence of the peace concluded by his father with the Iriſh papiſts, and ratified by himſelf, pronouncing it utterly void, on ſuppoſition of the unlawfulneſs of any peace made with bloody and idolatrous rebels.

Carte, Orm. Borlaſe. NOTHING could be more convenient for the congregation of prelates, and their purpoſe of enflaming the people, than this virulent declaration. They imputed it entirely to the repreſentations of the marquis of Ormond. "The king," ſaid they, "hath now withdrawn the authority of his lieutenant; he hath caſt the whole Iriſh nation from his favour and protection. Why ſhould we be bound by a peace which he ſo ſolemnly diſclaims? Why ſhould we ſubmit to an authority which he, in effect, recalls? Let us remember our oath of aſſociation; let us recur to our original confederacy; and, inſtead of fighting in ſupport of a treaty thus diſowned, let us bravely hazard our lives and fortunes to extort more favourable articles from the enemy."

ORMOND well knew the uſe that muſt be made of this declaration. He, at firſt, regarded it, or affected to treat it, as a forgery; but ſoon received a private letter from the king, acknowledging that he had really ſubſcribed it, apologizing for this ſhameful tranſaction as the effect of fear and force, inſinuating, that it could not be binding in Ireland, as it was done without the concurrence of a privy council, and earneſtly preſſing him to retire in time from this kingdom. He had hitherto contended without ſufficient forces, without any of the proviſions neceſſary for war, againſt an enemy powerful and well ſupplied; he was betrayed, harraſſed, maligned, and inſulted. He could no longer ſupport the conteſt with the king's ſecret and open enemies. Yet, to leave the factious and refractory without excuſe, he addreſſed himſelf to the commiſſioners of truſt. He told them, that ſince the declaration was by undue means obtained from his majeſty, he was reſolved at all hazards, and by all means, to aſſert the lawfulneſs and validity of the late peace, until the king ſhould give ſome free and unconſtrained aſſurances of his pleaſure; provided, in the mean time, that the acts of the congregation of prelates ſhould be revoked, or puniſhed as an uſurpation on the king's authority; that all due obedience ſhould be paid to him, and ſome honourable maintenance ſecured, to enable him to ſupport his preſent ſtation, as he was now deprived of all his own fortune.

The anſwer of the commiſſioners plainly diſcovered, that they were afflicted and ſcandalized at the exorbitances of the clergy. They expoſtulated with the prelates, but found them inexorable. They importuned the marquis to wait the reſult of a new general aſſembly, which muſt be fired with indignation at the extravagant proceedings of the biſhops, and meet with the more determined reſolution to controul them. The aſſembly was convened, but ſoon appeared too tender and ſubmiſſive to the eccleſiaſtics. Theſe men deigned to publiſh a proteſtation, that by their proceedings at James-town, they had no purpoſe to uſurp on the king's authority, or the liberty of the people; graciouſly confeſſing, "that it did not belong to their juriſdiction ſo to do." The aſſembly, contented with this proteſtation, paſſed no cenſure on their acts, demanded no ſecurity for their future peaceable demeanour. The marquis was juſtly incenſed, and prepared for his departure. Every member of the aſſembly not totally infatuated by religious bigotry, was alarmed at his purpoſe, and ſhuddered at the horrible conſequences of anarchy. They beſought him, at leaſt, to delegate the royal authority to ſome perſon faithful to the king, and acceptable to the nation. The requeſt was enforced by a reſpectful addreſs from the aſſembly. Ormond anſwered, that he would comply with their deſires, when he ſhould firſt be ſatisfied, that the perſon entruſted with the king's authority would be ſecured from thoſe inſults he himſelf had experienced, and received with a juſt and honourable ſubmiſſion. As he had rejected a paſs from Ireton, it now became neceſſary to haſten his departure, leſt he might be intercepted by ſome parliament ſhips. He, therefore, appointed the marquis of Clanricarde his lord-deputy; with directions to uſe, or decline the commiſſion, as he ſhould be encouraged, or deterred, by the proceedings of the aſſembly; and thus, embarking at the port of Galway, after a tempeſtuous and dangerous voyage, he arrived in France.

Every conſideration of perſonal intereſt deterred Clanricarde from engaging in a dangerous and invidious charge; and, in Ormond, he had a ſtriking example of that treatment to which he might be expoſed. But, in the ardour of loyalty, he was ſolicitous to preſerve ſome appearance of the king's authority in Ireland, to protect the remains of his ſincere adherents, and, by continuing the war, even under manifold diſadvantages, and without any hopes of final ſucceſs, to make a diverſion in favour of the royal party in England. He was, therefore, ſatisfied to accept the government, provided he might be aſſured of due obedience. The general aſſembly had already engaged to obey the perſon to whom the lord lieutenant ſhould delegate his authority. But the engagement was not expreſſed with ſufficient preciſion, ſo as to found this obedience on the principle of loyalty and duty to the king. The biſhops oppoſed any explanation, or any clauſe which might convey a reflection on their former conduct. They offered to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath, to pay as great obedience to Clanricarde, as any catholic clergy in catholic times had ever paid to a catholic governour. The aſſembly was ſatisfied with this declaration, but Clanricarde dreaded the inſidiouſneſs of theſe eccleſiaſtics; he required expreſſions more determined and explicit.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 140.

An inſtrument was at length prepared and preſented, in which the aſſembly declared, that "the lords ſpiritual and temporal, "gentry, or people, clergy, or laity, ſhall not attempt to do any "act to diſcharge the people from yielding due obedience to

" his majeſty's authority veſted in the marquis of Clanricarde, " or any other governour; and, in caſe of any ſuch act, that no " perſon ſhall or OUGHT to be led thereby; but, by their diſobedience, are ſubject to the penalties of the laws of the " land in force, *and practiſed in the reign of Henry VII. and " other catholic princes*. Yet, by any thing herein contained, it " is not intended that the nation ſhall recede from the late " peace, or obey any new governour unduely nominated by " the king, now in the power of a party of the Scots, and during his preſent unfree condition."—The biſhops, conſcious of their former violences, obliged the aſſembly to ſubjoin an explanatory clauſe, " that by the word OUGHT, it was not intended to have any retroſpect to any former proceedings of " the clergy."

CLANRICARDE, not yet ſatisfied, propoſed clauſes ſtill more explicit; he dreaded ſome ſubterfuge couched under the expreſſion relative to *Henry VII. and other catholic princes*. He was aſſured, that they meant nothing more than a proviſion for the catholic clergy, who, in caſes of treaſon or felony, had not ſince theſe times enjoyed the privileges formerly annexed to their function, but had ſuffered without degradation or other ceremonies due to churchmen. He was entreated to accept of ſuch declarations as the clergy were willing to ſubſcribe, inſtead of affording any pretence for condemning the proceedings of the aſſembly, and enflaming the people by their proteſts. He ſaw a general diſpoſition to ſubmit to the parliamentarians; that the clergy, in their blind zeal for demoliſhing the royal power, encouraged this diſpoſition; that ſome immediate union, and the ſpeedy exertion of ſome authority, were abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the fatal conſequences. The aſſembly was on the point of breaking up in confuſion: he, therefore, heſitated no longer; acquieſced in the declaration, defective as it appeared, and declared his acceptance of the government.

Borlaſe. THE popiſh party of Ireland had now a chief governour of their own religion. The proteſtant royaliſts were diſperſed; ſome had engaged in the ſervice of the parliamentarians, numbers accepted paſſes, and retired to foreign countries: lord Inchiquin, and ſeveral other proteſtant officers, had embarked with Ormond; ſo that their forces were depurated from the defilements of hereſy; and, though diſperſed in different quarters, and under different commanders, yet, if collected, were by no means inconſiderable. Sir Charles Coote had been diſappointed in his attempt upon Athlone. Ireton advanced to Limerick, and demanded, that the citizens ſhould receive his troops for their defence. They heſitated and debated; but lord Caſtlehaven arriving opportunely with *his party, perſuaded them to accept his aſſiſtance, and ſhut their gates againſt the* enemy. Ireton could not venture on a formal ſiege in a ſeaſon ſo advanced; he, therefore, retired: ſo that Connaught remained ſtill in the power of the Iriſh, together with a conſiderable part of Munſter; and the poſſeſſion of Limerick, Galway, and Sligo, might ſtill enable them to carry on a war, not without ſome fair proſpect of ſucceſs. Caſtlehaven's Memoirs.

Borlaſe. BUT that fatal ſpirit which the nuncio had infuſed into the clergy and their creatures was ſtill predominant, and defeated all the hopes of Clanricarde. Scarcely had he accepted the government, when ſome agents arrived from Ireton, and propoſed to the aſſembly to abandon their deſperate cauſe, and treat with the parliamentarians, who might grant more favourable conditions to the nation, than to particular perſons. The propoſition, though at firſt rejected, yet, by the influence of the clergy, was reſumed and ſupported. Nicholas French, the popiſh biſhop of Ferns, a diſtinguiſhed partizan of the nuncio, and a virulent oppoſer of the royal authority, clamoured violently for a treaty. Clanricarde remonſtrated, and enlarged on the treachery and the danger of ſuch a meaſure. Several of the nobility, and other leading members of the aſſembly, expreſſed their warmeſt indignation at this forwardneſs of the clergy to abandon all the king's intereſts. "It is now evident," ſaid they, "that theſe "churchmen have not been tranſported to ſuch exceſſes by a "prejudice to the marquis of Ormond, or a zeal for their religion: their purpoſe is, to withdraw themſelves entirely "from the royal authority. It is the king and his government which are the real objects of their averſion: but theſe "we will defend at every hazard, and when a ſubmiſſion to the "enemy can be no longer deferred, we ſhall not think it neceſſary tn make any ſtipulations in favour of the ſecret enemies "of our cauſe. Let theſe men who oppoſe the royal authority "be excluded from the benefits of our treaty."

THE clergy were unaccuſtomed to ſuch bold language; they began to fear, that men might be at length awakened to a juſt indignation at their abſurd tyranny. They had an exquiſite ſenſibility of their own danger; and, therefore, deemed it neceſſary to keep ſome meaſures with their opponents. Their opinion was ſuddenly altered; they concurred with the aſſembly in oppoſing any treaty with the enemy; and, when the lord deputy iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons to reſort to the quarters of the common enemy, to enliſt in their army, or to pay them contributions, the prelates deigned to enforce this act of ſtate, by pronouncing ſentence of excommunication on all thoſe who ſhould not pay it ſtrict obedience. Yet, notwithſtanding this compliance, they ſtill retained their hatred of Clanricarde, the oppoſer of all their fantaſtical projects, and the zealous friend of Ormond; they ſtill whiſpered the deſign of reverting to their original confederacy, without regard to the king's authority, or, as one of their order expreſſed it, "that "idol of Dagon, a fooliſh loyalty." They held their ſecret conſultations; they indulged their airy hopes of eſtabliſhing the papal power, and their own ſovereign authority in Ireland,

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 156.

by the intervention of ſome foreign prince; and the biſhop of Ferns, their moſt active partizan, was ſent to Bruſſels, to ſolicit the duke of Lorrain to take their nation and religion under his princely protection.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 144—152.

Before the departure of the marquis of Ormond, the king, in his extreme neceſſity, had liſtened to a propoſal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon to this duke for twenty-four thouſand pounds. Ormond was directed, if he approved of the contract, to deliver up the fort to perſons appointed by the duke, upon receipt of the ſtipulated ſum. But, as Duncannon was threatened with a ſiege, the ſecurity became precarious; difficulties aroſe about the manner of paying the money; and, after a courſe of evaſion and inſincerity, the agents of Lorrain retired, without bringing the treaty to any iſſue. It was afterwards renewed by lord Taafe, who arrived at Bruſſels with letters of credence from the duke of York, and earneſtly preſſed the duke of Lorrain to ſupport the king's intereſts in Ireland, offering him the ſecurity of any place in this kingdom, for the repayment of ſuch ſums as he ſhould advance.

The duke, to prevent any diſpute about the title to his dominions, had married his couſin-german, Nicole, daughter of Henry duke of Lorrain and Bar, and heir-general of theſe duchies. But, being afterwards captivated by Beatrix de Cuſance, widow to the count of Cantecroix, he married her, while the ducheſs Nicole was ſtill living, and wiſhed to engage the court of Rome to pronounce his firſt marriage void, and to legitimate his children by his ſecond conſort. As his ſolicitations had hitherto proved ineffectual, he imagined, that by engaging with extraordinary zeal in defence of the catholic cauſe in Ireland, he might plead ſo much merit, that the pope muſt, at length, yield to his deſires. Taafe, who was a forward undertaker, flattered his partiality to the children of the princeſs of Cantecroix, and propoſed a match between her infant daughter and the duke of York. Lorrain was delighted with the proſpect of ſuch an alliance; and, probably, in the progreſs of the negociation, his views were gradually extended, and his ambition flattered by the hopes of acquiring the ſovereignty of Ireland. Whatever were his deſigns or expectations, he received lord Taafe with particular favour, expreſſed the warmeſt zeal for the intereſt of his countrymen, and furniſhed him with five thouſand pounds to purchaſe arms and ammunition, which arrived in the bay of Galway, when the aſſembly deliberated about treating with the parliamentarians, and had no ſmall ſhare in influencing their deciſion.

Taafe was aſtoniſhed at this munificence, which the duke declared was but an earneſt of his future favour. He affected the utmoſt commiſeration of the *Iriſh* catholics, declared that he was ready, *if invited*, to appear *perſonally* in their defence, with ſuch ſupplies as would ſoon recover the kingdom; hinting, at the ſame time, that he ſhould expect entire obedience, and that he could not conſent to act by commiſſion from any perſon whatever. Taafe could not venture to engage for ſuch conditions. The king might be diſpleaſed; the marquis of Ormond, whom he ſuppoſed to be ſtill in Ireland, might not conſent to reſign the power and pre-eminence annexed to his ſtation. On the other hand, the interpoſition of the duke ſeemed neceſſary to reſcue his country from deſtruction. In theſe difficulties, he deemed it the ſafer courſe, to propoſe that the duke of Lorrain ſhould ſend ſome perſon of diſtinction into Ireland to treat with thoſe in authority. Stephen de Hennin Abbé de Saint Catherine was choſen for this purpoſe, and landed at Galway, while the biſhop of Ferns was on his way to Bruſſels, with a commiſſion from the diſaffected clergy to treat with the duke, and to ſolicit his protection for their unhappy country.

No one could be more acceptable to the clergy and their creatures than this envoy of Lorrain. Though his letters of credence were addreſſed to the eſtates of the kingdom, yet, when he found that Clanricarde was veſted with the authority of chief governour, he was too attentive to decorum not to apply immediately to him. To avoid all clamour or cenſure, the marquis appointed a committee, compoſed of biſhops, nobility, and gentry, to treat with the Abbé, to receive his propoſals, and to report them, with their opinion and advice. His propoſals were, that the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and ſucceſſors, with a ſaving to his majeſty's rights, and thoſe of the ſubjects, ſhould be accepted as protectors of Ireland, and while there reſident, ſhould have the ſupreme command of the militia, with power of convening general aſſemblies, and with other appendages of royal authority, until all diſburſements were repaid. The committee, *utterly regardleſs of their* inſtructions, debated theſe propoſals among themſelves, excluded the more moderate and loyal of their number, admitted others, without conſent of the lord deputy, with whom they ſcorned to communicate. Clanricarde complained of this proceeding, as well as of the propoſitions offered by the envoy ſo derogatory to the king's honour and authority. The biſhops inſiſted that they ſhould be accepted, as the only means left to preſerve the nation. They were deſired to ſubſcribe this their advice; they heſitated, and refuſed. The Abbé conſented to ſome qualification of his demands: the marquis declared, that they were ſtill inadmiſſible. He would not even admit the man who had diſhonoured his maſter to an audience of leave; and, by this ſtately reſentment, ſo intimidated the Abbé, that he conſented to advance twenty thouſand pounds on the ſecurity of Limerick and Galway, and to refer all articles relative to the protectorſhip to be adjuſted by a treaty at Bruſſels. In conſequence of this agreement, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne, were commiſſioned to treat with the duke of Lorrain, in conjunction with lord Taafe; and expreſsly inſtructed to carry on their negociation agreeably to their directions they ſhould receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the lord lieutenant.

BUT all ſuch limitations were immediately forgotten. On their arrival at Bruſſels, they found lord Taafe had gone to Paris, to communicate the lord deputy's tranſactions with the Abbé de Sainte Catherine, and to deſire farther inſtructions from the queen and lord lieutenant. French, the turbulent prelate of Ferns, attended the duke of Lorrain, and was graciouſly received. He was aſſiſted by ſome other creatures of the diſaffected clergy, and ſome agents ſent from the cities not yet reduced. They confidently aſſured the duke, that they could inveſt him with the whole power of the kingdom. French inveighed againſt the agents ſent from the lord deputy, their oppoſition to the nuncio, and the appeal againſt his excommunication. In an hypocritical ſtrain of ſanctified virulence he declared, that this excommunication was confirmed in heaven; that all its oppoſers, however great and exalted in the eye of man, were forſaken of God, and delivered up to Satan. In ſincerity and evangelic charity he exhorted them, to make ſuch an agreement with the duke of Lorrain, as would be profitable to their nation, and acceptable to heaven; to proſtrate themſelves in the name of all the people before his holineſs, to ſupplicate his apoſtolic benediction, that the light of wiſdom, the ſpirit of fortitude, virtue, grace, ſucceſs, and the bleſſing of God might return to them. He aſſured them, that God would never proſper any treaty directed by the deputy, a man excommunicated for many juſt cauſes; and that the duke, when right-informed, could never conſent to negociate with agents deriving their authority from a withered and accurſed hand.

PLUNKET and Browne received this inſidious cant with too great attention. They diſclaimed the lord deputy's commiſſion; they pleaded another and more unlimited authority. In the name of the nation and people of Ireland, they ſigned a treaty with the duke, by which he was, in effect, inveſted with the entire ſovereignty of the kingdom, by the title of Protector Royal. Plunket, the greater bigot, was, at the ſame time, perſuaded by the biſhop of Ferns, to ſign a petition to the pope, by which, in the name of the nation, he profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee, and implored abſolution from the nuncio's cenſures. Browne had the ſpirit reſolutely to refuſe his ſubſcription. The name of lord Taafe was ſigned in his abſence, without his conſent or knowledge. The clergy now exulted in the happy progreſs of their ſchemes. They entertained their imaginations with the uſual airy proſpects of a glorious and triumphant church, and a ſtately hierarchy, protected by a catholic prince. But, whatever were the ſecret deſigns of the duke of *Lorrain*, he ſoon found that they could not be promoted by any farther treaty with the Iriſh. He received from the lord deputy a formal proteſt againſt the unwarrantable proceedings of his agents, ſo contrary to his inſtructions, and ſo derogatory to the king's honour. He had thus, a fair pretence for declining any farther treaty; and the king's intereſts in Ireland ſoon grew ſo deſperate, that there was nothing left to purchaſe the aſſiſtance of *Lorrain*, even upon the moſt reaſonable terms.

In the mean time, the expectation of an agreement with this prince tranſported the Iriſh clergy to the utmoſt extravagance. Their ſynods were convened; they declared the duke of Lorrain protector of their nation; they excommunicated thoſe who ſhould preſume to diſpute this nomination; they took an oath of ſecrecy; they reſolved, that the prelates of each province ſhould chuſe two perſons to compoſe a new ſupreme council, with full powers to tranſact all civil and military affairs, by the direction, and with the conſent of the clergy. They prepared a ſentence of excommunication againſt the marquis of Clanricarde and his adherents, to be publiſhed at a convient time; and this ridiculous uſurpation of the whole power and authority of the kingdom, they called a revival of the original confederacy. But they were ſoon rouſed from this dream of power and grandeur, to a dreadful ſenſe of danger and calamity.

A. D. 1651.

FROM the tedious and diſguſting detail of the preſumption and infatuation of theſe ſeditious eccleſiaſtics, we are now to return to the affairs of war, and the progreſs of the parliamentarians. Ireton, having made all proviſions for an early campaign, and received ſome reinforcements from England, reſolved to open the campaign by beſieging Limerick. As it was neceſſary to pierce into Connaught, in order to inveſt this city on all ſides, Sir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo. *The Iriſh prepared to relieve this place;* when Coote, ſuddenly drawing off his men, paſſed, with ſome difficulty, over the Curlew-Mountains, and inveſted Athlone. Clanricarde, embarraſſed as he was by faction and oppoſition, made ſome efforts to oppoſe him; but, before his forces could be collected, Athlone was taken; and Coote, purſuing his advantage, marched againſt Galway. The deputy was ſolicitous to defend this important poſt; he ſummoned the earl of Caſtlehaven to *his aſſiſtance; but ſcarcely* had this lord marched a few miles, *with a detachment of four thouſand men,* when a party, which he had left to defend a paſs over the Shannon, ſuffered themſelves to be overpowered by the enemy, and fled precipitately. His whole army caught the pannic, and diſperſed with that eaſe and ſuddenneſs uſual to the Iriſh, when indifferent to the cauſe in which they were engaged, and ſecure of a retreat among their kinſmen. At the ſame time, an officer called Fennel, who had been ſtationed at Killalloe, to defend this paſſage of the Shannon, abandoned his ſtation, either from treachery or cowardice; ſo that the Engliſh burſt rapidly into

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 154.

the weſtern province; and all proviſions being made for the attempt on Limerick, Ireton commenced the ſiege in form.

Both the citizens and the clergy had promiſed all ſubmiſſion to the lord deputy; but, when he propoſed to ſhut himſelf up in Limerick, and to ſhare their fortune, he was excluded with the ſame inſolence which Ormond had experienced. At the approach of danger indeed, the magiſtrates deigned to accept ſome troops, of ſuch number and quality as they choſe; and appointed Henry O'Nial, who had ſo bravely defended Clonmel, to be their nominal governour, reſerving all real power to themſelves. A conſtant correſpondence was maintained between the beſiegers and the citizens, by means of thoſe Iriſh who had compounded and ſubmitted to Ireton. It was induſtriouſly ſuggeſted, that *the independents were by no means uncharitable to popery, or friends to compulſion in matter of religion*; and, when the cruel executions of prieſts and prelates were mentioned, of which every day afforded new inſtances, theſe proceedings were imputed entirely to the virulent ſpirit of the preſbyterian party. Such was the influence of theſe inſinuations, and ſuch the diviſions and diſtraction within the walls, that in three days the citizens propoſed to ſurrender. The biſhops and clergy well knew, that Ireton *would except ſeveral perſons from the benefit of any articles, and dreaded that they would be made the firſt victims of his cruelty.* They, therefore, oppoſed all motions for capitulating with particular zeal; while O'Nial exerted himſelf againſt the beſiegers, with a ſpirit worthy of the reputation he had already acquired.

Cox.
Borlaſe.

In the mean time, lord Muſkerry, alarmed at the danger of Limerick, advanced from Kerry with a ſtrong party to its relief. Lord Broghill was detached to oppoſe him; and, after a ſharp engagement reſolutely maintained on each ſide, Muſkerry was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, Hugh O'Nial continued to make a brave defence, and in ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies ſlew conſiderable numbers of the beſiegers. Winter now approached, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and ſickneſs of his army, muſt ſoon have obliged Ireton to abandon his enterprize, when treachery and ſedition proved too powerful for the gallantry of O'Nial. His authority had ever been controuled by the magiſtrates, and of conſequence ſlighted by his officers. Of theſe a number aſſembled tumultuouſly, and reſolved to treat with the enemy, without objecting to any exceptions which might be made of particular perſons, with reſpect to quarter or confiſcation. The biſhops clamoured againſt the deſign of ſacrificing them to the fury of the enemy, and thundered an excommunication againſt the authors of ſuch impious counſel; but, in the hour of terrour, their *ſpiritual authority* was utterly neglected. Fennel, who had *yielded the paſs of Killalloe,* at the head of a ſeditious rabble of ſoldiers and citizens, ſeized two of the principal gates. The chief magiſtrate protected him from the authority of the governour. He turned the cannon on the town, inſiſted on capitulating, and ſent commiſſioners to Ireton. The garriſon was allowed to lay down their arms, and to march out unmoleſted, the citizens to remove with their effects; twenty-four perſons, clergy, ſoldiers, and inhabitants, were excluded from mercy; and *Ireton, now maſter of the city,* executed the ſevereſt vengeance on *thoſe who* had been the moſt diſtinguiſhed partizans of the nuncio, and moſt inveterate oppoſers of Engliſh government. Of all thoſe who had been excepted from mercy, the biſhop of Limerick alone eſcaped. O'Brien, the popiſh prelate of Emly, was ſeized and inſtantly executed. Wolfe, the friar, who had ſeditiouſly excluded the marquis of Ormond from Limerick, now received the juſt reward of his preſumption. With him were led to execution ſome magiſtrates, the moſt turbulent and ſeditious of the nuncio's factich. Fennel, notwithſtanding his ſervices, was tried for ſeveral murders, and condemned to death. Geoffry Browne, on his return from Bruſſels, fell into the hands of an enemy, who little regarded his conſequence with the Iriſh, and ſuffered by the executioner*. The brave Henry O'Nial had ſo offended by his defence of the city, and ſo provoked Ireton by his former gallant behaviour at Clonmel, that the gloomy and intractable republican tried him by a court martial for a conduct which ſhould have recommended him to the eſteem of a ſoldier. O'Nial pleaded, that he had taken no part in the original conſpiracy; that he had been invited into Ireland by his countrymen, and ever acted as a fair and honourable enemy. But Ireton was inexorable; and his pliant court ſhamefully condemned the Iriſh general to death. Some of the officers, more generous, expoſtulated with Ireton, and happily ſubdued his obſtinacy: the cauſe was re-examined, and the court, with difficulty, conſented to ſpare his life.

Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. I.

Borlaſe.

GALWAY, the great remaining reſource of the Iriſh, was now ſummoned to accept the conditions originally offered to

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* 'He pleaded,' ſaith Ludlow, "that it was not juſt to exclude him from mercy, becauſe he had been engaged in the ſame cauſe as we pretended to fight for, the liberty and religion of his country." 'The deputy replied, that Ireland being a conquered country, the Engliſh nation might, with juſtice, aſſert their right and conqueſt; that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reaſon; notwithſtanding which, they had barbarouſly murdered all the Engliſh that fell into their hands, and robbed them of their goods, which they had gained by their induſtry, and taken away the lands which they had purchaſed with their money.—That, touching the point of religion, there was a wide difference alſo between us; we ONLY contending to preſerve our natural right therein, WITHOUT IMPOSING OUR OPINIONS UPON OTHER MEN; whereas they would not be contented, unleſs they might have power to compel all others to ſubmit to their impoſition on pain of death.' Theſe men of TOLERANT principles, it ſeems, thought this a FULL REFUTATION of the priſoner's plea.

Limerick; and, in caſe of any refuſal or delay, threatened with the ſame ſeverities. The citizens, in the firſt impreſſions of terrour, were ready to treat, when Ireton caught the fatal infection which waſted ſeveral parts of Ireland, and died at Limerick. Encouraged by this event, the Iriſh of Galway grew reſolute. They united under the command of general Preſton, and addreſſed themſelves to Clanricarde for aſſiſtance, promiſing all obedience to his authority. The marquis attended them in perſon, and ſummoned an aſſembly of nobility, gentry, and prelates, to meet at Galway, and concert meaſures for defence.

Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. I.

In the mean time, Ludlow was, for the preſent, entruſted with the command of the Engliſh forces, and exerted himſelf with due vigour to complete the reduction of the Iriſh. While the depth of winter ſuſpended his operations, he iſſued orders againſt ſupplying the enemy with arms, or other neceſſaries; he required all perſons to withdraw from their quarters, on pain of being treated as enemies, he directed that no quarter ſhould be granted to thoſe who had withdrawn themſelves from protection, and joined the Iriſh ſince the arrival of general Cromwell. His officers executed theſe orders with diligence and ſeverity. An univerſal diſmay ſeized the whole Iriſh party. Numbers daily ſubmitted, and ſecured the remains of their property by compoſitions. A ſubmiſſion was offered in the name of the nation, by an aſſembly held in Leinſter; no ſooner had Sir Charles Coote appeared before Galway, when the aſſembly there convened, prevailed on Clanricarde to ſend the like offer to Ludlow. But no general treaty of ſubmiſſion could be now admitted. The ſettlement of the nation (it was ſaid) belonged to the parliament of England, who would diſtinguiſh thoſe who accepted their protection, as well from ſuch as had committed murders and maſſacres of the proteſtants, as thoſe who obſtinately oppoſed the authority of the commonwealth; ſo that individuals only, who ſhould immediately lay down their arms, might expect favourable conditions. Nor did this extremity of diſtreſs allay the infatuated pride and turbulence of the Iriſh clergy and their creatures; they ſtill talked idly of renewing the original confederacy; they ſtill maligned and oppoſed Clanricarde; they ſtill continued their ſeditious practices, and vented their contempt of that deluſion of loyalty, to which they attributed all the misfortunes of the nation. In the midſt of conſternation, clamour, and confuſion, Preſton, the governour of Galway, fled by ſea from the impending danger; and the city, without the leaſt regard to the authority of Clanricarde, was ſurrendered with an eaſe utterly aſtoniſhing to the beſiegers.

Borlaſe. The reduction of a few inferiour towns was effected without difficulty; yet the marquis of Clanricarde ſtill continued ſome appearance of hoſtilities, from a vain hope of making a diverſion in favour of the king's Engliſh enterprizes. He pierced into the northern province, and being joined by ſome Ulſter forces, took the caſtles of Ballyſhannon and Donnegal: having maintained theſe poſts for ſome time, he was obliged to fly from the ſuperiour force of the enemy; his troops were diſperſed, his reſources utterly exhauſted, and his perſon every hour in danger from the treachery of his followers. In this ſituation, he purſued the king's inſtructions, and accepted conditions from the republicans. He was allowed to reſide unmoleſted in their quarters for ſome time, and then to tranſport himſelf and three thouſand Iriſh into any prince's ſervice in amity with England. He retired from a country loſt to his royal maſter, by illiberal bigotry, frantic pride, the blindneſs of men intoxicated by an imaginary conſequence, their ſenſeleſs factions, and incorrigible perverſeneſs, in contending againſt their own intereſts, and rejecting every meaſure neceſſary for their own ſecurity.

In

A. D. 1652.

Ludlow.

In the mean time, the parliament of England concerted meaſures for the final ſettlement and adminiſtration of Ireland. Lambert was appointed ſucceſſor to Ireton, and prepared for his departure; but as Cromwell's commiſſion of lord lieutenant was ſpeedily to expire, it became a queſtion whether it ſhould not be renewed, inſtead of ſending Lambert as his deputy. Cromwell, conſcious of his ſecret deſigns, artfully entreated that he might not be continued in this office, affecting to concur with thoſe who deemed the title of lord lieutenant more ſuitable to a monarchy than a commonwealth; at the ſame time, he moved to employ Lambert in the character of lord deputy. The parliament refuſed to grant him any higher title than that of commander in chief of their forces in Ireland. Lambert, as *Cromwell wiſhed, was offended, and refuſed to accept this command. It was conferred on Fleetwood, who had lately* married the relict of Ireton, and, of conſequence, was particularly devoted to his father-in-law, Cromwell.

Two acts relative to Ireland were now debated in parliament; one for confiſcation of all the lands of rebels; another, for adjuſting the claims of adventurers, and veſting them with their Iriſh eſtates. Before theſe acts could be completely adjuſted, Fleetwood was diſpatched to Ireland, where he found ſcarcely the remains of war, and the Iriſh of all orders ſubmitting to the terms impoſed by their conquerors. They were to abide a trial, if accuſed of any murders committed in the beginning of the war; if convicted, they were to be incapable of pardon, and their eſtates entirely confiſcated; thoſe who had only aſſiſted in the war, were to forfeit two thirds of their eſtates, and to be baniſhed from Ireland; but among thoſe excepted from pardon, for life, and eſtate, the marquis of Ormond, lord Inchiquin, Bramhal, the proteſtant biſhop of Derry, a man peculiarly obnoxious to the republicans, and the earl of Roſcommon, were diſtinctly named.

Cox.

Borlaſe. THE firſt employment of the new adminiſtration was to enforce theſe rigourous ordinances. Commiſſions iſſued in the ſeveral provinces for the erection of an high court of juſtice, in order to try thoſe who were accuſed of murdering the Engliſh. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 157. Lord Mayo, in Connaught, colonel William Bagnal, in Munſter, were condemned, not on the cleareſt and moſt exceptionable evidence. Lord Muſkerry was charged with the aſſaſſination of ſeveral Engliſhmen, but honourably acquitted on his trial, and permitted to embark for Spain. So many authors of the firſt barbarous outrages of this war, had been cut off in the hoſtilities of ten years, had eſcaped into foreign countries, or died by famine and the plague, that two hundred only, on the ſevereſt inquiſition, were condemned to death. *In the northern province, which had been the great ſcene of barbarity, not one was brought to juſtice but Sir Phelim O'Nial.*

FROM the arrival of Owen O'Nial, this barbarous conſpirator had continued to act an inferiour part, without honour, eſteem, or notice. During the adminiſtration of Clanricarde, when abler commanders had been gradually removed, he emerged from his obſcurity, and gave the marquis ſome aſſiſtance; but was ſoon compelled, by repeated defeats, to ſhelter himſelf in a retired iſland. Hence lord Caulfield, *heir of that lord, whoſe caſtle and perſon he had ſeized, and whom his followers had barbarouſly murdered,* ſoon dragged him to juſtice. In the laſt period of his life, he diſcovered a ſpirit and reſolution worthy of a better character. Nalſon. He was accuſed of exhibiting a commiſſion from the late king for commencing the Iriſh inſurrection: he acknowledged the charge; adding, that on ſeizing the fort of Charlemont he had found a patent with a broad ſeal annexed, which he directed to be taken off and fixed to a pretended commiſſion. His judges, not ſatisfied with this allegation, preſſed him to confeſs if he had received any commiſſion from the king, with a promiſe of his being reſtored to his eſtate and liberty, if he could produce any material proof of ſuch a commiſſion. He was allowed time to conſider; the offer was repeated; he ſtill perſevered in declaring, that he had no commiſſion; that his conſcience was already oppreſſed by the outrages of his followers, and that he could not add to the ſeverity of his preſent feelings by an unjuſt calumny of the king. At his execution he was again tempted: when juſt on the point of being turned from the ladder, two marſhals preſſed through the crowd, and whiſpered in his ear. He anſwered aloud, "I thank the lieutenant general for his intended "mercy; but I declare, good people, before God and his "holy angels, and all you that hear me, I never had any com"miſſion from the king for levying or proſecuting this war *."

Ludlow.

THE country thus reduced by the parliament, was waſted and depopulated by a ſeries of public commotions. It was now to be recruited, and reſtored to ſome degree of order and tranquillity. While Fleetwood had the ſole command of the army, Edmund Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John

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* "They would have pardoned and rewarded this man," ſaith Mr. Carte, "if he had been profligate enough to have falſely accuſed the late "king."—But from the circumſtances of the fact, it ſeems rather uncharitable to impute a purpoſe ſo malignant to theſe judges. Many moderate and good men in England, were not entirely ſatisfied that the late king had granted no commiſſion to the Iriſh inſurgents. It was a point of moment, and worthy to be ſearched to the bottom. It was natural to ſuppoſe, that if ſuch a commiſſion had had been given, Sir Phelim O'Nial was the likelieſt perſon to diſcloſe the whole myſtery of this iniquity. He was not tempted to *accuſe* the king, nor was his pardon promiſed on any ſuch condition. He was to purchaſe it by producing a MATERIAL and AUTHENTIC PROOF of his guilt. If they were not ſatisfied with the declarations made on his trial, they might poſſibly conceive, that he had been taught the doctrine of mental reſerve; and that the awful moment of his immediate execution was the time when the TRUTH (if ſuch he had hitherto concealed) might probably be extorted from him.

Weaver, all zealous republicans, were united with him in the civil government, with the modeſt title of commiſſioners of parliament. They now declared by proclamation, that the rebellion was ſubdued, and the war of Ireland concluded. Thus, were the adventurers aſſured of ſpeedily receiving the lands for which they had advanced their ſeveral ſums, and the inhabitants of Ireland eaſed of all farther apprehenſions, were encouraged to purſue their huſbandry. The people of England were permitted to tranſport grain and cattle free from duty, to ſupply the immediate neceſſities of an exhauſted country; and the commiſſioners were directed to raiſe a revenue for all ſuch as had been wounded and diſabled, and for the children and widows of thoſe who had been killed in the public ſervice.

A. D. 1653. FORFEIT lands were aſſigned *to ſatisfy the arrears due to the* Engliſh army; *but this ſatisfaction was confined to thoſe who* had ſerved from the arrival of Cromwell, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-nine. The diſtreſſes of thoſe who had borne arms againſt the Iriſh before this period were much more lamentable; but they were infected by a mixture of the ungodly and malignant, and no proviſion could be now obtained for them, except a ſmall portion of lands in Wicklow, and the adjacent counties, not ſufficient to diſcharge a fourth part of their arrears. The adventurers, perſuaded that there were *forfeited lands in* one moiety of nine principal counties, *ſufficient to repay them*, accepted this moiety as their full ſatisfaction; the other was aſſigned to ſoldiers. Connaught was reſerved entirely for the Iriſh, under the qualifications determined by parliament. Here they were to confine themſelves, and to enjoy their ſeveral proportions of land; that ſo, the new Engliſh planters might proceed without interruption, and without that danger of degenerating, which former ages had experienced from an intercourſe with the Iriſh; and the natives, divided by the Shannon from the other provinces, and ſurrounded by Engliſh garriſons, might be reſtrained from their old barbarous incurſions. Notwithſtanding all theſe aſſignments and proviſions, the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, remained ſtill unappropriated. Theſe, together with the lands of biſhops, deans, and chapters, (of which a part was granted to the univerſity of Dublin) were all reſerved by parliament, to be hereafter diſpoſed of at their pleaſure. Cox. Courts were eſtabliſhed at Dublin and Athlone to hear and adjudge all claims, which were to be exhibited and eſtabliſhed within a limited time, that all proprietors might be freed from future litigation. Such arrangements neceſſarily engaged more time than was at firſt imagined; were attended with complaints, diſputes, and jealouſies; nor, in the diſtribution of lands were the commiſſioners and their creatures inattentive to their own intereſts.

LITTLE progreſs had been made in this important affair, Ludlow. when intelligence was received in Ireland of an aſtoniſhing revolution. Oliver Cromwell had forcibly diſſolved the parliament, delegated the government to another aſſembly called by the ſame name, which ſoon pronounced their own diſſolution, and was now declared by his council of officers, protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The news of this momentous change in Engliſh government was variouſly received in Ireland; by the army, who complained of partiality in the commiſſioners, with particular ſatisfaction; by ſome fanatics, who had for a long time inſulted every party, with invective and reſentment; by Ludlow, and other zealous republicans, with abhorrence and indignation. It was propoſed to proclaim the protector; after the debates and oppoſition of a fortnight, Fleetwood, and the commiſſioners, with a few principal officers, at length, with difficulty, reſolved, by the majority of one voice, that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued. Ludlow retired from the offenſive pageantry, declared his purpoſe of acting no longer as a commiſſioner, yet ſtill kept his poſt of lieutenant general, poſſibly to preſerve his influence in the army.

A. D. 1654. Oliver, who was attentive to every part of his new dominions, ſent his ſon Henry into Ireland, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the army, to reconcile men's minds to the uſurpation, and, by cultivating thoſe of greateſt influence, to prepare the way for his future government of this kingdom. Henry was penetrating, juſt, and generous. Thurloe's State Pap. He ſoon diſcovered, that the commiſſioners had done little more than make orders for the diſtribution of lands, reſerving large proportions to themſelves; ſo that, in ſome inſtances, the ſtate had been ſcandalouſly defrauded. He was particularly affected with the miſerable condition of the courts of judicature, the delays and oppreſſions occaſioned by the want of able judges and lawyers; the univerſal deſolation, ariſing from the virulence of his countrymen againſt the old inhabitants, which had ſcarcely left a ſingle houſe out of the walled towns undemoliſhed. He endeavoured to reconcile the diſaffected, and practiſed with Ludlow to gain him to his father's intereſt, but without effect. He departed; deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of removing the obſtinate republicans from every place of power they enjoyed in Ireland.

The instrument of government required that a parliament ſhould be ſummoned for the three nations, now united into one commonwealth. Thirty members were to be choſen for Ireland. The commiſſioners were informed of this clauſe, and directed to tranſmit their advice relative to the election of theſe members. They were of opinion, that in the preſent deſolate and unſettled ſtate of the nation, ſuch an election was not to be attempted, as perſons might be choſen in ſome places not well affected to the Engliſh intereſt. They, therefore, inclined to the opinion, that the protector ſhould call the thirty Ludlow's Mem. members by writ to parliament. The ſpirit of Ludlow was on fire at this ignoble purpoſe; he ſtepped out of his retreat; he exhorted the commiſſioners not to reſign the name and form of liberty, though the ſubſtance and reality had been tamely yielded; he deſpiſed the apprehenſions they expreſſed of a popular election; and obſerved, that the very perſons they deſired could not fail to be choſen by the influence of government. Fleetwood complied; he apportioned the numbers to be choſen by the counties and cities; a private junto of the commiſſioners agreed on the perſons to be returned; ſheriffs were nominated and prepared for this purpoſe; and, for the moſt part, the elections were made agreeably to their deſires.

Thurloe.

BUT this ſervice could not allay the ſuſpicions which the wary protector entertained of the commiſſioners. He put an end to their authority, and appointed Fleetwood lord deputy for three years, aſſigning him a new council to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration. They were inſtructed to improve the intereſt of the commonwealth in Ireland, to ſuppreſs idolatry, popery, ſuperſtition, and profaneneſs, to encourage godly and gifted miniſters of the word, and to execute the laws againſt the ſcandalous and malignant, to provide for the advancement of learning, to attend to the revenue with diligence and œconomy; and to diſpenſe with the orders of the late parliament and council of ſtate for tranſporting the Iriſh into Connaught, if it ſhould be for the public ſervice.

THIS indulgence to the Iriſh did not eſcape the enemies of Cromwell. They had already obſerved his partiality to the cavaliers, and affected the greateſt alarm at his aſſiduity in conciliating all parties to his intereſt, however odious and obnoxious. It was obſerved with no ſmall jealouſy, that the form of adminiſtration lately eſtabliſhed in Ireland was more ſuited to a royal than a republican government, and indicated a ſettled purpoſe in Oliver of eſtabliſhing a monarchical power in his family. The army was diſcontented at the delays in aſſigning them their portions

tions of land, and many of them utterly diſſatisfied with the preſent government. When Cromwell had recalled a detachment to England, in order to ſtrengthen him againſt ſome attempts of the royaliſts, they mutinied, and exclaimed, that they had engaged to fight againſt Iriſh rebels, but in England they might poſſibly be employed againſt their beſt friends. Ludlow was regarded as the principal malcontent; he took an active part in enflaming the diſcontented, and was induſtrious in diſperſing ſeveral tracts * publiſhed againſt the protector. Oliver was offended and alarmed. He directed Fleetwood to require him to ſurrender his commiſſion, and, in caſe of refuſal, to ſend him priſoner into England. Ludlow refuſed to give up a commiſſion he had received from the parliament; but, at length, was prevailed on to promiſe, on his parole, that he would preſent himſelf before Cromwell; and, in the mean time, not to act againſt the preſent government. In the preſent diſcontents of England, ſuch a man might prove dangerous. Cromwell, therefore, on recollection, ordered that he ſhould be detained in Ireland; and care was ſome time after taken that his regiment ſhould be diſbanded, ſo as to diminiſh his influence. Ludlow's Mem.

A. D. 1655. It cannot be expected that Ireland, at this period, ſhould afford any materials for the hiſtorian. The old inhabitants were completely broken and ſubdued; the Engliſh army waited with impatience to reap the fruits of their labours; and the great object of adminiſtration was, to ſuppreſs all murmurs and diſcon-

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* An order was ſome time after ſent to Ireland, conceived in the full ſpirit of arbitrary power. "That the printer" (for there was but one) "in "Dublin ſhould not ſuffer his preſs to be made uſe of, without firſt bringing "the copy to be printed to the clerk of the council; who, upon viewing it, if "he found any thing tending to the prejudice of the commonwealth, or the "public peace and welfare, ſhould acquaint the council with the ſame, for "their pleaſures to be known therein."

tents, and to reconcile men's minds to the preſent government of England. For this purpoſe, Henry Cromwell was again employed, firſt as a military officer, and ſoon after as lord deputy, in the place of Fleetwood. He found the officers of the army diſcontented and refractory; they refuſed to join in an addreſs to the protector, promiſing to ſupport him againſt his enemies; at the ſame time, they had the hardineſs to petition him to reſtore their former deputy. Their petition was, indeed, encountered by another from the oppoſite party, in favour of Henry Cromwell; and the liberal and equitable ſpirit of his adminiſtration, his juſtice, impartiality, and benevolence, ſoon reconciled them to their new governour. Though the nation was depopulated and exhauſted, and in this ſtate of extreme poverty oppreſſed with grievous aſſeſſments, though the military eſtabliſhment could not be ſupported, and the partiality of Oliver to the officers who eſpouſed his cauſe, prevented any ſcheme of a reduction; though his grants to particular creatures exhauſted the revenue, and no ſupplies were ſent from England; and though the affairs of Ireland were ſometimes totally neglected amidſt the moſt urgent concerns of the protector, yet his ſon Henry proved "a governour from whom he himſelf "might learn" (to uſe his own expreſſion.) He eſtabliſhed his authority ſo firmly in the hearts of a people, who were ingenuous enough to acknowledge the merits of his adminiſtration, that they were entirely reconciled to his father's intereſts. When Oliver received a petition from the officers of his own regiment, publicly avowing their diſſatisfaction at his government, addreſſes were tranſmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expreſſing their reſolution of adhering to the protector againſt all thoſe whoſe particular animoſities endeavoured to re-embroil the public.

On the death of Oliver, the ſame aſſurances of ſupport were renewed to Richard, who confirmed his brother in the govern- Ludlow's Mem.

A. D. 1658. ment of Ireland, by the new title of lord lieutenant. He ſummoned the members choſen for Ireland to his parliament: the republicans, who were for adhering to the ancient law of the land, oppoſed the admiſſion of thirty men known to be zealous advocates for the ruling power; but the court, with difficulty, at length prevailed, that they ſhould ſit and vote. The news of the diſſolution of this parliament, and the intrigues of Wallingford-houſe, was brought to Ireland by Sir Charles Coote. The lieutenant exerted himſelf with peculiar vigour to ſupport the tottering power of his brother. On the reſtoration of the rump-parliament, he laboured to prevent the diſorders which might ariſe from this ſudden revolution. He iſſued a proclamation to preſerve the peace; and, on conſulting with his officers, ſent agents to the council of ſtate, with propoſals relative to the civil and military government of Ireland. They were referred to the parliament, as it was called, who made ſome ordinances for the benefit of the adventurers and ſoldiers; and, at the ſame time, reſolved, that the government of Ireland ſhould be again adminiſtered by commiſſioners, that Henry Cromwell ſhould be recalled, and Ludlow appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in this kingdom.

Thurloe. HENRY had already declared to Fleetwood, "*that, although* "he could not promiſe ſo much *affection to the late changes,* "as others very honeſtly might; becauſe he could not promote "any thing which inferred a diminution of his late father's "honour and merit, yet he had ſuch a tenderneſs for peace as "to be content with the preſent government; and, therefore, "thought it his duty to prevent thoſe fears and jealouſies which "might give occaſion to interrupt the public peace, by reſigning his charge to any one whom they ſhould ſend to receive "it." The new commiſſioners were not acquainted with his ſentiments, or ſuſpected his ſincerity. They dreaded his abilities, his popularity, and his power in Ireland: they imagined he would attempt to retain his authority by force.' Sir Hardreſs Waller was employed to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin; he was admitted without the leaſt oppoſition, while Henry Cromwell retired to a houſe in the Phœnix-Park, having adminiſtered the government with ſuch diſregard to his private intereſt, that he could not immediately command ſo much money as might defray the expences of a voyage to England.

From the moment of the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the royaliſts of Ireland conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of the king's ſpeedy reſtoration. Moſt of the old Engliſh race, and many of the original Iriſh were ſincerely devoted to his intereſts; and the Scots of Ulſter were ſo dreaded by the uſurpers, that the ſevereſt ordinances had been repeatedly made for excluding their countrymen from Ireland. The attachment of lord Broghill to the royal family, was juſtly ſuſpected, notwithſtanding his compliances with Oliver and his ſons; ſo that on intelligence of the inſurrection of Sir George Booth, Ludlow, and the new commiſſioners, threatened to confine him, unleſs he ſhould engage to keep the ſouthern province in peaceable ſubjection to the preſent government; a demand ſo unreaſonable, that they could not inſiſt upon it, as they would not venture to entruſt him with the ſole power of this province. It is ſaid, that even Henry Cromwell, when deprived of his government, had once reſolved to declare for the king, though, on the arrival of the commiſſioners, he changed this reſolution. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 201.

These diſpoſitions in favour of the king were conſiderably promoted by the ſeverity and jealouſy of the commiſſioners. That the army might be modelled to the purpoſes of their faction, lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and other ſuſpected perſons, were diſmiſſed: on the quarrel between the army and parliament, they proceeded yet farther; more than two hundred officers were caſhiered without any trial, or any crime alledged to diminiſh the merit of their long and painful ſervices. Broghill

hill was, by birth and intereſt, determined to the ſide of monarchy. Diſguſted at the ſudden revolutions of power, the anarchy and confuſion of England, and evidently foreſeeing, that theſe events muſt end in the reſtoration of the king, he reſolved to ſecure his ſhare of merit; but cautious, dark, and deliberate, he concealed his intentions, and to the laſt diſclaimed all thoughts of what he called "a ruinous wickedneſs." He laboured, at the ſame time, to engage all his officers, friends, and dependents, in his deſign. He communicated it to Sir Charles Coote, who had already betrayed a diſaffection both to the rump-parliament and to the army. Coote, and his father, had engaged in the parliamentarian ſervice, not from principle, but intereſt. The ruin of this party was evidently approaching. Sir Charles had no way to atone for his oppoſition to the royal family, but by a ſpeedy and zealous declaration in favour of the king. He inſtantly embraced the overtures of Broghill; and his ardour, like that of all new converts, was violent and unreſtrained. He threatened, by his precipitation, to defeat the meaſures of this lord; and was ſcarcely reſtrained from an untimely declaration.

Thurloe.

Orrery's Mem.

In the mean time, Ludlow was recalled to London, by the diſſolution of the rump-parliament. Colonel John Jones, one of the late king's judges, was appointed to command the forces in Ireland, and ſeemed to exult in his addreſs, in reconciling the army to the new change of government. The commiſſioners were ſo reſigned to the authority of Lambert and his officers, that they ſuddenly changed their title from that of commiſſioners of parliament, to commiſſioners of the commonwealth. Peace and compoſure ſeemed eſtabliſhed in Ireland, when the royal party burſt from their concealment, and demoliſhed the whole fabric of this republican government. Lord Montgomery, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver Saint-George, Sir Audley Mervyn, and others of conſiderable weight and conſe-

Ludlow.

Cox.

quence, had by this time adopted the ſentiments of lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote. They formed a bold deſign to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, and to ſecure the perſons of the commiſſioners. They aſſembled at Dublin, on pretence of petitioning for a general council of officers, to deliver their ſentiments on the preſent ſtate of affairs. Their petition was rejected; when, by a ſudden and deſperate effort, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle, made Jones their priſoner, ſeized Corbet and Tomlinſon, two of his collegues, on their return from a conventicle, and declared for a free parliament. In the mean time, Sir Charles Coote, impatient to be diſtinguiſhed by his zeal, ſecured the town and fort of Galway, changed the governour, collected a conſiderable body, conſiſting chiefly of the old Engliſh, ſurpriſed Athlone, marched to Dublin, and impeached Ludlow and the commiſſioners of high treaſon. The royaliſts of other quarters poſſeſſed themſelves of Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, Drogheda; ſo that in one week, moſt of the conſiderable garriſons of Ireland declared for a free parliament; a language, whoſe real import was, by this time, generally underſtood.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 202.

CHARLES was ſoon informed of theſe favourable appearances in Ireland. Lord Broghill invited him to repair immediately to this kingdom. Coote employed an emiſſary to explain his intentions, and to give the warmeſt aſſurances of his ſervice. It was even debated in the king's council, whether he ſhould not go directly to Ireland. Charles ſeemed reſolved on this enterprize; but there was now great expectation from the proceedings of Monk; it was conſidered, that this country muſt of courſe follow the example of England; it was, therefore, thought proper to ſuſpend this reſolution, until the iſſue of Engliſh affairs ſhould be diſcovered.

A COUNCIL of officers now aſſumed the government of Ireland. On a petition of the magiſtracy of Dublin, they ſummoned a convention of eſtates. The council of ſtate in England ordered this convention to be diſſolved; but they proceeded in contempt of theſe orders. They declared their deteſtation of the proceedings of the high court of juſtice, and the late king's murder; and, having ſecured the army, by providing for the payment of their arrears, and their future maintenance, they publiſhed their declaration for a full and free parliament.

Ludlow's Memoirs.

LUDLOW now arrived in the port of Dublin. The council of officers attempted to ſeize this deſperate republican, but in vain. Inſtead of venturing on ſhore, he went to Duncannon; and, by his letters to the commanders of ſeveral garriſons, endeavoured to exaſperate them againſt the dangerous proceedings of Dublin, and to confirm their attachment to the good old cauſe. But the parliament of England were ſo awed and influenced by Monk, that they ſoon recalled Ludlow, and their other Iriſh commiſſioners. Sir Hardreſs Waller was now the only dangerous opponent to the convention. He had ſat as one of the late king's judges; and, although he had refuſed to ſign an engagement to Lambert and his faction, and was zealous for the parliament, yet was he a determined enemy to monarchy, and, both by intereſt and principle, averſe to every meaſure tending to a reſtoration. He mixed with the council of officers at Dublin; and, when a bold and virulent remonſtrance was preparing to be tranſmitted to the Engliſh parliament, he artfully moved, that the council ſhould be adjourned to the caſtle. The officers juſtly ſuſpecting a deſign to ſeize their perſons, rejected this motion. Waller, with ſome partizans, contrived to poſſeſs themſelves of the caſtle, and openly declared their intentions of bringing the leaders of the council to condign puniſhment. The incident was alarming. Sir Charles Coote, and Sir Theophilus Jones, mounted on horſeback, rode through the ſtreets exclaiming for a free parliament, and were ſoon followed by a vaſt concourſe echoing their clamours. The caſtle was inveſted, and after a reſiſtance of five days, Waller was reduced, and ſent priſoner to England.

THE convention and council of officers now proceeded without reſtraint or oppoſition, and avowed their deſign of reſtoring *the king*. One point only remained to be debated, whether they ſhould ſtipulate for a confirmation of eſtates to the adventurers and ſoldiers, or whether they ſhould reſtore him without any previous condition. Poſſeſſed with high notions of their own conſequence, they debated this point warmly. Coote contended for ſubmitting all their intereſts implicitly to the king; and his opinion at length prevailed. He thus triumphed over the coldneſs and caution of lord Broghill, who, by affecting to proceed ſlowly and ſecretly, rendered himſelf *ſuſpected to ſeveral of the royaliſts. He* ſeemed to apprehend, that the forwardneſs of the Iriſh ſubjects might give offence to the royaliſts of England: the ardour of Coote was not reſtrained by ſuch conſiderations; hence aroſe an emulation between theſe leaders, which might have proved inconvenient, had there been a neceſſity for action. But a few inconſiderable fanatics, and ſome of the old Iriſh, with their popiſh primate, were the only perſons who preſumed to declare againſt the king. The body of the *nation* caught the flame of loyalty, and waited *with impatience for the declaration of* Breda. This was readily accepted; Charles was proclaimed in all the great towns of Ireland with every manifeſtation of joy, and the convention voted a preſent of twenty thouſand pounds to his majeſty, four thouſand to the duke of York, and two thouſand to the duke of Glouceſter.

Carte, ut ſup.

CHAP. III.

*Temper of different parties in Ireland at the reſtoration.—Iriſh catholics odious.—Ordinances againſt them.—Prelacy and the liturgy reſtored.—Petition in favour of diſſenters ſuppreſſed.—*DECLARATION *for the ſettlement of Ireland.—Inſtructions for executing it.—Temper and proceedings of the Iriſh parliament.—Debates on the act of ſettlement in Ireland,—and in London.—Indiſcretion of the Iriſh agents.—Colonel Richard Talbot.—The Iriſh agents diſmiſſed with diſgrace.—Thirty thouſand pounds granted by parliament to the duke of Ormond.—*ACT OF SETTLEMENT *paſſed.—Court of wards aboliſhed.—Objections to the act of ſettlement.—Court of claims.—*NEW INTEREST *alarmed and provoked.—Plot for ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin.—Addreſs of the houſe of commons, and Mervyn's ſpeech.—Scheme of a general inſurrection, detected and defeated.—Plan of an* ACT OF EXPLANATION.*—Ormond called to England.—Act of explanation debated.—Diſſatisfaction of the Iriſh.—Objections of the commons at Dublin.—Proceedings of the Iriſh parliament.—Act of explanation paſſed.—Perplexities in the execution of it.—Bill for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle into England.—Its effects on Ireland.—Motion for a perpetual prohibition.—Violence of the two Engliſh houſes.—Their bill receives the royal aſſent.—Uſeful caution of the duke of Ormond.—His endeavours to alleviate the diſtreſſes of Ireland ariſing from this bill,—to eſtabliſh arts and manufactures, and to encourage learning in Ireland.—Practices againſt the duke of Ormond in England.—Diſſimulation of the king.—Lord Roberts appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.—His character and conduct.—He is ſucceeded by lord Berkley.*

A. D. 1660.

THE reſtoration of Charles the Second was an event of great expectation in every part of the Engliſh dominions; but in Ireland, after a deſperate civil war of almoſt nine years, various contentions of violent and embittered factions, and various revolutions of power and property, it naturally rouſed the hopes and fears of men, and kept their attention to the moſt intereſting objects of this life ſtrained to a painful degree of anxiety. The old inhabitants, the new adventurers, catholics, fanatics, every denomination of proteſtants, and every party of Romaniſts, eyed each other with jealouſy, with envy, with ſuſpicion and averſion; impatient to be reſtored to their ancient poſſeſſions, to be confirmed in their new acquiſitions, to be pardoned for their delinquency, or to be rewarded for their ſervices.

OF theſe, *the Iriſh catholics were the moſt impatient.* They whom Cromwell had declared innocent of the rebellion, who yet were ejected from their eſtates, and obliged to accept ſome inferiour portions of land in Connaught, now exulted in the extinction of a fanatical tryanny. Even before the king had been proclaimed, many of them, diſdaining the ſlow and formal procedure of law, re-entered on their patrimonial lands, and expelled the new intruders. Hence aroſe various riots and diſorders, which obliged the convention to publiſh an ordinance, for preſerving the peace and quieting poſſeſſions. Nothing could be more acceptable to the new Engliſh ſettlers than theſe inſtances of lawleſs outrage. They repreſented them in England as the firſt overtures to a new rebellion; and, in England, every rumour unfavourable to the Iriſh was received with peculiar avidity. Agents were ſent from Ireland, who reported their conduct and deſigns with every offenſive aggravation, ſo that before the landing of the king, the act of indemnity was ſo prepared as to exclude all thoſe who had any hand in plotting or contriving, aiding or abetting the rebellion of Ireland, by

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 205—216.

which the whole Romiſh party were *in effect* excluded; and when, by another clauſe it was provided, that the act ſhould not extend to reſtore to any perſons the eſtates diſpoſed of by authority of any parliament or convention, it was with ſome difficulty that an exception was inſerted of "the marquis of "Ormond, and other the proteſtants of Ireland." Some other proviſos were attempted, which muſt have utterly ruined all the old Engliſh families of this country; but they were ſuſpended, and afterwards defeated by the marquis.

In the mean time, the ſevereſt ordinances lately made againſt the Iriſh Roman catholics were ſtrictly executed. They were not allowed to paſs from one province to another on their ordinary buſineſs; many of them were impriſoned, *their letters were intercepted; their gentry were forbidden to meet,* and thus deprived *of the opportunity of chuſing agents,* or repreſenting their grievances. No ſooner had the king arrived in London, when the houſes united in repreſenting the danger to be apprehended from the recent violences of many natives of Ireland; and Charles was obliged to publiſh a proclamation for apprehending and proſecuting all Iriſh rebels, and commanding that adventurers, ſoldiers, and others, who were poſſeſſed of their manors, houſes, or lands, ſhould *not be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions, until legally evicted, or his majeſty, by advice of parliament, ſhould take farther order therein.*

The Iriſh convention, and their agents, who attended on the king and the Engliſh parliament, were not yet ſatisfied. This proclamation might be recalled; another might be iſſued of a different tenour; ſeveral of the Iriſh daily ſolicited for *letters to* put them in poſſeſſion of their former eſtates, and ſeveral were granted. An Iriſh parliament, duly compoſed, and ſpeedily convened, was deemed abſolutely neceſſary *to ſecure* the intereſts of the ſoldiers and adventurers. The king was urged to call ſuch a parliament without delay: he anſwered, that it ſhould be called in due time; for he had not yet leiſure to ſatisfy the impatience of theſe bold petitioners. Several arrangements were previouſly to be made in the eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs of Ireland, both at this time remarkably embarraſſed and diſordered. The convention had requeſted, that all impropriate and forfeited tythes and glebes, in the king's diſpoſal, might be granted to the clergy; and that all eſcheated lands now exempted from the payment of eccleſiaſtical dues, might hereafter be made liable to the ſame. To this requeſt Charles readily condeſcended; but who the miniſters ſhould be that were to receive theſe endowments was a point not univerſally agreed.

Besides the Scottiſh miniſters in the northern province, ſome divines of the preſbyterian judgment had lately gained poſſeſſion of churches in Dublin, and the adjacent country, governed themſelves in divine ſervice by the directory, and preached the covenant with particular induſtry. They were indeed few, for the eccleſiaſtical benefices of Ireland were at this time too poor to tempt any numbers of theſe zealous miſſionaries from England. But they had courage, aſſiduity, and friends; and, on the king's landing, petitioned to have their model of church government eſtabliſhed. A petition of the ſame nature was promoted in the army of Ireland. The divines of the epiſcopal perſuaſion were alarmed, and remonſtrated againſt theſe proceedings. They applied to Ormond for protection: Ormond proved their zealous and powerful advocate. He repreſented to the king, that epiſcopacy and the liturgy were as yet part of the legal eſtabliſhment of Ireland; he propoſed, that inſtead of truſting to the ſenſe of a new parliament, compoſed of the adventurers and officers of Cromwell's army, the king ſhould immediately proceed to fill up the eccleſiaſtical preferments of this country with men of worth, learning, and zeal for the eſtabliſhed church. The advice was approved, and Charles immediately filled the four archbiſhopricks, and twelve epiſcopal ſees, with the moſt eminent of the clergy of Ireland.

As a new great ſeal was not yet prepared, the patents, and, of conſequence, the conſecration of the nominated prelates were delayed for ſome months. The enemies of this order were elated; they imputed the delay to ſome ſecret reluctance or irreſolution in the king. Their agents were buſily employed in every quarter of the kingdom; a petition prepared, to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give order that their godly miniſters of the goſpel might be continued and protected; adventurers, officers, civil and military, men of every order and condition were ſolicited to ſubſcribe this petition. On the return of the king, Monk had been appointed lord lieutenant, and lord Roberts deputy of Ireland; but as both continued in England, the adminiſtration was committed to Sir Charles Coote, and one major Bury, with the title of commiſſioners of government. Of theſe, Coote was well affected to the eſtabliſhed church, Bury countenanced the petition. The officers of the army had drawn it up, and were its chief promoters. In the ardour of their zeal they had incautiouſly betrayed their ſecret averſion to monarchy; and, in this their favourite petition, inſerted ſeveral expreſſions reflecting on the preſent government. Of theſe Coote took full advantage, and, by pointing them out to his collegue, and alarming him with the conſequences, prevailed on him to unite in ſuppreſſing the petition.

But however men's paſſions were at this time engaged by modes of church government and religious worſhip, the lands and poſſeſſions of Ireland were objects ſtill more intereſting to the ſeveral inhabitants. On the adjournment of the Engliſh houſes, the king had ſome leiſure to attend to the diſtractions and competitions of this kingdom; and policy demanded, that he ſhould make ſuch eſtabliſhments, as might, if poſſible, ſatisfy the different claimants, prevent all future litigation, and form a complete, peaceable, and laſting ſettlement. The variety of pretenſions, as well as the unreaſonable expectations both of parties and individuals, rendered this an arduous and perplexing taſk.

THE intereſt of the adventurers, who, on the credit of thoſe acts of parliament to which the late king aſſented, had advanced their money, and received their Iriſh lands from the uſurpers, required particular regard, unleſs the king were to give the whole Engliſh nation an occaſion to impeach his juſtice. The late merit of the proteſtant Iriſh army in returning to their duty, and concurring chearfully in his reſtoration, claimed a competent proviſion for their pay. He had made a peace with the confederate Iriſh in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-eight; and, however grievous the conditions, they were to be made good to thoſe who adhered to the treaty, and honeſtly performed their engagements. Numbers of this party, when driven from their country, had expreſſed their loyalty and affection to the king during his exile, ſubmitting to his commands with all chearfulneſs, and engaging in the ſervice of France or Spain, as he deemed moſt conſonant to his intereſts; ſuch men could not now be excluded from his favour and protection. Some proviſion was due to thoſe proteſtant officers, who, from the beginning of the Iriſh war, had faithfully ſerved the king to the year ſixteen hundred and forty-nine, and to whom Cromwell had denied any ſatisfaction for arrears on account of their attachment to the royal cauſe. Such various claimants, and ſuch claſhing intereſts, ſeemed difficult, if not impoſſible, to be ſatisfied. The king was willing to reſign all his forfeitures; but all his forfeitures ſeemed inſufficient for this purpoſe, to men beſt acquainted with the circumſtances of Ireland. Various ſchemes were deviſed, conſidered, and rejected. Lord Broghill, now created earl of Orrery, Sir John

Clotworthy, and Sir Arthur Mervyn, three bold and ſanguine undertakers, at length formed an eſtimate of lands, which, when the adventurers and ſoldiers ſhould be confirmed in their poſſeſſions, ſeemed, in theory, ſufficient to compenſate, or to *repriſe*, as it was called, all the innocent or meritorious *Iriſh*. Charles eagerly adopted a ſcheme which promiſed to relieve his indolence from embarraſſment and perplexity, and publiſhed his famous declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 217. Iriſh Stat. 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 2.

By this declaration, in the firſt place, the adventurers were confirmed in the lands poſſeſſed by them on the ſeventh day of May, ſixteen hundred and fifty-nine, agreeably to the acts of parliament of the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of Charles the Firſt; and all their deficiencies were to be ſatisfied before the enſuing month of May. Theſe lands were to be held in free and common ſoccage.

In the next place, the king confirmed to the ſoldiers the lands allotted for their pay (to be held by knights ſervice, *in capite)* with an exception of church-lands, of eſtates procured by fraudulent means, and of lands poſſeſſed by thoſe who were excepted in the act of oblivion and indemnity, or any others who, ſince the reſtoration, had endeavoured to diſturb the public peace, or manifeſted an averſion to the regal government.

Officers who had ſerved before the month of June 1649, and had not yet received lands for their pay, were to be ſatisfied by eſtates, houſes, and other ſecurities allotted for this purpoſe. From theſe they were to receive immediate ſatisfaction of twelve ſhillings and ſix pence in the pound of their arrears, and an equal dividend of whatever ſhould remain of their ſecurity.

Protestants whoſe eſtates had been given to adventurers, or ſoldiers, were to be reſtored, unleſs they had been in rebellion before the ceſſation, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare. The perſons thus removed were to be repriſed, without being accountable for the *meſne* profits.

INNOCENT papiſts, although they had taken lands in Connaught, were to be reſtored to their eſtates; and the perſons thus removed, to be repriſed. If they had ſold their Connaught lands, they were to ſatisfy the purchaſers. But as the modelling of corporations ſeemed eſſential to the ſecurity of government, and as it was a point determined, that they ſhould be formed entirely of Engliſh inhabitants, there was an exception inſerted in this article. Thoſe innocent papiſts, whoſe former eſtates lay within corporate towns, inſtead of being reſtored to their poſſeſſion, were to be repriſed in the neighbourhood.

PAPISTS who ſubmitted and adhered to the peace of ſixteen *hundred and forty-eight, if they ſtaid* at home, ſued out decrees, and received lands in Connaught, were to be bound thereby, and not relieved from their own act.

THOSE who had ſerved abroad under the king's enſigns, and accepted no lands in Connaught, were to be reſtored to their old poſſeſſions, but not till the adventurers or ſoldiers, who now enjoyed them, ſhould be repriſed and ſatisfied for their diſburſements.

THE *Engliſh parliament had already reſtored the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchiquin to their eſtates*; and, in the preſent declaration, a proviſion was made for the intereſts of theſe lords, and ſome others, particularly of Monk, now duke of Albemarle, who received a conſiderable grant of Iriſh forfeitures. Thirty-ſix of the Iriſh nobility and gentry were alſo named as objects of the king's peculiar favour, to be reſtored to their eſtates on the ſame terms with thoſe who had ſerved abroad.

THAT no diſpute might ariſe about precedency in reſtitution, it was directed, that innocent proteſtants and papiſts who had no lands aſſigned in Connaught, ſhould be firſt reſtored; then the innocent who had taken out decrees for ſuch lands: the perſons thus diſpoſſeſſed were then to receive their repriſals; and, next in order, were thoſe Iriſh to be reſtored to their lands who claimed the benefit of the peace concluded in ſixteen hundred and forty-eight, or had ſerved abroad under the king's enſigns. Should any lands remain after the neceſſary repriſals, they were aſſigned to the ſatisfaction of thoſe who had furniſhed arms, ammunition, or proviſions, for the Iriſh war, previous to the year ſixteen hundred and forty-nine; and from all the eſtates thus ſettled, reſtored, or repriſed, a ſmall rent was reſerved to the crown.

To eſtabliſh the particulars mentioned in this declaration, the king expreſſed his intention of convening a parliament in Ireland; and that, on the *final ſettlement of this kingdom, an act of general pardon and oblivion ſhould be paſſed,* with an exception only of notorious murderers: that all frauds committed in decrees of forfeitures, ſhould be reviewed and corrected; and that all judicial proceedings in the courts of law, or claims, ſhould be ratified by parliament.

As a free gift from the adventurers and ſoldiers, the king graciouſly accepted one half year's rent from each of their two firſt years, to be applied to his own uſe, and that of the eminent ſufferers in his ſervice.

From all benefit of this declaration were excluded thoſe concerned in contriving the ſurpriſal of the caſtle of Dublin in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-one, the late king's judges, they who ſigned his ſentence, and the guard of halbertiers who aſſiſted in the execution of it.

And as Charles abhorred the republican and fanatic ſpirit more than that of popery, he determined that the corporations ſhould be formed entirely of men friendly to monarchy. His declaration was, therefore, cloſed by a proviſion, that nothing therein contained ſhould extend to confirm the diſpoſition of any lands or tenements belonging to any city, or ſea-town incorporated, either to adventurer, ſoldier, or any others; but that they ſhould remain in his own hands, to be reſtored to ſuch corporations as were found fit for his grace and favour; and that the perſons to whom they had been aſſigned, ſhould be repriſed as in other caſes.

THE declaration thus framed, was tranſmitted to Ireland, with inſtructions for the execution of it, addreſſed to three new lord juſtices, Sir Maurice Euſtace, lord chancellor, the earl of Orrery, and Sir Charles Coote, now advanced to the dignity of earl of Montrath. The appointment of theſe chief governours was immediately followed by the conſecration of twelve biſhops. This ſeemed a ſolemn revival of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and was performed with ſuch pomp, as indicated a kind of triumph over the puritanic party, who had hoped for the extinction of prelacy, and who had laboured to the laſt to effect ſome diminution at leaſt of the eccleſiaſtical revenues, but were ſtill diſappointed, chiefly by the interpoſition of the marquis of Ormond.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 212.

THE declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland, however calculated to provide for all intereſts, yet did not ſatisfy the expectations of every party. To the adventurers and ſoldiers, indeed, the king vouchſafed an enviable degree of favour. Nor was it without conſiderable repining, that the loyal officers who ſerved before the year ſixteen hundred and forty-nine, (or, as they were ſtiled in theſe days, the FORTY-NINE-MEN) beheld what they deemed an unreaſonable partiality to fanatics and republicans. They themſelves had fought bravely againſt the Iriſh inſurgents when their power was greateſt, and the war moſt violent. Their known attachment to royalty had rendered them odious to the late uſurpers. Their arrears remained unpaid; and now, little more than half of theſe arrears were to be ſatisfied; nor were the ſecurities aſſigned for this purpoſe deemed ſufficient to diſcharge even this proportion of their demands. Thoſe of the Iriſh who pleaded their innocence or their merits, were ſtill more provoked, that the reſtitution of their eſtates ſhould be deferred until repriſals were found and aſſigned to the preſent unjuſt poſſeſſors. They objected to the choice of commiſſioners for executing the declaration, who were all, by intereſt and inclination, bound to the adventurers and ſoldiers; and the inſtructions ſent to theſe commiſſioners, filled them with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions.

In theſe inſtructions they complained, that the qualifications neceſſary to aſcertain their innocence were ſo ſeverely ſtated, that ſcarcely any of their nation could expect a ſentence of acquittal. No man was to be reſtored as an innocent *papiſt*, who, at or before the ceſſation of the *year ſixteen hundred and* forty-three, was of the *royal party*, or *enjoyed his property* in the quarters of the rebels, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghall, who were driven into theſe quarters by force. No papiſt was to be deemed innocent, who had entered into the Iriſh confederacy before the peace of forty-eight: none who had at any time adhered to the nuncio, the clergy, or the papal power, in oppoſition to the royal authority, or, who having been excommunicated for his loyalty, had *acknowledged himſelf an offender, and received abſolution*. *Whoever derived* the title to his eſtate from any who died guilty of theſe crimes; whoever claimed his eſtate on the articles of peace, and thus acknowledged his concurrence in the rebellion; whoever in the Engliſh quarters held correſpondence with the rebels; whoever before the peace of forty-ſix, or that of forty-eight, ſat in any aſſemblies or councils of the confederates, or acted by any commiſſions derived from them; whoever employed agents to treat with any foreign papal power for bringing forces into Ireland, or acted in ſuch negociations, or harraſſed the country as Wood-kerns, or "Tories," as they were called, before the departure

Iriſh Stat. ut ſupra.

parture of the marquis of Clanricarde, were all to be conſidered as guilty of rebellion, and incapable of reſtitution.

The popiſh party exclaimed againſt the rigour of ſeveral of theſe qualifications, againſt the palpable injuſtice of the firſt. They pleaded, that abundance of catholics, averſe to the rebellion of their countrymen, and well affected to the crown, had lived peaceably in their own houſes, lying accidentally within the quarters of the rebels, who, out of reverence to their characters, or favour to religion, left them unmoleſted, though they would not concur in their hoſtilities. They recalled to view the conduct of the lords juſtices in the beginning of the rebellion, and their proclamation baniſhing all thoſe on pain of death, who attempted to ſeek ſhelter in Dublin. They *inveighed againſt the cruelty of depriving men of their eſtates, for reſiding in the only places where government permitted them* to reſide; and, in a time of war and commotion, accepting mercy from thoſe whom they could not reſiſt.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 220.

On the other hand, it was urged, that ſuch men had not only given no aſſiſtance to the crown, but favoured and ſupported their rebellious countrymen: that their excluſion from the capital, was a proof that they were conſidered as enemies to the *ſtate; that at the diſtance of twenty years, it was impoſſible to prove particular acts of rebellion againſt many who were moſt* guilty; that their place of reſidence was now the only means of diſtinguiſhing between the innocent and criminal; and that a ſcrupulous adherence to this qualification was of abſolute neceſſity, to prevent multitudes of dangerous and diſaffected papiſts from recovering their power, embarraſſing the king's government; and, perhaps, renewing the commotions of the realm, with all their tremendous conſequences.

Ibid. p. 236.

Such arguments received additional force from that violent and inveterate averſion which the new race of Engliſh ſettlers entertained to the catholics of Ireland. Full fraught with the puritanic ſpirit, they abhorred their idolatrous and anti-chriſtian worſhip. Enflamed with exaggerated accounts of their rapine, their murders, and maſſacres, they ſhuddered at their barbarity. They urged it as a point neceſſary to the public peace, to cruſh theſe enemies of God and man. They contended for the eſtabliſhment of what they called an Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, as the moſt effectual ſecurity of the crown: and both their principles, and their paſſion for power and riches, ſerved to extend their averſion indiſcriminately to all the old inhabitants, even of the proteſtant profeſſion. However unpolluted by the errours and exceſſes of popery, they yet were not ſufficiently heated againſt prelacy. However bravely they had fought againſt popiſh inſurgents, they had fought with equal bravery againſt republicans; and, what was equally *intolerable*, *their ſervices had now a fair claim to attention and reward*.

In ſuch diſpoſitions, men waited impatiently for the meeting of that Iriſh parliament, which was to confirm the king's declaration by a law, and by which they hoped to be eſtabliſhed in their poſſeſſions, or to be redreſſed in their grievances. A. D. 1661. The parliament was convened; and, as the adventurers and ſoldiers kept poſſeſſion of their lands and their intereſts in the ſeveral corporations, moſt of the members elected *for the lower* houſe were of their party. No catholics, and but *few of the* more virulent fanatics, were returned. *Both houſes began with* a declaration requiring all perſons to conform to the church-government and liturgy eſtabliſhed by law, in which they agreed the readier, and which they publiſhed with the greater expedition, before the non-conformiſts had encreaſed their power, by being fully ſecured in their eſtates. They concurred with equal eaſe in cenſuring the covenant, and oaths of aſſociation. The commons reſolved to addreſs the lords juſtices, that the term ſhould be adjourned, and the courts of law for ſome time ſhut up, in order to prevent the reverſal of outlawries, and the

Carte, Orm, vol. II. p. 222.

the ejectment of adventurers or ſoldiers, before their preſent title ſhould be adjuſted by a ſtatute. The lords objected to ſuch a meaſure, not only as unconſtitutional, but of great prejudice to the old proteſtants. Yet, it was at length carried in their houſe to unite in this addreſs, and the juſtices condeſcended to their requeſt.

THE commons hated and dreaded the popiſh party; and not ſatisfied with the preſent modelling of their houſe, laboured to exclude all of this party from ever ſitting in it. A bill had been tranſmitted for impoſing an oath of qualification on their members, calculated for this purpoſe. It was ſuppreſſed in England as unſeaſonable. They again attempted their purpoſe, by a reſolution, that no members ſhould ſit in their houſe, who had not taken the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance; and, artfully involving other obnoxious perſons in the ſame incapacity, they added an excluſion of "all thoſe, and the ſons of "thoſe, who had ſat in the pretended high courts of juſtice "wherein ſentence of death had been pronounced on the late "king, or any of his majeſty's ſubjects, (except Thomas Scot, "who had been active in the reſtoration.)" This reſolution, when communicated to the juſtices, was condemned as an invaſion on the prerogative, in requiring qualifications different from what his majeſty had expreſſed in his writ. Provoked at what they deemed an unreaſonable partiality to papiſts, they revived the rumours of new plots and conſpiracies, received informations of many dark deſigns and ſuſpicious proceedings of the Iriſh, alarmed the government with the danger of public commotions; and, though all their induſtry could produce no material diſcoveries, yet it ſerved their purpoſe of loading an obnoxious party with additional odium, at a time when they were to contend with them for eſtates and ſettlements.

THE great object of this parliament was the heads of a bill for ſettling the kingdom purſuant to the king's declaration. In the commons, where the NEW INTEREST of adventurers and ſoldiers was predominant, it was contended, that the declaration ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, and confirmed exactly by a law. In the upper houſe ſat ſeveral lords of the Iriſh race; ſeveral, who, by intereſt and inclination, were attached to the old Engliſh families of Ireland, and exaſperated at the thought, that men of noble or reputable origin, ſettled in the kingdom for ages, loyal and zealous ſupporters of the crown, ſhould be ſupplanted by a new colony of mean extraction and ſeditious ſpirit, who, though eſtabliſhed by the uſurpers, preſumed to call themſelves the only ſubjects in the realm on whom the king could depend. At the head of theſe ſtood the earl of Kildare, fortified by his powerful connections, and the proxy of Ormond, now created a duke. They contended, that the king's declaration had been made on miſinformation; that ſhould it be adhered to literally, the hopes of the new intereſt indeed would be fully gratified, but no repriſals could be found either for the old proteſtants, for the Iriſh named as eſpecial objects of royal favour, or NOMINEES (as they were called) for thoſe who had ſerved abroad, now ſtiled ENSIGN-MEN, or for thoſe who ſhould be adjudged innocent. To enlarge the fund of repriſals, they inſiſted, that a number of the moſt peſtilent fanatics ſhould, by name, be excluded from all advantages of the declaration: they examined the proceedings of the court of claims; here they found various ſubjects of complaint; the ſtreets of Dublin were crowded with widows, who had entered claims for their jointures, and though moſt of their caſes admitted no difficulty, not one had been reſtored. When reſtitution had been directed by the king to particular perſons, they could obtain no order for their eſtates: the commiſſioners pleaded, that there were no repriſals for the preſent poſſeſſors; and, it was found on enquiry, that they had granted the lands allotted for the repriſals clandeſtinely to their own friends, under the notion of *cautionary* repriſals,

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 228.

repriſals, or repriſals *de bene eſſe*. The lords deemed it neceſſary to put ſome ſtop to this ſcandalous abuſe of power, and to petition the king, that theſe illicit grants ſhould be revoked.

In another particular, they inſiſted on a remarkable defalcation from the claims of the adventurers. Soon after the Engliſh act of the ſeventeenth year of Charles the Firſt, for veſting thoſe who ſhould advance money with the forfeited lands of Ireland, the parliament in the diſtreſſes of the civil war, publiſhed what was called the DOUBLING ORDINANCE. It imported, that whoever ſhould advance one fourth part more than his original adventure, ſhould have the whole doubled on account, and receive lands as for the whole doubled ſum really paid; and that, if the adventurer refuſed to advance this fourth, any other perſon on paying it, ſhould reap the ſame advantage, deducting only the original money paid by the firſt adventurer. The king, it was alledged, was by no means bound to ratify theſe ſtipulations. They were founded not on the act of adventurers, but an ordinance of parliament, which could be no longer binding than while that parliament ſubſiſted; nor was the money thus raiſed at all applied to the ſervice of Ireland; ſo that there was no foundation either in law, equity, or the king's declaration, for confirming ſuch exorbitant advantages, by which the crown muſt unjuſtly loſe more than ſixty thouſand pounds, which, in land, by a moderate calculation, would amount to one hundred and forty-two thouſand acres; and theſe, at the rate of three ſhillings by the acre, to the ſum of two hundred and twelve thouſand pounds a year.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 225.

These objections were approved, notwithſtanding all the efforts of Sir John Clotworthy, now lord Maſſarene, who had been a conſiderable agent in the Engliſh parliament for the doubling ordinance; and was now particularly intereſted to ſupport it. The affair was laid before the king; the king agreed to the propriety of ſatisfying the adventurers on this ordinance for the money they had really advanced, and no more. A clauſe for this purpoſe was inſerted in the heads of the bill of ſettlement, which, after various conteſts and delays, were at length prepared, amended, tranſcribed, and preſented to the lords juſtices. Some weeks paſſed in adjuſting clauſes and proviſos, which the juſtices took the liberty to inſert. It was at length tranſmitted to England by three lords commiſſioned by the council, while each houſe of parliament nominated their agents to attend the king and council in England, and to ſolicit the immediate paſſing of the bill.

A. D. 1662. LONDON now became the great ſcene of debate on Iriſh affairs; and hither the Iriſh catholics alſo ſent agents to plead their cauſe. The adventurers raiſed a conſiderable ſum of money to be diſtributed among thoſe who *could ſupport their* intereſt. The Iriſh had *neither money nor friends*. The Engliſh nation regarded them with horrour. The council, before whom they were to appear, knew little of the conduct of individuals who deſerved favour, and were ready to involve them all in the general guilt of maſſacre and rebellion. The duke of Ormond was the only perſon able and inclined to ſave them from ruin; and him they took care, in the firſt place, to diſoblige. He recommended a modeſt *extenuation of* their crimes, *an humble ſubmiſſion to the king's mercy, and a declaration of their deſire to live peaceably and brotherly with their fellow-ſubjects for the future*: they choſe to plead the juſtice of their cauſe, their merits, and ſuperiour pretenſions to the king's favour. He was ready *to approve* himſelf their zealous advocate: they choſe another advocate. Colonel Richard Talbot, ſon of Sir William, an eminent lawyer of Ireland, and brother of Sir Robert, a man highly revered by the Iriſh confederates, had, in the Low Countries, acquired the favour of the duke of York. His brother, Peter, an Iriſh Jeſuit, was ſaid to be entruſted with the ſecrets of the king's reconcilation to popery.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 233—245.

popery. Richard was well acquainted with the religion of the duke. By his intereſt he had been raiſed to ſtation and conſequence; which he enjoyed without moderation, ambitious, vain, and violent. Abundance of the Iriſh who were attached to the nuncio and his party, when driven from Ireland, had entered into foreign ſervice. When the king recalled his ſubjects from France, they repaired to Flanders, and helped to form his little army. Their ſenſe of this merit effaced all remembrance of their former errours. Their expectations were extravagant. Ormond, who would not contribute to gratify them, and Clarendon, who oppoſed them, were perpetually the ſubjects of their abuſe. They addreſſed themſelves to Richard Talbot, as a riſing favourite. He had ſerved againſt the nuncio's party; yet the vanity of appearing popular led him to eſpouſe the cauſe of theſe men. They followed the king to London; where they and their patron continued their invectives againſt Ormond and the chancellor.

THE Iriſh agents were eaſily induced to conſider Talbot as the fitteſt perſon to ſupport their cauſe. Richard boldly promiſed them eſſential ſervices, inveighing againſt the duke of Ormond, and his advice, as coming from a perſon by no means well inclined to their party. Fully poſſeſſed with the juſtice of their cauſe, and the influence of their patron Talbot, they yielded to his inſinuations, rejected the meaſures propoſed by the duke, and provoked him to withdraw from Iriſh affairs, and leave them to purſue the dictates of their own inſolence and folly.

THEIR ſucceſs was ſoon found not to correſpond with their expectations. They made a bold demand to be relieved from the rigour of thoſe qualifications of innocency which the king's inſtructions had preſcribed, and that neither their claiming the articles of peace, nor paying contributions to the rebels, nor reſiding in their quarters, ſhould be regarded as a proof of guilt.

Thus, the greateſt part of the rebels muſt be declared innocent, reſtored to their lands, reſume their ſettlements in corporations and places of ſtrength, ſo as to conſtitute all future parliaments of Ireland at their pleaſure; to ſtrike the Engliſh ſettlers in every part of Ireland with perpetual terrour; and, at any time, to revive the diſorders of the kingdom with particular advantage. A demand which threatened ſuch dangerous conſequences, which, if granted, muſt defeat the purpoſe of the king's declaration, by leaving no repriſals for thoſe whom he intended to gratify, was naturally received with diſguſt, and ſpeedily rejected. It was by this time univerſally allowed, that there were not lands in Ireland ſufficient for repriſals; and the ſtock was much diminiſhed by a grant to the duke of York of all the eſtates poſſeſſed by the regicides; ſo that the reſtoration of the Iriſh appeared every day more deſperate. To complete their mortification, the king declared his intentions of eſtabliſhing and ſupporting an Engliſh intereſt in Ireland. They imputed this reſolution to the practices of Ormond; Talbot was employed to expoſtulate with him; and his expoſtulation was ſo indecent and intemperate, that he was committed to the Tower, and releaſed only on an humble ſubmiſſion.

In a juncture ſo critical, common prudence muſt have dictated the moſt guarded and inoffenſive conduct to the Iriſh. Yet they wantonly diſobliged a nobleman, to whoſe abilities and equity the intereſts of all ſubjects of Ireland were intruſted; for the duke of Ormond was now declared lord lieutenant of this kingdom. At home, their enemies and competitors were indefatigable in endeavouring to load their whole party with the guilt of new conſpiracies; and even manifeſt forgeries were received as ſolid proofs. In London, their agents boaſted their loyalty, and that of their anceſtors, in terms ſo pompous and confident, as if there never had been any rebellion in Ireland. They challenged as their right, the exact performance of every article of the peace made in ſixteen hundred and forty-eight. The king, who conſidered every conceſſion as his free grace and favour, was ſhocked at this peremptory demand. Their adverſaries laboured to convince him, that from the time, the circumſtances, and the nature of this peace, it was in itſelf invalid, and could not poſſibly oblige him; and he liſtened to their reaſonings with favour. While the Iriſh clamoured for juſtice, they ſubmitted calmly to his mercy, and acknowledged, that both their properties and their lives were derived from this ſource. While the Iriſh inveighed with acrimony againſt Engliſh rebels and regicides, and involved all the adventurers and ſoldiers in this guilt, many of their judges, conſcious of oppoſing the late king, were offended and exaſperated. When their adverſaries recriminated, by diſplaying all the horrours of the Iriſh maſſacres, the outrages of the war, their traiterous endeavours to ſubvert the Engliſh government, and to introduce a foreign power into Ireland, they were heard with favour and applauſe. And as the conduct of the Iriſh was intemperate, ſo their demands were inadmiſſible; nor would they propoſe any qualification, or liſten to any expedient which might tend to accommodate any party but their own.

The very length and tedioufneſs of various examinations and debates about the affairs of Ireland, were ſufficient to weary the diſſipated temper of the king. He was preſent in every council ſummoned on the ſettlement of this kingdom, in order to be acquainted with its ſeveral intereſts, or to perſuade the world that if ſome hardſhips were to be impoſed, they neceſſarily aroſe from the perplexities and embarraſſments of various defections and uſurpations, and from the duty incumbent on his office, of making the beſt proviſion for his people, which the ſtate and circumſtances of affairs could permit. When he iſſued his declaration, he was perſuaded, that there were lands enough to ſatisfy all parties. He was now ſenſible of this miſtake. One or other of the diſcordant intereſts muſt ſuffer; and Charles, who conſidered the ſettlement of Ireland as an affair rather of policy than juſtice, was readily perſuaded, that the advantage of the crown, and the ſecurity of his government required, that the loſs ſhould be ſuſtained by the Iriſh. Any other deciſion would be condemned by his council, and highly offenſive to the Engliſh parliament.

THE indiſcretion and improvidence of the Iriſh ſoon afforded him a plauſible reaſon for this determination, and put an end to all debates about the bill of ſettlement. They had provoked their adverſaries to examine rigorouſly into the conduct of their party. The charges on each ſide were violent and indiſcriminate, and the great point now urged againſt the Iriſh was, a deſign of caſting off all obedience to the crown of England. To ſhew that this had been their real purpoſe, the induſtry of their adverſaries had procured, and the proteſtant agents now preſented to the committee for Iriſh affairs, the original paper of inſtructions given by the ſupreme council of Ireland to the biſhop of Ferns, and Sir Nicholas Plunket, their agents to the court of Rome, a draft of inſtructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication publiſhed at James-town. By the inſtructions it appeared, that the agents were *commiſſioned to make a tender of the kingdom to the pope, and if he declined it, to any other catholic prince. Thoſe to Rome were ſigned by Sir Nicholas Plunket, the others were in his hand-writing.* With a ſtrange and unpardonable inattention this very Plunket, a noted partizan of the nuncio, a man who received his knighthood from the pope, had been choſen by the *Iriſh* party one of their preſent agents, and now ſtood before the committee. The papers were read; he acknowledged his ſignature and writing; they were preſented to the *king and council, who received them with the utmoſt indignation.* An order was inſtantly made, that no farther petition or addreſs ſhould be received from the Roman catholics of Ireland, as they had been already fully heard; that the bill of ſettlement ſhould be engroſſed without farther delay; and that Sir Nicholas Plunket have notice of the king's pleaſure, that he forbear to come into his majeſty's preſence, or to appear any more at court. Such was the concluſion of debates ſo long protracted, and ſo violently agitated. The bill was finiſhed, tranſmitted, and ſoon after paſſed by the Iriſh houſes.

THE arrival of the duke of Ormond was now impatiently expected in Ireland, as the perſon who was to complete the grand and momentous work of a national ſettlement. The Iriſh parliament, in an extraordinary ſtrain of generoſity, preſented him with the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds; his ſon, lord Oſſory, was called by writ to the houſe of lords of Ireland. All men ſeemed ſolicitous to expreſs their reverence for a nobleman, who had ſo long maintained the royal intereſts under every diſtreſs and difficulty, and was ſo highly and ſo deſervedly the favourite of his royal maſter. The marriage of the king, the queen's reception, the forming of her court, and other particulars neceſſary to be adjuſted on ſuch an occaſion, detained him for ſome time in London. At length he arrived in Ireland, attended by a magnificent train; and, ſome time after, gave the royal aſſent to the bill of ſettlement, with ſome others relative to the revenue, and one for aboliſhing the court of wards. The advantages derived to the crown from this court, were compenſated by the tax on hearths and chimneys, according to the precedent lately eſtabliſhed in England.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 246.

THE act of ſettlement was not ſo accurately deviſed as to guard againſt every reaſonable exception; nor was it poſſible that any act could be ſo framed as to ſatisfy every individual of every party. Many of the proviſos inſerted in it had been diſapproved by the duke of Ormond; and the king would have at once ſtruck out all the proviſos, but the duke adviſed

Ibid. p. 258.

adviſed that they ſhould ſtand, as it might not be difficult in the execution of the act to prevent the effect of thoſe which were unreaſonable or unjuſt; and, for this purpoſe, a clauſe was inſerted empowering the lord lieutenant and council, to give ſuch farther inſtructions to the commiſſioners appointed to execute this act as they ſhould judge fitting. The Iriſh catholics now added to their former complaints, that they had not been heard before the Engliſh council, nor their agents conſulted on framing the bill. The forty-nine officers, whoſe merits were inconteſtible, found the ſecurity of their arrears diminiſhed by this act. Some doubtful expreſſions in the king's declaration and inſtructions were indeed explained in their favour; but, although the king had promiſed to preſerve their ſecurity entire, yet the earl of Leiceſter had obtained a proviſo for charging it with fifty thouſand pounds, which he pleaded to be ſtill due to him as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and colonel of a regiment. Other grants were made in prejudice to their ſecurity; but nothing affected it more than one clauſe, which provided, that the debts due for furniſhing the army in Ireland ſhould be all paid out of this ſecurity. Even the houſe of commons acknowledged the ſeverities impoſed on theſe loyal officers; and, as ſoon as the act of ſettlement had paſſed their houſe, ordered a bill of explanation to be brought in, calculated chiefly for their relief.

Nor were the adventurers and ſoldiers, for whom the ampleſt proviſion ſeemed to have been made, leſs diſſatisfied than others. Before the act had been tranſmitted, ſeveral more notorious fanatics, who dreaded to be excepted from all benefit of this act, precipitately ſold their intereſts for trifling ſums. No ſuch exception was admitted. But an additional number of Iriſh nominees was inſerted, which was conſidered by the Engliſh puritans as an unpardonable partiality to the popiſh intereſt. The proviſion made by this act for the eſtabliſhed church, was ſcarcely leſs offenſive to theſe men. The regulation of demands made on the doubling ordinance, occaſioned a large defalcation from their allotments; and ſome of their moſt powerful partizans were defeated in their intereſted purpoſes, by the clauſe enacting that no adventurer ſhould be ſatisfied for more money than he had really advanced.

THE execution of this act was entruſted to Engliſh commiſſioners, diſengaged from all concerns and intereſts in Ireland; and, therefore, likely to be moſt impartial: they ſat in Dublin to receive claims, and hear proofs of innocency; and, notwithſtanding thoſe rigorous qualifications neceſſary for exculpating the Iriſh, more of their party were pronounced innocent than their adverſaries wiſhed or expected. In the firſt *month of trials, thirty-eight perſons were pronounced innocent, ſeven only nocent: in the ſecond,* ſeven were condemned, fifty-three acquitted: in the third, ſeventy-ſeven were found innocent, five pronounced guilty. Theſe innocents were immediately to be reinveſted with their eſtates, without any proviſion for repriſing thoſe who ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed; and, as the fund for future repriſals was known to be ſmall, the adventurers and ſoldiers were confounded at theſe deciſions. They had no leiſure to reflect, that thoſe of the Iriſh who were freeſt from guilt were naturally the moſt forward to preſent their claims: and that the proportion of innocents to nocents was ſo far from being extraordinary, that it was rather extraordinary that any ſhould be found guilty on the firſt trials. In their fears for their property, they expected to be entirely diſpoſſeſſed; in their ſuſpicions of the king, they concluded that the commiſſioners were influenced by ſecret inſtructions, and that a ſcheme was formed to exalt the Iriſh upon the ruins of the Engliſh intereſt. The more violent declared for maintaining their poſſeſſions by the ſword. Such a ſpirit was quickly caught, and readily propagated. Care had indeed been taken, as

Cox, vol. II.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 259—263.

as in England, to model the army, and to diſband all thoſe who were moſt inveterate enemies to monarchy. But, the men thus diſcharged, ſerved to encreaſe the number and power of the diſcontented. The proceedings which indicated ſo much favour to the Iriſh, were repreſented in England with every circumſtance of odium and aggravation. Here, the old republicans were impatient of the preſent form, and provoked at the conduct of government. The act of uniformity had blaſted all the hopes of the preſbyterians, and the ejection of their paſtors was inſupportable. It was not only the wildneſs of ſome fifth-monarchy men that attempted an inſurrection: plots were deeply laid, and ſchemes deliberately formed, in order to reſtore the commonwealth. The malcontents naturally turned their eyes to Ireland, where their *faction was* numerous, *enflamed* by the apprehenſion *of loſing their eſtates*, and encouraged by the diviſions and unſettled condition of the kingdom. Agents were ſent to try the diſpoſitions of their friends in Ireland, and found them prepared for any deſperate purpoſe. A number of officers who had ſerved in Cromwell's army, were eaſily encouraged to form a ſcheme of a general inſurrection. A private committee was appointed to conduct it; one of which diſcovered the deſign to the duke of Ormond. Some *of the* conſpirators, impatient of delay, *formed a ſeparate ſcheme of ſeizing* the caſtle of Dublin. *This too was* diſcovered and defeated.

Ludlow. vol. III. p. 166.

Carte, ut ſup.

The great dependence of the conſpirators was on the general diſſatisfactions of the Engliſh party; and ſome proceedings of the commons at Dublin ſerved to enflame theſe diſſatisfactions, by countenancing complaints againſt the commiſſioners *of* claims. So many of the Iriſh had been pronounced *reſtorable*, notwithſtanding the rigorous qualifications of *innocency* preſcribed by the king's inſtructions, that they reſolved to make theſe qualifications ſtill more rigorous. They took advantage of the clauſe in the act of ſettlement, whereby *the lieutenant* and council were empowered to give farther directions to the commiſſioners, and propoſed ſuch directions as tended to involve the whole Iriſh party in inevitable condemnation. To enforce their advice and requeſt, the whole houſe attended the lord lieutenant; and their ſpeaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, in his uſual inflated ſtyle, pronounced a ſolemn comment on every article of the petition. It was received with cold civility: the commons reſolved to appeal to the public: Mervyn's ſpeech was printed; and its quaintneſs and figurative obſcurity were not ill calculated for the time, and the temper of the people. Not contented with this ſtep, and not finding that their directions were adopted, the commons proceeded farther; and, by an invidious reſolution declared, "that they would apply their utmoſt remedies to prevent and ſtop the great and manifold prejudices and inconveniences which daily did, and were like to happen to the proteſtants of Ireland, by the proceedings of the commiſſioners for executing the act of ſettlement."

Journ. of the H. of Com. of Ireland, vol. II. p. 252.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 265.

This violence of the commons was reſented by the king, and Mervyn's ſpeech did not paſs unnoticed. Some offenſive paſſages were diſcovered in it; one particularly, in which he aſſerted, that "this is the critical time in which religion, the *eſtabliſhed religion*, is in danger of being undermined, by *taſting the predominancy of temper upon a popiſh intereſt.*" Proſecutions were commenced againſt the printers of this ſpeech both in London and Dublin. The lord lieutenant, in a letter to the commons, repreſented the bad conſequences of their vote, as well as the indiſcretions of their ſpeaker; by which, particularly, the conſpirators had been encouraged in their late attempt upon the caſtle of Dublin, as if the proteſtant intereſt and religion were in danger. They were ſo far intimidated, that they retracted their vote, and declared their abhorrence of the fanatic plot; yet, their anſwer to the duke was ſufficiently dignified, and ſoon followed by an addreſs, repreſenting the danger

Journ. of the H. of Com. of Ireland, vol. II. p. 297—317.

danger ariſing from recuſants, and the confluence of popiſh prieſts, friars, and jeſuits, and recommending bills for enforcing the oaths of ſupremacy, and baniſhing all popiſh eccleſiaſtics from the kingdom.

A. D. 1663.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 266—270.

But Ormond was now to guard againſt other dangers and other enemies. His diſcovery of the plot for ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin, did not put a ſtop to the more general ſcheme of inſurrection. Meetings were ſtill held in the capital; correſpondences maintained with different parts of the kingdom, and eſpecially the northern province, arms, and ammunition prepared, and numbers of diſbanded ſoldiers engaged. Some lawyers, ſeveral preſbyterian miniſters, *Blood*, who was afterwards ſo diſtinguiſhed in London, ſome members of the Iriſh commons, and ſeveral republican officers embarked in this deſign. Declarations were printed, and ready to be diſperſed, encouraging all good proteſtants to unite for ſecuring the Engliſh intereſt, averting the danger with which the three nations were threatened by the countenance given to popery, confirming the Engliſh ſubjects of Ireland in the eſtates they had purchaſed by their ſervices, and eſtabliſhing religion agreeably to the ſolemn league and covenant.

The zeal of theſe conſpirators ſo far outran their diſcretion, that intimations of their purpoſes and proceedings were from time to time conveyed to the duke of Ormond. The utmoſt circumſpection was neceſſary on his part; for however the common people ſubmitted peaceably, or were well diſpoſed to the preſent government, the army was ſtill diſaffected and diſcontented. Sir Arthur Forbes was ſent into Ulſter, where he ſoon diſcovered the deſign of an immediate inſurrection, boldly ventured to ſeize one of the principal conſpirators, though ſurrounded by his friends, and ſo intimidated the whole party by his ſpirited procedure, that the accomplices fled to Scotland. An attempt was made to engage Sir Theophilus Jones in this enterprize, and the whole ſcheme was raſhly communicated to him. He inſtantly conveyed his information to the lieutenant; ſo that on the eve of the day appointed for ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin, and publiſhing their declaration, about five and twenty conſpirators were ſeized, and a reward publiſhed for the apprehenſion of thoſe who eſcaped. A weak government deemed it neceſſary to proceed with lenity againſt delinquents who had engaged in a popular cauſe. A few were condemned and executed, the reſt received the king's pardon.

THE diſcontents of the Engliſh parliament, and the profuſion of the king, diſabled him from ſending remittances to Ireland, and making thoſe proviſions for a military eſtabliſhment, which the ſecurity of his adminiſtration in this kingdom required. The ſtate of property was ſtill unſettled and diſordered. Several inſufficiencies were foreſeen in the act of ſettlement, many others were diſcovered in the execution of it. The explanatory bill prepared by the commons was rejected. The king refuſed to accept of any ſcheme for a final accommodation of all intereſts, formed by an aſſembly which had given him unfavourable impreſſions of their temper, and which he had ſome thoughts of diſſolving. He referred the whole affair to the lord lieutenant and council, and directed that they ſhould prepare an entirely new bill. They proceeded with the caution neceſſary in a point ſo important, ſo delicate and difficult; where they were to conſider not only what might be demanded on the principles of ſtrict juſtice, but what in the preſent circumſtances of the kingdom might be practicable and attainable, not what every individual of every party might expect; but a proviſion for the general welfare, as equitable and extenſive as could be obtained from the Engliſh council and the Iriſh parliament. The purport of their bill, as tranſmitted from Ireland, was to explain ſome clauſes in the declaration; to aſſign a better ſecurity to the forty-nine officers; to prevent the reſtitution of Iriſh lands and houſes in corporations; to increaſe the ſtock of repriſals, by taking away a ſixth part from adventurers and ſoldiers, and by other expedients, and to make proviſion for ſome deſerving perſons, whom the court of claims had not been able to relieve, by the determination of their power. In this particular there was a fairer demand for redreſs, as ſcarcely more than ſix hundred out of four thouſand claims of innocency had been decided by this court.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 295. THE bill was attended by agents from the different parties. They were heard before the council; memorials and replies preſented; while individuals practiſed ſecretly with ſome men in power, particularly colonel Richard Talbot, who, for valuable conſiderations, engaged to obtain proviſos in their favour. In the perplexity ariſing from various claimants and petitioners, the king wiſhed to be aſſiſted by the duke of Ormond. To enable him to provide for the ſecurity of his government, ſome money was remitted for payment of the army; levies were made in Ireland for the ſervice of Portugal; one thouſand of the moſt diſaffected among the ſoldiery were thus drawn away, and replaced by troops from England. After theſe precautions, it was thought that the duke might be ſpared for ſome time without hazard. He was called into England, and his ſon, the earl of Oſſory, appointed lord deputy during his abſence.

ORMOND had already laboured to form the new explanatory bill, in ſuch a manner as to make the beſt proviſion for the ſeveral intereſts that could probably be obtained in the preſent ſtate of affairs, and diſpoſition of parties. To apply ſome remedy to the ſtriking grievance of a number of Iriſh claimants abandoned to ruin, merely for want of the common juſtice of being heard, he had propoſed, that the lord lieutenant and ſix of the privy council of Ireland ſhould be empowered to nominate ſuch other perſons as innocents, of whoſe conſtant loyalty they had ſufficient knowledge, and who ſhould be thus entitled to the ſame advantages with thoſe who were pronounced *innocent* by the court of claims. But this propoſal was rejected by the Engliſh council; and, on his arrival in London, he found all parties complaining, all weary of their unſettled condition, harraſſed by expence and trouble, anxious for the event, and all diſpoſed to relax ſomething of their ſeveral pretenſions, in order to obtain a final ſettlement. The London adventurers, a conſiderable and powerful body, wearied out by tedious diſputes, propoſed to reſign their lands to the king, and to account for the *meſne* profits, on condition of being reimburſed their principal money, with intereſt upon intereſt, at the rate of three pounds *per cent.* the adventurers and ſoldiers in Ireland propoſed to cut off all adventurers who had iſſued their money after the rupture between the late king and parliament; the forty-nine officers conſented to accept ten ſhillings in the pound for their compoſition. It was diſcovered by the diligence of Sir William Domville, attorney-general of Ireland, that one entire moiety of the adventurers' money had been ſubſcribed and paid, ſubſequent to the doubling ordinance; and, conſequently, that one half of the lands ſet out to them ought to be retrenched. Great abuſes were detected in the manner of ſetting out their ſatisfaction, in which the proceedings were clandeſtine and confuſed. In ameaſurements, in returns of unprofitable lands, in various particulars, there appeared room for correction and amendment, ſo as probably to encreaſe the ſtock of repriſals, and to diſpoſe the ſeveral parties to reaſonable conceſſions.

Carte,
Orm.
vol. II.
p. 301.
A. D. 1664.

The Engliſh council had ordered, that the lord lieutenant, calling to his aſſiſtance ſuch of the privy counſellors of Ireland as were in London, the commiſſioners of claims, and the ſollicitor-general, (Sir Heneage Finch) ſhould review what had been already deliberated relative to the affairs of Ireland, and offer ſuch farther expedients as they ſhould think fit, in order to the ſettlement of that kingdom. Almoſt ten months were ſpent in hearing and anſwering vaſt numbers of petitions, and in conſidering the proviſos * to be inſerted in the new bill. The agents

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* One proviſo in favour of the marquis of Antrim was a ſubject of particular clamour and complaint.—We have already ſeen the conduct of this nobleman, down to his oppoſition to the peace made by Ormond with the Iriſh. He was afterwards accuſed of being a ſpy on the royaliſts, of conveying intelligence to Jones and Ireton, of correſponding with Cromwell, of aſperſing the memory of the late king, by charging him with encouraging the Iriſh rebellion, and of a treacherous oppoſition to his preſent majeſty when ir Scotland. Soon after the reſtoration he was committed to the Tower: but as no charge was proved againſt him he was releaſed, and ſent to Ireland tc abide his trial. He abſolutely denied the charge of aſperſing the late king; he called on the queen-mother to atteſt, that his *intercourſe with the rebels was by the late king's direction, and for his ſervice; and, as he received no cenſure* in Ireland, the king, *in conſideration of his ſervices to Montroſe, and* at the preſſing inſtances of the queen-mother, allowed a clauſe to be inſerted in the act of ſettlement, confirming the diſpoſition he had made of his eſtate in truſt for payment of his debts.

But the preſent poſſeſſors of his lands were to be repriſed, and nothing but a poſitive eſtabliſhment of his innocency could immediately eject them. The queen-mother was earneſt and inceſſant in her applications; the king wrote to Ormond, that he ſhould move the Iriſh council to tranſmit a bill for reſtoring Antrim to his eſtate. The council were unanimous that ſuch a bil ought not to be tranſmitted. Antrim addreſſed himſelf by petition to th king; his cauſe was heard before the Engliſh council; they found him "in- "nocent from any malice or rebellious purpoſes, and that his correſpondenc "with the Iriſh was in order to the ſervice of the late king, and warrante "by his inſtructions." A certificate of this ſentence was by the king tranſ mitted to the lord lieutenant and council at Dublin, with an order for com municating it to the commiſſioners of claims. Ormond and his council re monſtrated againſt this order. The adventurers petitioned againſt the favou intended for a man, whoſe guilt in oppoſing every accommodation with th Iriſh, and joining with the nuncio againſt the royal intereſt, was ſo notorious But the interceſſions in favour of Antrim were too powerful to be reſiſted. A new certificate was obtained from the king, addreſſed immediately to the com miſſioners; and Antrim, thus fortified, appeared before the court of claims Some of the judges were of opinion, to adjudge him innocent at once, on th authorit of the ſeveral intereſts offered their propoſals, pleaded, objected, contended, and complained. It was at length propoſed on the part of the Iriſh catholics, that for the ſatisfaction of their intereſts, the adventurers and ſoldiers ſhould reſign one third of the lands reſpectively, enjoyed by them on the ſeventh day of May, 1659. The propoſal was accepted; one third of all the king's grants (with ſome exceptions) retrenched; and, on this principle, with conſent of all the agents, the bill of explanation was at length framed, and preſented to the privy council. Nothing remained but the addition of twenty perſons to the liſt of nominees, whom the king was to reſtore to their eſtates, and, who were to be particularly mentioned in the new act. The choice of theſe was aſſigned to the duke of Ormond: and it was an office which could not but expoſe him to reſentment and obloquy. Through the whole buſineſs of the ſettlement, he had acted a diſintereſted and honourable part. He had given up his own rights to facilitate a general accommodation: the debts and mortgages on his eſtate, which were contracted in

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authority of the king's certificate; others contended for hearing the evidence againſt him: the evidence was heard, and clearly proved his guilt; yet the majority of the commiſſioners refuſed to decide in oppoſition to the king's teſtimony, and pronounced the marquis innocent.

THIS deciſion was to the laſt degree unpopular and odious. The adventurers and ſoldiers petitioned the king for relief againſt it, ſtating the evidence which had appeared againſt the marquis, in its full force. The king ſuperſeded the decree of the commiſſioners: he declared, that he ſaw no reaſon why they ſhould reſt their judgment on his certificate, which only declared the authority and purpoſe of Antrim's intercourſe with the Iriſh, without any juſtification of his ſubſequent conduct. He directed, that the marquis ſhould abide a new trial. Antrim well knew the event of ſuch a trial; he now acknowledged his guilt, and petitioned to be ſupported by the king's mercy, ſince he could not be ſupported by his own innocence. Here the interpoſition of his powerful friends prevailed; and, by the act of explanation, he was reſtored to his eſtate. CARTE, ORM. vol. II. p. 277. COUNCIL BOOKS of IRELAND, MS.

the public ſervice, he generouſly diſcharged, though forfeited to the king, and granted to him by the act of ſettlement. But the Iriſh, in the bitterneſs of their diſappointments, had no leiſure to diſcover the merit of this conduct. It was declared in the new bill, that the proteſtants were, in the firſt place, and eſpecially to be ſettled, and that any ambiguity was to be interpreted in the ſenſe moſt favourable to their intereſts. It was alſo provided, that no papiſt, who by the qualifications of the former act, had not been adjudged innocent, ſhould at any future time be reputed innocent, or entitled to claim any lands or ſettlements. Thus, every remaining hope of thoſe numerous claimants whoſe cauſes had not been heard, was entirely cut off. They complained of perjury and ſubornation in the cauſes that had been tried before the commiſſioners of claims; though ſuch wicked practices were probably not confined to one party. But their great and ſtriking grievance was, that more than three thouſand perſons were condemned, without the juſtice granted to the vileſt criminals, that of a fair and equal trial. Of this number, though many, and probably the greater part, would have been declared nocent, yet ſeveral caſes were undoubtedly pityable; and now, twenty only were to be reſtored by eſpecial favour. The Iriſh pleaded their ſeveral merits, and, in judging for themſelves, each claimed a preference. Thoſe nominated by Ormond were allowed to be innocent; but others were equally worthy of favour, and could impute their diſappointment only to the partiality of the lieutenant.

Iriſh Stat. 17 and 18 Car. II. cap. 2. A. D. 1665.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 304.

AND, however grievous the Iriſh deemed this explanatory bill, and however favourable it appeared to the new intereſt, yet, when brought to Ireland by the duke, it proved by no means acceptable to the commons. Some objected to it as not ſufficiently ſecure; ſome found themſelves not ſo well provided for as they thought their merits had deſerved; or, as others, whom

Ibid. p. 314.

whom they deemed not more meritorious than themſelves; and ſome, perhaps were ready to reject every mode of ſettlement, in order to involve the nation in new diſorders. Ormond could not venture to lay the bill immediately before a houſe of Commons compoſed of ſuch tempers, and who had diſcovered ſuch turbulence in their former ſeſſion. He firſt determined, that the vacant ſeats ſhould be ſupplied, and laboured to procure members acceptable to government. In the mean time, nothing was ſo proper to employ them as the late plot, to which their own proceedings had given countenance. Several of their members, and even Mervyn, their ſpeaker, were ſaid to have taken ſome part in it; ſo that to remove all ſuſpicions of his own conduct, every man was obliged to diſtinguiſh himſelf, by his zeal againſt the conſpirators. On the firſt day of their ſeſſion, a letter from the king to the duke of Ormond was laid before them, condemning their former proceedings and votes relative to the commiſſioners of claims. Terrified with the fears of a diſſolution, and a new parliament leſs friendly to their intereſts, they made the humbleſt ſubmiſſion to the king, acknowledged their errours, retracted their proceedings, and inveighed againſt the conſpiracy. Seven of their members accuſed as accomplices, were inſtantly ſuſpended from ſitting in the houſe. They pleaded his majeſty's pardon; yet, on examination of the evidence againſt them, they were expelled, and declared incapable of ſerving in the preſent, or any future parliament. A bill was prepared to diſqualify them for holding any office, civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical; the lord lieutenant approved this zeal, and now entruſted them with the act of explanation.

Journ. of the H. of Com. of Ireland. vol. II. p. 230—256.

In their debates on this intereſting ſubject, their doubts and objections were freely propoſed and conſidered, collected, and laid before the lord lieutenant in a petition. He exhorted them not to dwell minutely on niceties and ſcruples, at a time when their

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 315.

their enemies, both abroad and at home, might be contriving the ruin of the three kingdoms. He alarmed them with ſome advertiſements he had received from lord Arlington, of an invaſion intended by France in favour of the Hollanders, now at war with England. He aſſured them, that as the lieutenant and council were empowered to explain any difficulties, and to amend any defects in the act, every thing ſhould be explained and amended agreeably to their wiſhes, and all obſtructions to the happy ſettlement of the kingdom removed, if neceſſary, by new bills, to which he doubted not of his majeſty's gracious conſent. His anſwer was voted ſatisfactory; and, without one diſſenting voice, they paſſed this famous act, which fixed the general rights of the ſeveral intereſts in Ireland, and eſtabliſhed *a final and invariable rule for the ſettlement of this kingdom.*

YET this was but the beginning of the great work of ſettlement. The reſt depended on the execution of the act, and the application of the rule to particular caſes. Five commiſſioners were appointed, who, in all matters of difficulty, were to reſort to the lord lieutenant and council. An infinite number of perplexed caſes produced perpetual applications to the ſtate; and gave, for years, continual employment to the duke of Ormond, in providing for the impartial execution of this act, and defeating the attempts of thoſe who laboured to evade it, by procuring grants and letters from the king.

A. D. 1666. SCARCELY had the act of explanation paſſed, when the Engliſh commons ſeemed to envy that proſperity of the ſubjects of Ireland, which the ſettlement of this kingdom promiſed; and, notwithſtanding all the ſolicitude expreſſed for the intereſts of a new colony of their fellow-ſubjects, reſolved on a meaſure calculated at once to mortify and diſtreſs them.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 317. IT was found, that the rents of England had of late years decreaſed to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds annually.

The cauſes of this alarming decreaſe were, many of them, ſufficiently obvious. Perſecution had driven numbers of induſtrious puritans to Holland and the American plantations; the trade with Spain had been diminiſhed and interrupted; a ruinous commerce carried on with France, in which the balance againſt England amounted to near a million yearly. The war with Holland had produced new obſtructions to trade. The plague had leſſened the conſumption of proviſions; and even the gaiety and diſſipation of the court had contributed to the public diſtreſs, by ſeducing the nobility to London, and ſuppreſſing the old hoſpitality of the country. But the intereſted views of ſome great men, who wiſhed to embarraſs the adminiſtration of Ormond, and to drive him from the government of Ireland, conſpired with that diſpoſition which the Engliſh nation hath at ſometimes diſcovered, of exerting a ſeverity over the inferiour members of their empire, and taught the commons to aſcribe the decreaſe of rents to another cauſe, the importation of Iriſh cattle. The annual value of the cattle ſent to England, was far ſhort of the deficiency diſcovered in the value of lands; and, before the troubles of England, far greater numbers had been imported without any complaints, or any decreaſe of rents: yet the Engliſh commons, in a violent, and almoſt unaccountable rage of oppreſſion, had no leiſure to attend to ſuch conſiderations. So early as the year 1663, they had paſſed a temporary act for prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the firſt day of July in every year. The inconveniences of this reſtraint to both countries, were repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms to the king. But in proportion as he ſeemed convinced of the impropriety of this meaſure, the commons were the more enflamed. In the parliament held at Oxford, in the year 1665, a bill was brought in for a perpetual prohibition of importing all cattle from Ireland, dead or alive, great or ſmall, fat or lean.

R. Coke's Deteſt. vol. III.

Carte, ut ſupra.

In vain did Sir Heneage Finch oppoſe the bill by arguments drawn from natural juſtice; from the rights of Engliſhmen, to which the ſubjects of Ireland were entitled; from the miſery to which it muſt reduce the whole kingdom of Ireland; from the miſchiefs which muſt ariſe from forcing the Iriſh to trade with other countries. In vain was it urged, that the bill would deſtroy a trade highly advantageous to England, which, in return for proviſions and rude materials, ſent back every ſpecies of manufacture; that the induſtrious inhabitants of England, when deprived of Iriſh proviſions, muſt augment the price of labour, and thus render their manufactures too dear to be exported; while thoſe of Ireland, finding the value of proviſions reduced, would be the leſs inclined to labour, and in danger of falling into the ancient barbariſm of the country; that they could not pay taxes, nor maintain the forces neceſſary for the ſecurity of government: all theſe, and other powerful arguments, were totally diſregarded. Some gentlemen of Ireland appeared in behalf of their country, but were refuſed a copy of the bill. It paſſed the commons by a ſmall majority. In the lords it was oppoſed, particularly by the earl of Caſtlehaven. Sir William Petty was heard before their committee, and pleaded the cauſe of a country, in which, by his abilities and diligence, he had acquired a conſiderable intereſt. The report was delayed, and the parliament prorogued.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 323.

In the mean time, Ireland experienced the greateſt diſtreſs; deprived of its uſual trade with England, and diſabled from any foreign commerce by the want of ſhipping, and the war with France and Holland; expoſed to the attempts both of ſecret and open enemies, and every moment in danger of ſome violent inſurrections, by the calamities and diſcontents of its inhabitants. The duke of Ormond was wary, vigilant, and diligent. He watched the proceedings of the popiſh party, and the futile attempts of the moſt turbulent of their clergy, to engage France in a deſcent on *Ireland*. With equal aſſiduity he laboured to diſcover the correſpondence of the fanatics with thoſe of England and Scotland. He every day received information of ſome ſecret practices or conſpiracies, but received them at once with caution and magnanimity, without neglecting the proper meaſures for ſecurity, and without provoking the diſcontented.

THE complaints of the ſoldiery for want of pay, was one great encouragement to the diſaffected to form their ſchemes of inſurrection, from a confidence, that the army would readily favour their deſigns. The garriſon mutinied at Carricfergus, ſeized the town and caſtle, and acted with ſuch deſperate reſolution as proved highly alarming to government in this time of danger. The earl of Arran, ſon to the duke of Ormond, was ſent by ſea to reduce them. The duke himſelf marched againſt them with the few forces on whoſe attachment he could rely. After ſome reſiſtance, the mutineers ſurrendered: one hundred and ten were tried by a court martial, nine executed, and the companies to which they belonged were inſtantly diſbanded. This petty commotion, with the rumours of vaſt preparations made in France for a deſcent on Ireland, procured the duke a ſupply from the Engliſh treaſury of fifteen thouſand pounds. He was thus enabled to give ſome content to the army, and to execute a ſcheme he had projected of eſtabliſhing a body of militia in the provinces. As the French were expected to make their attempt on Munſter, he viſited this province, examined the ſtate of its towns and forts on the coaſt, arrayed and armed the militia, a body of the greater conſequence, as compoſed principally of veterans, whoſe valour and experience were well approved. From theſe cares he was recalled to Dublin, in order to prevent any commotion to which the diſaffected might be encouraged by intelligence of the fire of London. A contribution for relief of the ſufferers by this dreadful incident, was propoſed by the lord lieutenant, and chearfully adopted by the privy

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 329—337.

privy council, nobility, and gentry of Ireland. Thirty thouſand beeves, the only riches which the country now afforded, were ſubſcribed for this purpoſe. But however pure and diſintereſted were the motives to this bounty, in England it received a malignant interpretation, and was induſtriouſly repreſented as a political contrivance to defeat the prohibition of Iriſh cattle.

The experience of three years had now proved the effects of reſtraining the importation of cattle from Ireland. The rents of England had not increaſed; Ireland was ſo reduced as to be unable to pay the ſubſidies granted by parliament. But Buckingham, Aſhley, Lauderdale, and their party, had already vowed the deſtruction of the chancellor, and hated his friend Ormond, whoſe views and principles were ſo oppoſite to their own, and whoſe influence was a dangerous obſtacle to that ſcheme of power which they meditated. Diſcontents were to be raiſed in Ireland; theſe might afford ſome pretence for removing their rival from his government; perhaps, ſome plauſible ground of an impeachment. The paſſions of undiſcerning men were eaſily enflamed. People were in general perſuaded, that all their diſtreſs aroſe from the importation of Iriſh cattle; the northern and weſtern members of the commons in particular, were tranſported to the utmoſt violence, and the bill of prohibition was eagerly reſumed.

The king had expreſſed his utter abhorrence of this bill, and paſſionately declared, that it never ſhould receive his aſſent. The commons, on whom he depended for the maintenance of his war, were the more determined to mortify him with a full conviction of their ſuperiour power, by declaring in the preamble to the bill, that the importation of Iriſh cattle was a NUSANCE; they precluded him from attempting any diſpenſing power in favour of the Iriſh ſubjects. They paſſed the bill in a rage of obſtinacy, without the leaſt attention to argument or reaſon. *In the lords it* was amended, particularly by inſerting the words " detriment and miſchief," in the place of " nuſance." When returned to the commons, their violence ſeemed to be ſuddenly allayed. Intelligence was received of an inſurrection in Scotland; they began to diſcern ſome danger in exaſperating Ireland; but the inſurrection was quelled, and Ireland was again deemed inſignificant. They inſiſted on their preamble; and, in a conference between the committees of both houſes, neither ſeemed diſpoſed to recede. Aſhley, with an affected moderation, propoſed, that inſtead of calling the importation a nuſance, it might be declared to be felony, or a premunire. The chancellor ſuggeſted an amendment equally reaſonable, and obſerved, that it might as properly be declared, " adultery."

THROUGH *the whole proceedings* on this bill the lords carried on their debates with all the violence of men contending for their lives, with a ſhameful contempt of the order and dignity of their houſe. The duke of Buckingham, with all the plebeian meanneſs of national reflection, exclaimed, " none could " oppoſe the bill but ſuch as had Iriſh eſtates, or Iriſh under" ſtandings." This produced a challenge from lord Offory; the admired and popular ſon of the duke of Ormond, which Buckingham declined to accept, chuſing rather to complain to the houſe; and Offory was ſent to the Tower. The young earl was not diſmayed. When Aſhley inveighed againſt the Iriſh ſubſcription, and all concerned in promoting it, Offory obſerved, that " ſuch virulence became none but one of Crom" well's counſellors." The partizans on each ſide caught the flame, and ſeveral lords ſeemed on the point of drawing the ſword againſt each other. The commons, apparently leſs enflamed, but inflexibly determined, refuſed to alter their preamble. Rather than reſign their favourite expreſſion, they reſolved to give up the bill, and to introduce it without any amendments as a proviſo to the bill of aſſeſſments. They even offered to the lords intereſted in Iriſh eſtates, that if they would conſent to their preamble; a year's liberty ſhould be given for the importation of cattle. The king was alarmed at this obſtinacy, and the danger of loſing his ſupplies. He directed his ſervants in the houſe of lords to conſent to the word "nuſance;" and thus decided the fate of this bill. In giving it the royal aſſent, he could not forbear expreſſing his reſentment at the jealouſy conceived againſt him.

A. D. 1667. THE Engliſh nation ſoon felt the inconveniences of an act, which wantonly put an end to an advantageous commerce. Diſcerning men ſaw the happy conſequences which it muſt, in time, produce to Ireland. *For the preſent, however, the Iriſh ſubjects were caſt into deſpair. All commerce was interrupted; war made it neceſſary to guard againſt invaſion; ſubſidies* were due, but no money could be found. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 345. Ormond thought it both neceſſary and convenient to accept part of theſe ſubſidies in proviſions, conſulting at once the king's ſervice and the eaſe of his diſtreſſed ſubjects. Nor was the king ill-diſpoſed to alleviate the preſent difficulties of Ireland. With the conſent of his council, obtained not without ſome reluctance, he, by an act of ſtate, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majeſty. He permitted the Iriſh, at the ſame time, to retaliate on the Scots, who, copying from England, had prohibited their cattle, corn, and beef. The importation of linen and woollen manufactures, ſtockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland.

THE exportation of Iriſh wool was prohibited by law, except to England, by particular licence of the chief governour. Yet, in the order of council for free exportation, wool was not excepted. The lords who had contended for the moſt unreaſonable reſtraints on Ireland, and were declared enemies to Ormond, admitted in *their debates,* that wool ſhould be included in the exportable articles. Such was their ignorance of the affairs of this kingdom, and ſuch their inattention to the intereſts of England. Ormond ſuſpected that ſome ſnare was laid, and ſome pretence ſought for a future accuſation, ſhould he take too great liberties in an affair ſo delicate. Wool was not mentioned in the proclamation, nor would he conſent to grant particular licences for exporting it. The Iriſh, forced by a neceſſity, which breaks through all laws and reſtraints, conveyed their wool by ſtealth to foreign countries, and have experienced the advantages of this clandeſtine commerce.

BUT the moſt effectual meaſure which the Iriſh ſubjects could purſue to elude the violence of an oppreſſive law, was *that of applying themſelves to manufactures,* and working up *their own commodities; and in this they* were countenanced and encouraged by *the noble ſpirit of their chief governour.* Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 340.

MEN of abilities and knowledge in commerce were encouraged to ſuggeſt their ſchemes for promoting induſtry, and preventing the neceſſity of foreign importations. Sir Peter Pett preſented a memorial to the duke of Ormond, for erecting a manufacture of woollen cloth, which might at leaſt furniſh a ſufficient quantity for home conſumption. He chiefly recommended the making fine worſted ſtockings, and Norwich ſtuffs, which might *not only keep money in the country,* but be ſo improved, as to bring conſiderable ſums from abroad. He offered to procure workmen from Norwich: the council of trade, lately eſtabliſhed in Ireland, approved of his propoſal; the duke of Ormond encouraged it, and erected the manufacture at Clonmel, the capital of his county-palatine of Tipperary. To ſupply the ſcarcity of workmen, Grant (a man well known by his obſervations on the bills of mortality) was employed to procure five hundred Walloon proteſtant families from Canterbury to remove to Ireland. At the ſame time, colonel Richard

Lawrence, another ingenious projector, was encouraged to promote the buſineſs of combing wool, and making freezes. A manufacture of this kind was eſtabliſhed at Carrick, a town belonging to the duke.

But of all ſuch ſchemes of national improvement, that of a linen manufacture was moſt acceptable to Ormond. He poſſeſſed himſelf with the noble ambition of imitating the earl of Strafford in the moſt honourable part of his conduct, and opening a ſource of public wealth and proſperity, which the troubles and diſorders of Ireland had ſtopped. An act of parliament was paſſed at Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. Ormond was at the charge of ſending ſkilful perſons to the Low-Countries, to make obſervations on the ſtate of this trade, the manner of working, the way of whitening their thread, the regulations of their manufacture, and management of their grounds, and to contract with ſome of their moſt experienced artiſts. He engaged Sir William Temple to ſend to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, ſkilled in manufacturing linen; others were procured from Rochelle and the Iſle of Ré, from Jerſey and the neighbouring parts of France. Convenient tenements were prepared for the artificers at Chapel-Izod, near Dublin, where cordage, ſail-cloth, ticken, linen, and diaper, were brought to a conſiderable degree of perfection. Such cares reflect real honour on the governour, who thus laboured to promote the happineſs of a nation, and ſhould be recorded with pleaſure and gratitude, however we may be captivated by the more glaring objects of hiſtory.

Nor was this excellent governour leſs aſſiduous to cultivate knowledge and learning in Ireland, ſo as to root out that ſuperſtition by which the country had been enſlaved, and to introduce that civility and refinement which give reſpect and conſequence to a nation. On the reſtoration of the king, he found the univerſity of *Dublin* in the utmoſt diſorder, naturally reſulting from the public confuſions. Doctor Jeremiah Taylor, the pious and learned biſhop of Downe, was entruſted with the regulation of this ſeminary. The lord lieutenant wiſely deemed it an important object of his adminiſtration, to inſpect the diſcipline, to encourage the ſtudies, and to promote the intereſts both of the body and its particular members. When his enemies in England attempted to diminiſh his conſequence, by prevailing on the king to nominate an Engliſhman to an Iriſh biſhoprick, without his concurrence or recommendation, he thus expreſſed his ſentiments to the ſecretary of ſtate.

"It is fit that it be remembered, that near this city (of Dublin) " *there is an univerſity of the* foundation of queen Elizabeth, " *principally intended for the* education and advantage of the " *natives of this kingdom, which hath produced* men very emi" nent for learning and piety, and thoſe of this nation. And " ſuch there are now in this church; ſo that while there are " ſo, the paſſing them by is not only in ſome meaſure a violation " of the original intention and inſtitution, but a great diſcou" ragement to the natives from making themſelves capable and " fit for preferments in the church; whereunto (if they have " equal parts) they are better able to do ſervice than ſtrangers, " *their knowledge of the country,* and their relations in it giv" ing them the advantage. The promotion too of fitting per" ſons already dignified or beneficed, will make room for, and " conſequently encourage young men, ſtudents in this univer" ſity; which room will be loſt, and the inferiour clergy " much diſheartened, if, upon the vacancy of biſhopricks, " perſons unknown to the kingdom and univerſity ſhall be ſent " to fill them, and to be leſs uſeful there to church and king" dom than thoſe who are better acquainted with both."

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WHILE the duke of Ormond employed his power in Ireland to the nobleſt purpoſes, his enemies in England laboured inceſſantly to diſgrace him. His friend, the chancellor, had already fallen. Buckingham was impatient to complete his triumph, by ſupplanting Ormond in his poſts of ſteward of the houſhold and lieutenant of Ireland. The obſtacle to this deſign ariſing from the general eſteem and popularity which the duke enjoyed, was, if poſſible to be removed, by finding out ſome ground of accuſation in his conduct; and, for this purpoſe, the moſt malicious induſtry was uſed. They whom Ormond had offended in his government, by denying their unreaſonable requeſts, became the willing inſtruments in the deſign of Buckingham. It was notorious, that he had given a commiſſion for trying the mutineers at Carricfergus by martial law, *in what his enemies called a time of peace, when an invaſion was expected, when the mutinous troops had levied war, ſeized the king's forts, and maintained them by force of arms.* Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 356. *An obſolete Iriſh law* was diſcovered of the eighteenth year of Henry the Sixth, whereby it was enacted, that "no lord, nor any other "of what condition ſoever, ſhall bring or lead hoblers, kearns, "or hooded-men, neither Engliſh rebels nor Iriſh enemies, nor "any other people, nor horſes, to lie upon the king's ſubjects "without their conſents, but upon their own coſts, and with"out doing hurt to the commons of the county; and if any do "ſo, he ſhall be adjudged a traitor." Hence it was inferred, that the chief governour could not by law iſſue warrants for quartering ſoldiers on Dublin; and that Ormond (who was no barbarous lord, or leader of rebels, diſguiſed ruffians, or enemies to the royal authority) had incurred the guilt of high treaſon, by maintaining the king's guards, and quartering the troops neceſſary for the ſafety of his government, agreeably to the uſage of his predeceſſors. Theſe two grand points of delinquency, with others ſtill more frivolous, were formed into twelve articles of impeachment, which Buckingham and his creatures diſplayed in the utmoſt triumph.

The king expreſſed ſome indignation at theſe attempts againſt the duke of Ormond, and a reſolution to ſupport him, yet ſeemed to diſcover the ſecret influence of Buckingham, by declining to ſend him any approbation of his conduct in quartering ſoldiers, or any directions for the future, leaving him entirely to the guidance of his own judgment, and to abide the hazard of any erroneous procedure. In Ireland, the diſcourſes of the diſaffected were bold and unreſtrained, and their expectations ſuited to their wiſhes. They who in times paſt allowed no benefit of laws to others, now clamoured for a ſtrict and literal adherence to law. An oppoſition was made in many towns to quartering the army; while Ormond, with an undaunted attention to the ſecurity of the kingdom, continued to iſſue and enforce his warrants. In England every idle complaint of miſconduct in the Iriſh government was eagerly received. Not only the enemies, but the friends of the lieutenant, were tempted to furniſh materials for accuſing him. The earl of Angleſey rejected the overtures of Buckingham with indignation, and gave Ormond notice of the deſigns formed againſt him. The earl of Orrery, who now enjoyed the preſidential government of Munſter, and ſeems to have aſpired to the chief government of Ireland, was not actuated by the ſame generous reſolution. He wavered between his dread of Ormond's power and ſenſe of his integrity, and a deſire of recommending himſelf to the Engliſh miniſtry. After ſome formal profeſſions of friendſhip, he was gradually ſeduced into the purpoſes of thoſe who ſought the ruin of the duke. The earl prepared for a voyage to England; Ormond dreading the inſinuations of a diſguiſed enemy, reſolved to repair to the Engliſh court, and once more committed the government of Ireland to his amiable and gallant ſon, the earl of Oſſory. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 361. A. D. 1668.

On the arrival of the duke in London, he found the efforts to diſgrace him ſtill violent, notwithſtanding the fair profeſſions Ibid. p. 367.

of Buckingham, his capital enemy. If the king felt no gratitude for his ſervices, he was at leaſt not totally diveſted of ſhame, and could not at once conſent to abandon a ſervant ſo diſtinguiſhed by his attachment. Attempts were made to poſſeſs him with an opinion, that great miſmanagements had prevailed in the revenue of Ireland, a point which, in the preſent neceſſities of the crown, it was ſuppoſed would irritate him moſt violently againſt his lieutenant. A long enquiry was held, and no ground of accuſation againſt Ormond could be diſcovered. Inſidious attempts were made to bring him to a voluntary reſignation of his government; when theſe proved ineffectual, the king was wearied with inceſſant applications to conſent to his removal; and the CABAL was by this time grown too powerful to be refuſed. On the repeated rumours of his diſgrace, Ormond repeatedly expoſtulated with the king. Charles reiterated the warmeſt aſſurances of attachment and protection. In one of their laſt interviews, the duke was received with ſuch apparent cordiality of affection, as perſuaded him that his royal maſter was firmly determined to ſupport him againſt all his enemies, and unalterable in his reſolution of continuing him governour of Ireland. He was inſtantly informed, that the day before this audience, the king had poſitively promiſed the duke of Buckingham and his friends that he would remove him. He again expoſtulated, and Charles now ventured to confeſs, that he had entertained ſome thoughts of ſuch a meaſure. Lord Arlington was immediately afterwards employed to acquaint the duke of Ormond in form, that his majeſty intended to appoint a new lieutenant of Ireland, lord Robarts, lord privy-ſeal. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 374.

ORMOND could not entirely impute this change to perſonal enmity. He had diſcernment to diſcover *, that it muſt be

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* Immediately after his removal, the duke thus expreſſed himſelf in a letter to Sir Arthur Forbes.

SIR,

attended with ſome extraordinary conſequences, though he could not fathom the deſigns of the men now in power; deſigns, which for the preſent lay deeply concealed, and whoſe operations was neceſſarily interrupted. Lord Robarts were employed entirely for the purpoſe of ſcrutinizing the conduct of

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 378—411.

“SIR, White Hall. 15 March, 68.

“I hope you have bin acquainted with as much as could bee needful to your information, from what I have writen to my ſonne Oſſery, for you are in the firſt ranke of thoſe friends with whome I adviſed him to conſult in what might relate to the king's ſervice, and the intereſt of my family, which nether have, nor ever ſhall bee ſeperated, though this alteration in government of that kingdome was contrived to that end by thoſe who have ſo long laboured with the king in it. All that is *paſt*, is or *will be knowen to you, when you have converſed with this gentleman. But if you are curious to know what will bee, you muſt make a journey to Donaghadee, or further into Scotland, where predictions are more* plentiful. In earneſt, no rules of ordinary foreſight will now ſerve the time. But thoſe of honeſty and loyalty are in all events ſafe, provided they are aſſiſted by prudence and induſtry. I am with all truth and reality, your moſt affectionate humble ſervant, ORMOND.”

(*From the* ORIGINAL.)

To lord Oſſory he ſpake his ſuſpicions yet clearer, although they were the ſuſpicions of a man, not acquainted with the true ſecret of affairs. “*If I am not much miſtaken*,” ſaid he, “there is a purpoſe to *ſtrike* at the duke (of York)'s command in the admiralty;—and that the aim is to drive him, by leſſening his authority, to intemperate reſentments, of which they will be ready to make ſome uſe. When I ſay *they*, I mean the duke of Bucks, your brother Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, who, I think, have prevailed on the keeper to be inſtrumental. All theſe do equally fear the duke ſhould have credit with the king.—As for the duke of Bucks, I am confident he not only undervalues, but hates the king's perſon and his brother's, and has deſigns apart, if not aimed at the ruin of them both.” CARTE, ORM. vol. II. p. 377.

his

A. D. 1669. his predeceſſor; but could not, by all his diligence, diſcover any ſolid objections to the government of the duke, and had too much integrity to maligne him. His temper was ſullen, his addreſs and deportment ſolemn, ungraceful, and the more diſguſting, as the Iriſh ſubjects had been habituated to the affable and conciliating manners of the duke of Ormond. By affecting to adminiſter his government on principles different from thoſe of his predeceſſor, he expoſed himſelf to odium and contempt. Deſpiſed in Ireland, and uſeleſs to his faction in England, he was ſpeedily recalled, and John, lord Berkley of Stratton, nominated his ſucceſſor.

CHAP. IV.

Scheme for ſupporting the popiſh intereſt in Ireland.—Hiſtory of the Iriſh REMONSTRANCE.*—Inſolence of Peter Talbot.—Partiality of lord Berkley to the anti-remonſtrants.—Other inſtances of favour to the popiſh party.—Terrour of proteſtants.—Attempts to reſcind the acts of ſettlement.—Spirited interpoſition of the Engliſh parliament.—Lord Berkley ſucceeded by the earl of Eſſex.—His adminiſtration.—Eſſex recalled.—Interval of the duke of Ormond's diſgrace.—Attempt on his life.—Attacks on his reputation.—His temperate conduct.—Ormond ſuddenly reſtored to favour,—and to the government of Ireland.—His adminiſtration.—The popiſh plot.—Peter Talbot ſeized.—Ormond's meaſures for the ſecurity of his government.—Complaints of his conduct.—He is cenſured by lord Shafteſbury in the houſe of lords.—Reply of the earl of Oſſory.—Attempts to remove the duke of Ormond.—Evidences of a popiſh plot encouraged.—Accuſed perſons conveyed to London.—Trial of Oliver Plunket.—Attempts againſt Ormond renewed.—He is recalled to England.—Deſigns of the king and duke of York.—Ormond ſuddenly removed.—Earl of Rocheſter named lord lieutenant of Ireland.—Death of Charles the Second.*

A. D. 1670. Memoirs of Ireland, from Reſtor. p. 8. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 413.

THE adminiſtration of lord Berkley opened a new and an alarming ſcene in Ireland. He is ſaid to have been made chief governour by the influence of the popiſh party, and from a thorough conviction of his attachment to their intereſts. However this may be, he was a creature of the duke of Buckingham; and another creature, Sir Ellis Leighton, attended him as his ſecretary, to be a ſpy upon his conduct, and to keep him firm to the purpoſes of the preſent Engliſh miniſtry.

niſtry*. The deſign of erecting arbitrary power upon the baſis of popery was already formed; and, though deeply concealed, and cautiouſly and gradually develloped in England, yet it was deemed neither indiſcreet nor dangerous to make the firſt experiment in Ireland, with a contemptuous indifference to the principles and paſſions of its Engliſh inhabitants.

SOME of the moſt powerful and factious partizans of the popiſh intereſt immediately followed lord Berkley into Ireland. And ſcarcely had he been ſeated in the chair of government, when their influence was diſcovered, by the conduct of the new lieutenant, to the more odious and dangerous of thoſe parties into which the Iriſh Roman catholics were divided; and, by the countenance which, contrary to his public inſtructions, he ſhewed to thoſe called ANTI-REMONSTRANTS, *of whom it is here neceſſary to give ſome account.*

FROM the days of *Elizabeth*, the meaſure of obedience due by papiſts to the civil power was a queſtion frequently agitated in their ſchools and conventions. An enquiry into the nature and extent of the papal authority was neceſſarily involved in it; and, in theſe momentous points, the learned of their communion were by no means agreed. Several profeſſed and taught a civil obedience to the queen; and hence, in all her wars, ſeveral of the Romiſh religion were diſtinguiſhed by their ſervices to the crown. To James, her ſucceſſor, the moſt ſolemn declarations were occaſionally tendered of an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his ſupreme temporal authority. In the diſorders of the following reign the queſtion was revived; and we have already ſeen the violences of Rinunccini, and his inveteracy to thoſe who preſumed to decide againſt the pope's authority even in temporals. We have alſo ſeen, that the clerical partizans of this nuncio, by imitating and even tranſcending his extravagance; brought down a dreadful chaſtiſement, not only on their whole order, but their whole communion in Ireland.

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* Vide Hume's Hiſt. vol. VI. p. 238. 4°.

On the reſtoration of Charles the Second, ſome of the Iriſh prelates and clergy, ſmarting with the cruelty of the uſurpers, mortified at the expulſion of their party from their ancient inheritances, and dreading ſome farther ſeverities from government, commiſſioned Peter Walſh, a Franciſcan friar, to preſent an addreſs to the king in London, to congratulate his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, and to implore the benefits of the peace made with Ormond in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-eight. Walſh knew how that peace had been violated by many of his brethren, and deemed it neceſſary to obviate the objection againſt tolerating the Romiſh religion from its inconſiſtency with the ſecurity of a proteſtant government. For this purpoſe he drew up the REMONSTRANCE, as it was called, of the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland.

Walſh's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Remonſtrance. Firſt Treatiſe, Part i.

In this remonſtrance they acknowledged the king to be ſupreme lord and rightful ſovereign of the realm of Ireland; that they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, and to pay him faithful loyalty and allegiance, notwithſtanding any power or pretenſion, any ſentence or declaration, of the pope or ſee of Rome; that they openly diſclaimed "all foreign power, papal or princely, ſpiritual or temporal, in as much as it may ſeem able, or ſhall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majeſty's perſon or government." They declared their reſolution to detect and oppoſe all conſpiracies and traiterous attempts againſt the king. They profeſſed, that all abſolute princes and ſupreme governours, of what religion ſoever, are God's lieutenants upon earth; and that obedience is due to them in all civil and temporal affairs, according to the laws in each commonwealth. They proteſted againſt all doctrine and authority to the contrary; and declared it impious and againſt the

Ibid.

the word of God, to maintain that any private ſubject may kill his prince, though of a different religion.

Walſh's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Remonſtrance, Firſt Treatiſe. Part i.

The remonſtrance thus framed was preſented to the duke of Ormond. He objected, that it was not ſigned by the clergy, but offered ſolely on the authority of Walſh, their procurator. One Iriſh biſhop, and about twenty-three of their clergy, immediately ſubſcribed it. Some few declined their ſubſcription. Circular letters were addreſſed to the Iriſh prelates in their ſeveral reſidences, inviting them to concur in an addreſs, which was ſoon ſubſcribed by an additional number of the clergy, and by a reſpectable collection of lay lords and gentlemen. A declaration againſt the temporal authority of the pope was by no means acceptable at Rome. And, although the holy father would not openly interpoſe his immediate authority, yet the internuncio of Bruſſels, who had the care of eccleſiaſtical affairs in Ireland, and cardinal Barberini, were both employed to cenſure the remonſtrance in his name, as containing propoſitions already condemned by the apoſtolic ſee; the former with greater violence declared, that it would do more miſchief to the church than any perſecution hitherto ſuffered from heretics. A powerful party was ſoon formed againſt the remonſtrance, by thoſe who would not openly acknowledge the authority or influence of theſe cenſures. Some, and particularly the Jeſuits, propoſed new forms of an addreſs, which appeared equivocal, evaſive, or ineffectual. Some objected to that of Peter Walſh, that it was inexpedient; others, that it was uncatholic; ſome, that it was condemned by the learned doctors of Lovain; ſome oppoſed it, as juſtifying the death of that holy martyr Saint Thomas of Canterbury; others reclaimed againſt the impiety of it, as being repugnant to the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 511.

Such frivolous altercations were not entirely diſagreeable to the ſtate, as they would probably engroſs the attention of the Romiſh clergy, and prevent them from engaging in any practices againſt government. Some of their order had expreſſed their deſire, that the remonſtrance ſhould be debated in a national ſynod. Reily, the Romiſh primate of Armagh, and French, of Ferns, wrote ſupplicating letters to the duke of Ormond, entreating permiſſion to return to Ireland, and engaging to atone for paſt offences, by allowing the remonſtrance. By this time the king was engaged in war with France and Holland; a deſcent on Ireland was expected, and ſome of the diſcontented Iriſh were practiſing ſecretly with France. In ſuch a juncture it was ſuppoſed, that any ſecret conſpiracies would be diſcouraged, if the Iriſh clergy were to be convened expreſsly for the purpoſe of declaring their fidelity to the king. Ormond allowed them to aſſemble; the agents of Rome laboured to prevent the deſign; but, after ſome vigorous oppoſition, the aſſembly was appointed to be held at Dublin, on the eleventh day of June, 1666. Reily, the popiſh primate, ſuddenly appeared in the ſynod, and, inſtead of performing his promiſe, practiſed zealouſly againſt the remonſtrance. It was moved, that ſuch of the clergy as had rendered themſelves obnoxious to the laws, by their conduct in the Iriſh war, ſhould implore the pardon of government. They anſwered, that they knew of no guilt or crime committed in this war. The whole proceedings of the clergy were intemperate and tumultuous. Their aſſembly broke up without any deciſion; the members, violently enflamed againſt each other, divided into two contending parties, thoſe who ſupported, and thoſe who oppoſed the remonſtrance. It was not a ſufficient triumph to this latter party that it had not been adopted by their aſſembly. They who had framed or ſubſcribed, who approved or countenanced, or who had not oppoſed this profeſſion of allegiance, were to be proſecuted and totally ſuppreſſed.

Walſh. Hiſt. ut ſupra.

Ib. firſt Treat. part. ii.

Ib. Dedicat.

For this purpoſe, on the arrival of lord Berkley, provincial councils and dioceſan ſynods were convened. The pope, who named the biſhops, and commanded the preferments of regulars, eaſily formed his party. The remonſtrants were every where diſpoſſeſſed of their cures and ſtations; Peter Walſh, and his aſſociates, were denounced excommunicate, and left without means of preſerving their lives, but by ſubmitting to their perſecutors, or flying to foreign countries, where they were again in danger of being burnt as heretics for denying the power of the pope in temporal affairs.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 414.

THE anti-remonſtrants had juſt now gained a diſtinguiſhed and powerful partizan, Peter Talbot, created by the pope archbiſhop of Dublin, for the very purpoſe of chaſtiſing the oppoſers of his temporal authority. Peter, by converſing with his brother Richard, being favoured by Buckingham, and noticed by the king, had acquired a *paſſion for political intrigue*. The favour he enjoyed at the Engliſh court, rendered him an object of ſtupendous conſequence to the popiſh clergy; and, to encreaſe their veneration, he had the confidence to declare publicly, that the king had appointed him to ſuperintend their whole order in Ireland. He perſuaded lord Berkley, that his influence in this country was irreſiſtible. He had the hardineſs to appear before the council at Dublin in the habit of his order and ſtation, and Berkley was mean enough to permit this outrage on the laws, and to diſmiſs him unmoleſted, though he refuſed to join in any recognition of loyalty. Another incident made a deeper impreſſion upon the proteſtant party than things of more moment, which do not immediately ſtrike the ſenſes of the common people. Talbot propoſed to celebrate a maſs in Dublin with extraordinary ſplendour. On this occaſion he publicly applied to Sir Ellis Leighton to borrow ſome hangings and plate, which made part of the furniture of the caſtle. The ſecretary ſent the utenſils neceſſary for the pomp of his worſhip; and, in his compliment to Talbot, was ſaid to have expreſſed

Memoirs of Ireland.

preſſed a *wiſh that high maſs* might ſoon be celebrated at Chriſt-Church.

THE wretched remonſtrants felt all the inſolence of this preſuming *prelate*: they ſought relief from lord Berkley, and the *plaineſt dictates* of juſtice and policy pleaded in their behalf; but Berkley, either through fear of Talbot, or in obedience to his private inſtructions, refuſed *to interpoſe* his authority for their protection. The body of Romiſh clergy were on the point of uniting in the doctrine of the pope's unlimited authority; a doctrine rejected in France, and other catholic countries, and to which the late miſeries of Ireland were in a great meaſure to be imputed. The oppoſers of this doctrine requeſted to lay their caſe before the lieutenant. He refuſed them an audience. *Margetſon*, the *proteſtant primate*, attempted to plead for them; he was *reproved*: *they addreſſed themſelves* to the duke of Ormond*: the duke was *their zealous friend*; but Berkley complained of his officiouſneſs, and openly declared, that he would conſider any new orders from the council of England as the dictates of the duke, and paſs them by unnoticed. Peter Talbot, and his collegues, proceeded ſecurely in the exerciſe of a foreign juriſdiction, and in his ſeverities againſt thoſe who preſumed to maintain the odious doctrine of allegiance.

Carte, ut ſup.

NOR was this *indulgence to the* Romiſh eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction the *only favour ſhewn to Iriſh* catholics. It was ſoon followed by an order for granting commiſſions of the peace to profeſſed papiſts, and admitting them to inhabit and trade in corporations. An attempt to eſtabliſh ſome popiſh aldermen,

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 420.

Memoirs of Ireland.

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* Mr. Carte imputes it to the interpoſition of the duke of Ormond, that lord Berkley received a particular inſtruction, to protect thoſe who ſupported the remonſtrance, and were perſecuted on this account. In a manuſcript copy of his inſtructions (now before me) atteſted by Sir Ellis Leighton, the article relative to this matter ſtands laſt, and is evidently an addition occaſionally made, and probably at the inſtances of Ormond.

and a popiſh common council in Dublin, produced violent and laſting animoſities in the city, and was at length effected, partly by fraud and outrage. Proteſtant ſubjects were aſtoniſhed; they poſſeſſed their imaginations with new plots and maſſacres. Croſſes * were diſcovered over all the doors of papiſts, a mark of diſtinction which was ſaid to ſecure the inhabitants from ſlaughter on the day of execution. It was whiſpered, and the popiſh party, in their vanity, encouraged the rumour, that Charles, in his exile, had promiſed the French king to reſtore the Iriſh to their eſtates, and the freedom of their religion: and ſuch rumours were countenanced by the attempts made by Richard Talbot to infringe the acts of ſettlement †.

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* Every trivial circumſtance was interpreted with the utmoſt malignity, by thoſe whoſe imaginations were poſſeſſed by rebellion, murder, and maſſacre. From theſe croſſes, the author of *Memoirs of Ireland from the Reſtoration*, hath, in his flaming zeal, adopted, or invented a dreadful tale of conſpiracy. But Story, in his hiſtory of the wars of Ireland, gives a fair account of this terrible phenomenon. On the popiſh feſtival, called Corpus Chriſti, the vulgar Iriſh, in their childiſh ſuperſtition, fixed a croſs of ſtraw in the front of their cottages; on the return of the feſtival, another was added. They were intended to ſecure the habitation, not from maſſacre, but witchcraft and evil ſpirits.

† At the time when the popiſh party could avow their deſigns, it plainly appeared, that nothing could content them but the utter abolition of theſe laws. For the preſent, however, they affected ſome moderation. In their private memorials to the king and duke, they repreſented the rebellion of forty-one as the act of a few, driven by fear and oppreſſion to take up arms: that the inſurgents had ſubmitted, adhered to the peace of forty-eight, and to the late king's ſervice. They acquieſced in his preſent majeſty's declaration, and the ſettlement of adventurers and ſoldiers, and deſired only a compenſation in money from the king's new revenues. At the ſame time, they magnified their own power and conſequence in Ireland, as well as their attachment to the crown, deſired to be reſtored to their habitations and freedom in corporate towns, to magiſtracies and military command; that the army ſhould be formed gradually of catholics, and the courts of law filled with catholic judges; they even hinted the propriety of admitting catholic prelates into parliament.

See the Appendix to King's State of the Proteſtants of Ireland. Nº ii.

The favourable diſpoſitions which the court diſcovered to the popiſh party, emboldened a number of their lords and gentlemen to grant a commiſſion to Talbot for laying their grievances before the king and parliament of England. Purſuant to this procuration, he preſented their petition to the king and council. It ſet forth, that the petitioners had been diſpoſſeſſed of their lands by the uſurpers for their loyalty, had faithfully ſerved his majeſty; but, that for want of a juſt repreſentation of their caſes, their eſtates had been poſſeſſed by others. They prayed that ſome impartial perſons ſhould be appointed to hear and report their grievances; and that, in the interim, the king would ſuſpend his grants of any lands not yet diſpoſed of in Ireland. A committee was appointed to conſider this petition. Ormond, one of the members, was alarmed at the bold and dangerous deſign of overturning the whole ſettlement of Ireland. Some errours had indeed been committed, but in attempting to correct them, many more, and theſe more dangerous might be introduced; ſome grievances had been ſuſtained by individuals, but theſe were not to be redreſſed by caſting the kingdom into general confuſion. He preſſed, that the petitioners might not be heard, nor their counſel admitted to object againſt the acts. When this could not be obtained, he anſwered all their allegations fully; and Sir Heneage Finch, to whom, as attorney-general, all the papers were referred, made a report highly unfavourable to the petitioners. But the reſources of the cabal were not yet exhauſted. Another committee (from which Ormond was induſtriouſly excluded) was empowered to reviſe "all papers and orders for the ſettlement of Ireland, to report what alterations had been made of "matters once ſettled, and to repreſent the defects of papers or "warrants for juſtifying any clauſes contrary to the king's declaration, the firſt ground of ſettlement." Their report was erroneous: a third commiſſion was iſſued, and many months

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 425.

A. D. 1671.

Ibid. Append. p. 91.

months waſted in ſearching for materials to form another report.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 429.

In the mean time, Ireland was a ſcene of general alarm. The adventurers and ſoldiers, the forty-nine officers, the Connaught purchaſers, preſented their ſeveral petitions, which were tranſmitted to England, and all agreed in one great point, the maintenance of the preſent ſettlement. In England, the people were not indifferent to the conduct of Iriſh affairs. Terrified by every indulgence to popery, ſuſpicious of the king, certain of the duke of York's diſpoſitions, they complained and clamoured. The miniſtry was alarmed; they dreaded the approaching parliament; they began to diſcern, that they had made too precipitate a diſcovery of their purpoſes; they now affected to condemn the conduct of lord Berkley; they found it neceſſary to remove him from his government, and to ſubſtitute the earl of Eſſex in his place.

The Engliſh parliament was not thus ſatisfied: among other ſpirited proceedings, they preſented an addreſs to the king relative to the affairs of Ireland. They petitioned, that he would maintain the acts of ſettlement and explanation, and recall his late commiſſion of enquiry, as highly prejudicial to many individuals, and dangerous to the peace and ſecurity of that kingdom; that he would give order that no papiſts ſhould be admitted juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, coroners, or any magiſtrates in Ireland; and that all licences to papiſts for inhabiting within corporations ſhould be recalled. They required that all popiſh prelates, and others, exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction by the pope's authority, particularly Peter Talbot, pretended archbiſhop of Dublin, ſhould be commanded to depart from Ireland, and all other his majeſty's dominions; that all convents and ſeminaries ſhould be diſſolved, and all ſecular prieſts baniſhed; that colonel Richard Talbot, aſſuming the title of agent of the Roman catholics of Ireland, ſhould be diſmiſſed from all command, civil or military, and forbidden acceſs to his majeſty's court; and laſtly, that the chief governours of Ireland ſhould have ſuch orders and directions, as might tend to encourage the Engliſh planters and proteſtant intereſt, and ſuppreſs the diſorders of the Iriſh papiſts.

THE parliament was too formidable for any ſlight or neglect of their repreſentations. The commiſſion of enquiry was ſuperſeded, and the king declared his reſolution to maintain the acts of ſettlement. The obnoxious proceedings in the corporation of Dublin were reverſed, and the ejected proteſtants reſtored to their places. The public countenance ſo inconſiderately ſhewn to the popiſh intereſt was for a time withdrawn; and the adminiſtration of lord Eſſex paſſed in the uſual courſe of Iriſh government, without exhibiting any extraordinary or important incidents. His new rules for regulating corporations, which he was by the act of explanation empowered to preſcribe, were calculated to encreaſe the power of the crown, and to leſſen the popular intereſt. The election of magiſtrates was confined by theſe rules to a few; and, in general, the approbation of the chief governour and council was required, before any magiſtrate could aſſume his office. Strangers and aliens were admitted to freedom in every town on eaſy terms. Such regulations could not but mortify the inferiour orders of citizens, who, in their ignorance and pride of aſſociation, are moſt ſuſceptible of unfavourable impreſſions of government, and readieſt to clamour againſt their ſuperiours. The late violent proceedings and conteſts in Dublin had produced diſcontents and factions among the citizens, which, if we may believe lord Eſſex, were ſecretly fomented by Sir Ellis Leighton and Richard Talbot. The proceedings relative to the conteſt between the proteſtant and popiſh aldermen were ordered to be eraſed from the books of the corporation. The commons refuſed obedience to this order; they even queſtioned the autho-

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rity of the lieutenant and council; and Eſſex, in his attempts to ſuppreſs their turbulence, diſcovered more of cold caution than the manly ſpirit of a good governour.

THIS chief governour, indeed, ſeems to have been particularly embarraſſed through his whole adminiſtration, by his fears of the Engliſh factions, and the reports which might be ſpread in London to his diſadvantage. He experienced numberleſs difficulties in executing the acts of ſettlement, in a country ſo "rent and torn," as he expreſſed it, that he could compare its diſtractions "to nothing better than flinging the reward upon "the death of a deer among a pack of hounds, where every "one pulls and tears what he can for himſelf." Private grants conferred by the king's letters produced deficiences in the diſcharge of the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, of which he complained, not with all the pliancy of a courtier: nor was he ſatisfied with the general management of the revenue, or with the farmers to whom it was entruſted. In the year 1675, he, with difficulty, obtained licence to repair to England to lay the ſtate of Iriſh affairs before the king: and, although he was allowed to reſume his government, neither Charles, nor his brother, ſeems to have been ſatisfied with a lord lieutenant whoſe integrity was more rigid than their own, who objected to ſeveral exceptionable and clandeſtine meaſures, however authoriſed, and even refuſed obedience to the royal orders, when not exactly conformable to law. Colonel Richard Talbot intereſted himſelf with particular forwardneſs in procuring a ſucceſſor to the earl of Eſſex. The office was ſaid to be expoſed to ſale, and ſome nobleman ſought for who would conſent to purchaſe it, by an annual ſum of money paid privately to the king, who was mean enough to engage in ſuch traffic. But whatever deſigns were entertained of this nature, the kingdom was ſuddenly ſurpriſed by an unexpected, and apparently unaccountable diſpoſition of the government of Ireland.

Eſſex's Letters.

Burnet's own Times. Memoirs of Irland.

CHARLES

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 420—447.

Charles had ſo implicitly yielded to the influence of his miniſters, that for a long time he appeared totally eſtranged from the duke of Ormond. A horrid attempt was made on the life of this nobleman by Blood, who had formerly engaged in the deſign of ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin. As the duke returned from attending the prince of Orange to an entertainment in the city of London, Blood, with his accomplices, ſtopped and dragged him from his coach. Happily, in a refinement of cruelty, he reſolved to hang him at Tyburn, which gave time to his domeſtics to fly to his reſcue. When the aſſaſſin was ſeized in his attempt to rob the Tower of the regalia, and Charles deſcended to confer with him, he freely acknowledged his attempt on the duke of Ormond. When this monſter was to be pardoned and rewarded, lord Arlington was employed to *ſignify the king's pleaſure, that the duke would not proſecute* Blood, for reaſons which he was commanded to deliver. "If "the king," ſaid Ormond, "hath forgiven his deſign of ſteal"ing the crown, I may eaſily forgive the attempt upon my life: "His majeſty's pleaſure is a ſufficient reaſon. Your lordſhip "may ſpare the reſt."

The earl of Oſſory, youthful, warm, and ſpirited, could not preſerve ſuch temper on ſuch an incident. He ſuſpected that the duke of Buckingham had been the firſt mover of this attempt againſt his father, nor did he conceal his ſuſpicions. While Buckingham ſtood near the king, the earl advanced with his eyes glaring, and his aſpect enflamed with indignation. "My lord," ſaid he, in a low and ſullen voice, "I well know "that you were at the bottom of this late attempt of Blood. "Take notice; ſhould my father come to an untimely or vio"lent death, I ſhall conſider you as the aſſaſſin: I ſhall piſtol "you, though you ſtood behind the king; I tell it you in "his majeſty's preſence, that you may be ſure I ſhall keep my "word."

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 451—461.

Although his life was ſaved, yet the enemies of Ormond ſtill laboured indefatigably to deſtroy his reputation. He was accuſed of miſconduct in his government, and miſmanagement of the Iriſh revenue. On ſolemn examinations before the council, the charge proved falſe and frivolous. Yet the refuted falſehoods were frequently repeated, and the king, however he reſpected the virtues of Ormond; was yet obliged to treat him with a mortifying coldneſs. Such unworthy treatment could neither humble nor provoke the duke. He took his part in council, he attended daily on the king, without concealing his ſentiments on public affairs, or betraying his reſentment; without courting the king's miſtreſſes for favour; without intriguing, or flying to any faction for revenge. *He preſerved that dignity and credit which both king and miniſters had forfeited. Even in the drawing-room, his virtues and conciliating addreſs* attracted a little circle round him of thoſe who were independent on the court. On ſuch an occaſion, the king not daring to ſhew him any civility, was abaſhed and confounded. Sir," ſaid the profligate Buckingham, "I wiſh to know whether it "be the duke of Ormond that is out of favour with your majeſty, or your majeſty with the duke of Ormond; for, of the "two, you ſeem moſt out of countenance." *In this ſtate of diſgrace, he ſtill continued to ſpeak his ſentiments freely, nor* was he mortified by oppoſition. He compared himſelf to an old clock caſt into a corner; "and yet," ſaid he, "even this "ruſty machine points ſometimes right." When colonel Cary Dillon ſolicited his intereſt in ſome ſuit, declaring, that he had no friends but God and his grace; "Alas, poor Cary!" replied the duke, "thou couldſt not have named two friends of leſs intereſt, or leſs reſpected at court."

In Ireland he ſtill enjoyed the utmoſt degree of popularity notwithſtanding his diſgrace. On viſiting this country during the adminiſtration of lord Eſſex, he was received with every mark of *affection* and delight. Kilkenny, his place of reſidence, became inſtantly the ſeat of ſplendour. Two hundred gentlemen were every day entertained at his table; and Dublin would been exhauſted of all its inhabitants of rank, had not the duke determined to pay his reſpects in perſon to the lieutenant. The cold civility with which he was received, in compliance with the Engliſh miniſtry, and poſſibly from ſome jealouſy of his ſuperiour popularity, only ſerved to excite indignation, and to redouble the attention of all orders to this favourite duke.

It was now ſeveral years ſince the king had ſpoken to Ormond in any confidential manner, except when Shaftſbury was declared lord chancellor. On this occaſion, Charles ventured to take him apart, and to aſk his opinion of this meaſure. "Your "*majeſty*," *ſaid the duke*, "*hath acted very prudently in com*"mitting the ſeals to lord Shaftſbury, provided you know how "to get them from him again." After this ſhort conference, the king relapſed into his former coldneſs. For almoſt a year, he never deigned to ſpeak to the duke, who, from his return to England, every day attended at the court. At length, in the month of April 1677, Ormond was ſurpriſed by a meſſage from the king, that he would ſup with him. Their interview was eaſy and chearful, without any explanation, or any diſcuſſion of paſt tranſactions. On parting, Charles ſignified his intentions of again employing him in Ireland. The next morning he ſaw the duke at a diſtance, advancing to pay his uſual duty. "Yon"der comes Ormond:" ſaid Charles, "I have done all in my "power to diſoblige him, and to make him as diſcontented as "others, but he will be loyal in ſpite of me. I muſt even em"ploy him again, and he is the fitteſt perſon to govern Ireland." From this time he was deſigned lord lieutenant, and nothing remained but to adjuſt with the earl of Eſſex the time and manner of his departure.

A. D. 1677. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 466.

An appointment ſo unexpected gave free ſcope to conjecture. Some imputed it to the king's deſire of quieting the ſuſpicions of a parliament juſt now convened, and diſcrediting the rumours of his intention to encourage popery in Ireland. Others, who had diſcovered that the duke of York was a great means of effecting it, raſhly pronounced that Ormond muſt have been reconciled to the intereſts of popery. The account adopted by Mr. Carte ſeems more probable, and more worthy of notice than ſuch vague conjectures. The duke of Monmouth was by this time grown a particular favourite both with the court and the populace. The earl of Shaftſbury and his party deemed him a proper inſtrument of their purpoſes, and wrought aſſiduouſly on his weakneſs and ambition. *He was already maſter of the horſe; and both the ducheſs of Portſmouth and the treaſurer, earneſtly ſolicited the king to appoint him lord lieutenant* of Ireland. The duke of York was alarmed. He could not bear that his rival ſhould get a taſte of ſovereignty, and become maſter of the whole power of a kingdom. He inſtantly reſolved to prevent it; and finding no competitor fit to be oppoſed to Monmouth but the duke of Ormond, laboured to reſtore him to the king's favour, and to the government of Ireland.

Ibid. p. 469—473.

The firſt cares of Ormond's new adminiſtration were to render the Iriſh army reſpectable, to have it duely exerciſed, and regularly paid; and, for theſe purpoſes, to inſpect the ſtate of the revenue, to correct abuſes in the grants of money, and to guard againſt thoſe miſrepreſentations to which he had been formerly expoſed. He found the kingdom defenceleſs; he wiſhed to provide for its ſecurity; ſupplies were abſolutely neceſſary, and no ſupplies could be obtained but from an Iriſh parliament. It was neceſſary, for many reaſons, that ſuch a parliament ſhould be convened. The decrees of the court of claims were to be confirmed; ſubjects were to be ſecured againſt any old title of the crown, by ſuch proviſions as the acts of ſettlement had not eſtabliſhed: commiſſions of enquiry into concealed forfeitures, with their train of lawyers, projectors, and ſolicitors, had grown to an enormous grievance, which required legal redreſs. The vexations and terrours of the people called for an act of general pardon and remiſſion of the crown debts. The abuſes committed in the revenue might be moſt effectually corrected, and prevented for the future by a parliament: but above all other conſiderations, money was to be raiſed by ſome additional duties; the king was deſirous of ſubſidies, and Ormond was impatient for an aſſembly that was to provide for the honour and ſecurity of his government.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 477.

But a new and alarming incident in England, interrupted all meaſures for the improvement of the ſtate of Ireland, and involved his adminiſtration in terrour and perplexity. As the duke returned to Kilkenny from viſiting the forts of Munſter, and particularly a fort he had juſt now erected at Kinſale, he received intelligence of what was called the popiſh plot, by a letter haſtily written, while Tonge and Oates were in their examination before the council. This was immediately followed by a more particular information from the ſecretary of ſtate, that the plot extended to Ireland; that Peter Talbot was engaged in it, and that perſons were hired to aſſaſſinate the lieutenant. If the firſt report of a popiſh conſpiracy could raiſe a general ferment in England, much more violent effects were to be expected in a country where the popiſh inhabitants were ſo numerous, and where proteſtants were poſſeſſed with an habitual horrour of their ſecret practices, where the firſt outrages of the late rebellion were remembered, related with every hideous circumſtance of cruelty and carnage, and the imaginations of all the Engliſh race poſſeſſed with ſcenes of blood and deſolation.

The leaſt degree of inactivity on the part of government, the ſlighteſt heſitation or doubt of the reality of the plot in general, or of the particular circumſtances relative to Ireland, would have been conſidered as dangerous and traiterous. Peter Talbot, however factiouſly inclined, was at this time utterly incapable of taking any active part in a conſpiracy. For two years violently afflicted with the ſtone and ſtrangury, he had petitioned for a tacit permiſſion to remove from Cheſhire, and die in Ireland. Ormond, however, inſtantly ſigned a warrant to ſecure his perſon. The officer appointed to execute it found him at his brother's ſeat in the neighbourhood of Dublin. He probably had time to remove his papers; for, notwithſtanding his extenſive correſpondence, nothing was found in his cabinet but a few letters of controverſial divinity; and, as it ſeemed impoſſible to remove him in his preſent ſtate of pain and languor, the ſecurity of his brother was accepted for his appearance. Such indulgence was liable to dangerous miſrepreſentation; and, therefore, on the return of the duke of Ormond to Dublin, Peter was removed to the caſtle, and attended with the care due to a perſon who ſeemed on the point of death.

In the mean time, orders were iſſued that all officers and ſoldiers ſhould repair to their reſpective garriſons; that popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhould depart from the kingdom, popiſh ſeminaries and convents be ſuppreſſed; and that all papiſts ſhould bring in their arms within twenty days to the perſons appointed to receive and depoſite them in the king's ſtores. Informations quickly multiplied; and directions were received from England to ſeize Richard Talbot, lord Mountgarret and his ſon, and a colonel of the name of Peppard. Lord Mountgarret, repreſented as a dangerous conſpirator, was of the age of fourſcore years, bed-ridden, and in a ſtate of dotage; and, to the farther diſcredit of the evidences, no colonel Peppard was known, or could be found in Ireland. From the examination of Richard Talbot nothing alarming could be collected, nothing that might warrant his farther detention; he was, therefore, by order of the

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 479.

the Engliſh council, ſuffered to give ſecurity for his quiet demeanour, and to depart from Ireland.

In this time of terrour and alarm, amidſt the clamours of the vulgar, the violent, and the deſigning, Ormond proceeded with temper, with ſteadineſs, and vigour. Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 481. He diſarmed the papiſts, ſettled the militia, ſecured the garriſons, and kept the army untainted. A number of vagabond robbers, called Tories, the remains or deſcendants of that race of barbarous plunderers which the Iriſh war had produced, concealed themſelves in the mountains and bogs of Ulſter, and other parts of Ireland, iſſued out occaſionally, and harraſſed the civil inhabitants by every kind of outrage. They were uſually concealed by their relations; ſometimes by the popiſh prieſt, who, notwithſtanding *all the formal proclamations of government*, continued to exerciſe *his function in the neighbourhood of theſe robbers*. In a ſeaſon of apparent danger, Ormond recurred to an extraordinary expedient, juſtified only by neceſſity, and the failure of all other means. A proclamation was publiſhed, directing, that the near relations of known tories ſhould be comitted to priſon, until ſuch tories were killed or brought to juſtice; and that any popiſh pretended pariſh prieſt of any place where murder or robbery were committed by theſe tories, ſhould be committed to priſon, and thence tranſported, unleſs within fourteen days the guilty perſons were killed or taken, or ſuch diſcovery made, that they might be apprehended and brought to juſtice.

But this inſtance of rigour did not ſatiſfy many proteſtants, Ibid. p. 484. who, in their zeal, their terrour, and perhaps ſome ſecret inclination to a new rebellion and new forfeitures, called for more ſevere and irritating meaſures. They propoſed, that thoſe of the Iriſh who ſtill enjoyed the old rank of chieftainry, who had loſt their eſtates, and were, therefore, likely to engage in any deſperate purpoſe, ſhould be ſecured, ſo as to reſtrain their ſepts from rebellion. But Ormond thought it unjuſt to impriſon men merely becauſe they might do miſchief, and before they had diſcovered any dangerous diſpoſitions. If all ſuſpected perſons were to be ſeized, it ſeemed difficult to ſay how or where they were to be kept; how many might be thus driven to deſperate courſes, and whether their followers might not rather be provoked than intimidated. It was well known how much the impriſonments, and other ſeverities of Sir William Parſons, had contributed to hurry numbers into the laſt rebellion; and neither the duke nor the privy council deemed it prudent to make another experiment, whether the ſame meaſures might be attended with the ſame effects.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 480—485.

It was alſo propoſed to expel thoſe papiſts from corporate towns, who, though formerly excluded, had yet been licenſed to return. But, whatever had been the occaſional indulgence of government to this obnoxious party, it was well known the Engliſh inhabitants had contributed to the abuſe they now inveighed againſt. They themſelves had received the papiſt Iriſh into towns, becauſe they could not live without them. They wanted ſervants, tenants, and tradeſmen; the Iriſh furniſhed all theſe, and were encouraged. Whatever danger aroſe from their re-admiſſion into towns, the evil could not be immediately remedied, without deſolating theſe towns, and driving numbers to a vagrant life. In an affair ſo delicate, where the violation of the law was evident, and its ſtrict enforcement dangerous, Ormond and the council took a middle courſe. They iſſued a proclamation, that none of the popiſh religion ſhould come into the caſtle of Dublin, or any other fort or citadel, without ſpecial order from the lord lieutenant; that fairs and markets ſhould be held without the walls of ſome principal cities, to which papiſts were to reſort unarmed. Such of them as had lately been admitted into theſe cities were removed; and from others, where popiſh inhabitants chiefly abounded, all the idle and uſeleſs were expelled; and none ſuffered ed to remain but merchants, artificers, and other neceſſary perſons.

AN adminiſtration conducted with temper, by which the proteſtants were ſecured from falſe alarms of danger, without relaxation of that care and vigilance which the time required, and without irritating the popiſh party by oppreſſion or wanton ſeverity, was not entirely agreeable to the paſſions and prejudices of many Engliſh ſubjects in Ireland. The more violent attempted to drive the duke of Ormond from his courſe of moderate meaſures, by alarming him with fears of aſſaſſination. Letters were dropped in Dublin, intimating a deſign of this nature, and ſeveral pretended to give an account of what they heard or ſuſpected of this deſign. But the duke was not to be moved by dark and inexplicable informations; and the next ſtep of thoſe who were diſſatisfied with his conduct, was to tranſmit their complaints to England. The lieutenant, by all his influence, by all his expence in procuring intelligence, could find no reaſon to apprehend an inſurrection in Ireland; yet letters were ſent into England, inſinuating that the proteſtants of this country were in the utmoſt danger, and little care taken for their defence. Ormond was accuſed of not ſeizing the Iriſh chieftains, of not expelling papiſts from corporate towns, of commanding them by proclamation to deliver up their arms, inſtead of ſending his ſoldiers to diſarm them; by which, every garriſon muſt have been abandoned, and the army ſcattered in looſe files, expoſed to deſtruction, and utterly incapable of executing their orders in any reaſonable time, even if no commotion ſhould ariſe; as, by the computation of Sir William Petty, there were about fifteen papiſts now in Ireland to one proteſtant. But theſe complaints, however unreaſonable and abſurd, were received with avidity by the prevailing party in England. The licentiouſneſs of the preſs, the virulence of private ſlander, the prejudices and credulity of the vulgar, the artifice of popular

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 481.

Ibid. p. 484.

A. D. 1679.

popular leaders, all conſpired to load the duke of Ormond with the odium of being popiſhly inclined. Lord Shaftſbury conveyed the inſinuation into the houſe of lords, with ſanguine hopes of removing Ormond from his government. To ſound the temper of the peers, he recommended to their conſideration the ſtate of Ireland, a country too much neglected, managed with too great inattention to the Engliſh intereſt, and too dangerous partiality to the popiſh party. The earl of Oſſory was witneſs of theſe reflections on his father. He ſtarted up, and in the unadorned language of a ſoldier, and with the warmth of filial affection, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at theſe inſinuations againſt the duke of Ormond, briefly recounted thoſe actions of his life which had *raiſed his zeal for the royal ſervice and the intereſt of proteſtants above ſuſpicion; then, with a firm and elevated voice, with an eye darting indignation* and contempt on Shaftſbury, he proceed thus: "And now, my "lords, having ſpoken of what he has done, I preſume, with "the ſame truth, to tell your lordſhips what he has not done. "He never adviſed the breaking of the triple league; he never "adviſed the ſhutting up of the exchequer; he never adviſed "the declaration for a toleration; he never adviſed the falling "out with the Dutch, and *joining with France*; he was not "the author of that moſt excellent *poſition*, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that Holland, a proteſtant country, ſhould, contrary "to the true intereſt of England, be totally deſtroyed. I beg "your lordſhips will be ſo juſt as to judge of my father, and of all "men, according to their actions and counſels."

Carte, Orm. vol. II. Append. p. 90.

Ibid. p. 491—497.

NOTHING could have happened more convenient to the purpoſes of Shaftſbury than an inſurrection in Ireland; he was diſappointed, and provoked at the tranquillity of this country, and at that moderate adminiſtration which maintained it: he was impatient to remove Ormond from his government, but the king firmly declared, that he never ſhould be removed: he attempted

tempted to change the Iriſh council which had concurred in the meaſures of the lieutenant: the king rejected the propoſition; he would not change any of his miniſters in Ireland; for, he would not, as he expreſſed it, reſign this kingdom to the parliament. Shaftſbury and his party were thus obliged to proceed indirectly, and to procure orders for the council of Ireland to tranſmit ſevere bills againſt popiſh recuſants. Should they refuſe, they muſt be removed; ſhould they obey, the Iriſh might be driven to rebellion. Orders were tranſmitted to the lord lieutenant and council, to prepare laws for excluding papiſts from either houſe of parliament, or any office in Ireland, agreeably to thoſe already enacted in England; and that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued for encouraging all perſons to make farther diſcoveries of the horrid popiſh plot. The bills were not tranſmitted till after the diſſolution of the Engliſh parliament: the proclamation was immediately publiſhed.

It reflected particular diſcredit on the popiſh plot in England, that a year had paſſed before one evidence could be found of any like conſpiracy in Ireland, where the papiſts were ſo numerous, and whither their brethren of England might naturally have reſorted for aſſiſtance. The fears and ſuſpicions of thoſe who were moſt heated againſt popery and the Iriſh, formed imaginary dangers. An invaſion was ſuddenly expected from France. Informations of ſuch a deſign were tranſmitted to England by lord Orrery, and eagerly received. One ſhip was particularly named, to have conveyed a vaſt number of arms and military ſtores to the port of Waterford. The veſſel was inſtantly ſeized, ſearched, and inſtead of containing all the formidable preparations for rebellion and maſſacre, was found to be freighted only with ſalt. Such futile alarms ſerved as hints to thoſe whom the hope of gain, or revenge prompted, to embrace the encouragement given to informers, and aſſiſted them in framing their malicious tales. One Bourke, of the county of Waterford, a man of flagitious character, had been committed to priſon by De la Poer, earl of Tyrone. He inſtantly accuſed the earl as engaged in promoting an invaſion; but, however implicitly the accuſation was believed in London, it proved, on the cleareſt evidence, falſe and malicious. David Fitzgerald, a proteſtant of the county of Limerick, at firſt ſeemed a more reputable evidence, though he commenced informer in priſon, and on the point of being tried for high treaſon. He was acquitted, and his information received by the duke of Ormond. He named ſome men of figure as accomplices in the deſign of an inſurrection; but his narrative was confuſed, improbable, and inconſiſtent. The perſons accuſed freely offered themſelves to be tried in that place where their converſation was known, and where the conſpiracy was ſaid to be carried on. *But Shaftſbury now boaſted that he could produce important diſcoveries of an Iriſh plot. It was reſolved to try the* culprits in London. Fitzgerald was ſent for; and, though he attempted to eſcape, was forcibly dragged to give his evidence in London.

But one witneſs, however credible, was not ſufficient. More were ſought for, nor was it extraordinary, nor is it any fair ground for national reflection, that uncommon induſtry and encouragement procured ſome more witneſſes in Ireland. Some of the inferiour popiſh clergy, of extreme poverty and profligate lives, conſented to become informers. The haunts of tories were ſucceſsfully ranſacked for others; and all theſe men ſuddenly appeared in London, not in their original ſtate of meanneſs and barbariſm, but in a decent garb, and with the appearance even of affluence. Happily, the perſons accuſed by Fitzgerald eſcaped by the remorſe of their accuſer; who, at length, freely acknowledged the baſeneſs and falſehood of his information. Oliver Plunket, the popiſh archbiſhop of Armagh, was not ſo fortunate. He ſucceeded Reily in this ſtation; and

Carte, vol. II. Append. p. 109.

during the government of lord Eſſex, lived quietly in Ireland, recommending a peaceable ſubmiſſion to government, and expreſſing his abhorrence of all political intrigues. He even exerted his ſpiritual authority to reſtrain the turbulent temper of Peter Talbot, and to confine him within the duties of his profeſſion. But ſome of the inferiours of his clergy, men of lewd lives and brutal manners, were provoked by his cenſures and correction, and formed the deſign of accuſing him. He was conveyed to London; but, as theſe evidences had neither honeſty to ſwear the truth, nor ſenſe to deviſe a conſiſtent tale, their firſt attempt was defeated. The jury, even in theſe days of paſſionate credulity, could not find a bill againſt Plunket. Burnet, vol. I. p. 282. But the informers gained ſome accomplices, they framed their accuſation a-new, and made another attack. Plunket was accuſed of obtaining his title and ſtation for the purpoſe, and on an expreſs compact, of raiſing ſeventy thouſand men in Ireland by the contributions of the popiſh clergy, whoſe whole revenues could not equip a ſingle regiment. State Trials, vol. III. This formidable body of inſurgents was deſtined to join twenty thouſand men to be furniſhed by France, and who were to make their deſcent [redacted] port of Carlingford, a place the moſt inconvenient, and even impoſſible for the purpoſe. The witneſſes of Plunket were detained by contrary winds, and other untoward accidents; ſo that he had little to urge againſt his accuſers but the improbability of their evidence, and ſolemn aſſeverations of his own innocence. The wretched man was condemned, and executed for a plot which he explicitly denied at his death, with the moſt ſolemn diſavowal of all equivocation; and which, if he had confeſſed, no man at all acquainted with the circumſtances of Ireland (as he pertinently obſerved) could have given the leaſt credit to his dying confeſſion.

A. D. 1680. THROUGH the whole melancholy progreſs of perjury and ſubornation, the duke of Ormond acted with the utmoſt caution.

He diſcouraged no informations; he diſcovered no violence in the proſecution of them. He gave his enemies in England no pretence for accuſing him of remiſſneſs, or inattention to the ſecurity of his government; but he gave them no hopes of concurring in their favourite meaſures. On the afflicting death of his ſon, the gallant earl of Offory, they renewed their efforts to remove him from the government of Ireland. Even the more virtuous of the popular party could not be ſatisfied at the power and favour enjoyed by a nobleman, bred in the moſt exalted notions of loyalty and hereditary right, known to enjoy a good degree of confidence with the duke of York, and ſuppoſed to be an enemy to the ſcheme of excluſion. For the very ſame reaſon, the king reſolved *to continue him in his preſent ſtation.* Lord Eſſex laboured to be reſtored *to the government of Ireland; his friends eſpouſed his pretenſions; old clamours were* revived againſt the duke; new calumnies ſuggeſted and propagated; but ſuch diſhonourable means defeated their own purpoſes. Ormond ſtood the attack unmoved: and when the apprehenſions excited by an infamous train of informers were allayed; when, notwithſtanding the vote of an Engliſh parliament that there was a plot in Ireland, no traces could be diſcovered; when, after the firſt fit of popular fury, the credit of the plot and its evidence declined in England; and, on ſeveral trials in Ireland the accuſed were clearly acquitted, the minds of all ſubjects in this kingdom were relieved from a ſtate of terrour and anxiety. Trade and induſtry increaſed, and the compoſed ſtate of public affairs enabled Ormond to commit the ſword of ſtate to a deputy, the earl of Arran, and to repair to England, whither he was called by the king, at the inſtances of the duke of York.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 508.

A. D. 1681.

Ibid. p. 519.

A. D. 1682.

It is not to be doubted, but that the king in the preſent courſe of arbitrary meaſures which he adopted, wiſhed for the countenance of a ſervant ſo generally reſpected as the duke of

Ormond; and that the duke of York, knowing the inſtability of his brother, ſought to keep him ſteady and determined by the authority of ſuch a counſellor. Were it to the preſent purpoſe to enter into a detail of Ormond's conduct in England, it might not appear to form the moſt brilliant part of his life. The very facts which his biographer hath recited with ſo much ſatisfaction, prove him to have diſplayed the moſt unbounded attachment to the crown, by being an active agent in the moſt odious and obnoxious meaſures. But, to his honour, it muſt be obſerved, that he was by no means admitted into all the moſt ſecret councils and purpoſes of the king and duke. After two years reſidence in London, he prepared to return to his government. He ſolicited zealouſly for an Iriſh parliament; but the proſpect of a conſiderable ſupply could not reconcile the king to this meaſure. Ormond aſcribed this reluctance to the probable cauſe, the ſeverity of ſome bills tranſmitted againſt papiſts during the violence of the popiſh plot, and he approved the apparent moderation of the king in defeating theſe bills. Nor do his ſuſpicions ſeem to have been rouſed by another meaſure which produced conſiderable clamour. As it was reſolved that an Iriſh parliament ſhould not be convened; and as it was neceſſary for the quiet of Ireland, that eſtates ſhould be confirmed to their proprietors, againſt all fraudulent or captious attempts, a commiſſion of grace was iſſued for remedy of defective titles. The ſcheme of this commiſſion was formed by the duke of York; and the proteſtant party had too good reaſon to conclude, that the real deſign of this novelty was to make a narrow inſpection into titles, and to diſcover what advantages might be made for depriving proteſtants of their poſſeſſions, and reſtoring them to the Iriſh.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 535.

Memoirs of Ireland.

However this may be, the duke of Ormond had ſcarcely returned to Ireland, when he received ſurpriſing proof that deſigns were formed with reſpect to this country, in which his

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 539.
A. D. 1684.

rence could not be expected. Charles now lived in an indolent enjoyment of that ſuperiority which he had acquired over all the oppoſers of his power. The party which had made ſuch deſperate efforts to circumſcribe the king within the ſtrict limits of the conſtitution, and to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, was totally ſubdued. By the diſcovery of the Rye-houſe plot, their leaders were expoſed to the rigour of the law; and the people, who confounded the deſign of aſſaſſination with that of an inſurrection, looked on the whole party with horrour, and ſeemed to contend with each other, in a paſſionate zeal, for laying themſelves and their liberties at the feet of their ſovereign. The reins of government were committed to the duke of York. The duke affected activity and penetration. *He repreſented to his brother the neceſſity of ſecuring and perpetuating that ſuperiority he had now acquired; he reminded him of thoſe diſtreſſes* to which the crown had often-times been reduced, from the want of a ſufficient army implicitly devoted to its ſervice. He turned his attention to Ireland, a country which, if duely managed, would with an implicit devotion conform to his wiſhes. In this country the revenue was conſiderably improved, though in the hands of farmers, whoſe contracts, however advantageous to themſelves, had not always been performed. Sixty-one thouſand pounds had been yearly drawn from the Iriſh treaſury for the garriſon of Tangier. By the demolition of this fort, the country had been eaſed of this grievous burden; and tranquillity and improvement promiſed new acceſſions of wealth to Ireland. Here then the king was taught to look for ſuch a military eſtabliſhment as might give reſpect and ſtability to his government. But it was not the preſent army of Ireland for whoſe attachment the duke of York could ſo peremptorily engage: he regarded it as an aſſemblage of factious fanatical republicans, comprehended under the general name of proteſtants, not reconciled to the preſent favourite

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 472—525.

doctrines of abſolute ſubmiſſion and obedience; the deſcendants of thoſe who reſiſted his royal father, and purſued him even to the ſcaffold, nurtured in the ſame principles, and ready for the ſame purpoſes. He adviſed the king to fix his reliance on another party, that of the catholics, who, notwithſtanding all their grievances, were unalterably devoted to the crown, and the preſumptive heir; whoſe principles and intereſt muſt attach them firmly to his ſervice, and whoſe zeal muſt be enlivened by being at length reſtored to favour and conſequence, and relieved from the oppreſſion of ſectaries and rebels.

Charles haſtily adopted this ſcheme, rather in careleſs compliance with his brother, than from that deliberate reflection which an affair of ſuch importance merited. It was *ſpeedily reſolved to remove the duke of Ormond from the government of Ireland, as his powers could not be diminiſhed,* and his principles were known to be repugnant to this new deſign. Scarcely had this deſign been ſuſpected at court, when, as uſual, inſinuations were whiſpered againſt the conduct both of Ormond and his ſon Arran. Colonel Richard Talbot, who had been allowed to return from exile, and probably was [redacted] to the ſecret councils of the duke of York, inveighed with his uſual violence againſt the adminiſtration of Iriſh affairs, and *repreſented it as a matter of abſolute neceſſity to make a general reformation in the council, the magiſtracy, and the army of Ireland.* The duke of Ormond had but juſt reſumed his government, when, (as he expreſſed it) "before his head was "ſettled from the agitation of the ſea," he received private aſſurances of his intended removal. Theſe were ſoon followed by a letter from the king, conceived in the following terms.

"*Newmarket, October* 19, 1684.

"I find it abſolutely neceſſary for my ſervice, that very "many, and almoſt general alterations ſhould be made in Ire- "land, Carte, Orm. vol. II. Append. p. 111.

land, both in the civil and military parts of the government; that ſeveral perſons who were recommended and placed by you (and who were fit to be ſo at that time) muſt now be removed. For which reaſon, and others of the like nature, I have reſolved to put that government into another hand, and have made choice of my lord Rocheſter, who is every way fit for it; and, in one reſpect, fitter than any other man can be, which is, that the near * relation he has to you makes your concerns and thoſe of your family to be his, and he will have that care of them which I deſire may be always continued. And, becauſe I would have this alteration appear with all the regard and conſideration that I have for you, I offer it to yourſelf to propoſe in what manner you would wiſh it to be done; and afterwards, *if you chooſe to ſtay in that country, all whom I imploy ſhall pay you all the reſpect your merit and long* conſtant ſervices can expect; and, whenever you come hither, you ſhall receive the ſame marks of my kindneſs, eſteem, and confidence you have hitherto had; and this you may depend upon. Nothing I have now reſolved on this ſubject ſhall be public till I hear from you, and ſo be ſure of my kindneſſes.

CHARLES REX."

THUS was the favourite deſign revealed. The total alteration in all departments could be intended only to introduce the catholic party. The perſon deſtined to the government was to be abridged in his moſt eſſential powers. He was not to interfere in any military matters, or to name the loweſt commiſſioned officer in the army. This whole province was to be aſſigned to a lieutenant-general; and Talbot, the well-known patron of the popiſh party, was to be inveſted with this ſtation and authority. Ormond was comforted in his diſgrace, by finding that the charge of forming a popiſh army was not committed to him. "I was much to ſeek," ſaid he in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, "what it could be that was fit for the king to command, and yet would be hard to impoſe upon me to execute. "For ſuch things the king was pleaſed to ſay were to be done by "my ſucceſſor; but now I think that riddle is expounded in the "reſtraints put upon my lord of Rocheſter; one whereof is, that "he ſhall not diſpoſe of the loweſt commiſſioned office in the "army. I confeſs it would have been very uneaſy to me to "have continued in the government upon thoſe conditions; and "I ſhould have thought not very dutiful to have refuſed to "ſerve the king upon any terms, or in any ſtation. From this "*difficulty, I thank God and the king I am delivered, and I* "*am ſo well pleaſed that I am, that if it had been told me* this "was one of the charges intended, I ſhould have owned my re-"move from the government for a greater favour than my plac-"ing in it in the moſt proſperous time."

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* The daughter of lord Hyde, now earl of Rocheſter, had lately been married to the young earl of Oſſory, grandſon to the duke of Ormond.

Carte, Orm. vol. II. p. 118.

Nor doth the earl of Rocheſter ſeem to have been inſenſible to the mortification of aſſuming the government with ſuch limitations; at leaſt he diſcovered ſome reluctance to aſſuming it. The king ſeemed again diſpoſed to change his meaſures and his counſellors: and in this ſudden fluctuation, it was natural for a nobleman of figure and conſequence, allied to the royal family, not to be very forward to hazard his intereſt at court by retiring to another kingdom. All projects with reſpect to the management of Iriſh affairs appeared ſuſpended. The hopes of the proteſtant ſubjects revived, thoſe of the Romaniſts in Ireland were proportionally depreſſed, when the death of Charles the Second, attended with the immediate recall of the duke of Ormond, produced a total revolution in the paſſions and proſpects of the ſeveral inhabitants, and opened a new ſcene in this country, worthy of being diſtinctly conſidered.

CHAP. V.

The acceſſion of James the Second.—Its influence on the catholics and proteſtants of Ireland.—New lords juſtices.—Their conduct.—Effects of Monmouth's rebellion.—Militia diſarmed.—Talbot ennobled.—Earl of Clarendon appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.—The nation in ferment.—Proteſtant party plundered by robbers and harraſſed by informers.—Attempt to invalidate the acts of ſettlement.—New lord chancellor.—Popiſh judges and privy counſellors.—Favours to the popiſh clergy.—Tyrconnel arrives in Ireland,—models the army.—His inſolence and meanneſs.—His ſchemes.—Aſſiſted by Nagle.—Tyrconnel appointed ſucceſſor to Clarendon.—View of Tyrconnel's character.—More changes in the courts of law.—Quo-warranto againſt the charter of Dublin.—Other charters reſigned or ſeized.—New corporations.—Attempts on the univerſity of Dublin.—General diſtreſs.—Attempts to remove Tyrconnel.—He meets the king at Cheſter.—His deſign againſt the acts of ſettlement.—His agents inſulted in London. Birth of a prince.—Ridiculous triumph of papiſts in Dublin.—Enterprize of the prince of Orange.—Its effects in Ireland.—Rumours of a popiſh maſſacre.—Confuſion in Dublin,—and in other parts of Ireland.—Lord Antrim's regiment excluded from London-Derry.—Conduct and proceedings of the garriſon.—Aſſociation of northern proteſtants.—Terrour and artifice of Tyrconnel.—Reſerve of William.—Hamilton ſent to practiſe with Tyrconnel.—His advice.—He is ſent againſt the Northerns.—Their retreat.—They aſſemble at Colerain.—They fly to Derry.—Lundy ſuſpected.—Bravery of the garriſon.—James lands at Kinſale.—His arrival at Dublin.—He marches againſt Derry.—George Walker.—Lundy abandons the paſſes.—Garriſon of Derry provoked.—Declare for a brave defence,—appoint their governours,—

regulate their operations.—Their reſolution.—Kirk arrives in Lake-Foyle.—He retires.—The garriſon ſtill obſtinate.—Barbarity of Mareſchal Roſen.—Piteous diſtreſſes of the garriſon.—They are relieved in their extremity.—The ſiege raiſed.—Conduct and ſucceſſes of the Enniſkilleners.—Battle of Newtown-Butler.

A. D. 1684.

FOURTEEN years had elapſed ſince the royal brothers firſt betrayed their purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a popiſh intereſt in Ireland. Here they deemed the experiment leſs hazardous, and here the experiment was made in conſequence of their private agreement with France. Terrified by the ſpirited remonſtrances of an Engliſh parliament, they ſuſpended their attempts. They renewed them when the royal authority ſeemed above controul; Charles, with a careleſs acceptance of any meaſures which promiſed to confirm the aſcendency he had acquired; James, with a bigotted and paſſionate affection for popery. When his ſchemes and his power were apparently on the point of ruin, he ſuddenly found himſelf inveſted with ſovereignty. He aſcended the throne amidſt the acclamations of a triumphant faction, which he miſtook for the univerſal joy of all his ſubjects. His religion had not been concealed; it was now openly and formally avowed.

SUCH a prince unexpectedly ſeated in ſuch triumph on the throne of England, naturally inſpired the popiſh ſubjects of Ireland with the moſt extravagant expectations. They already ſaw the victory of their religion over all its adverſaries; they fancied themſelves already reſtored to the poſſeſſions of their fathers; and, rouſed from that depreſſion they had ſo long endured, they enjoyed the flattering proſpect of redreſs, of power and conſequence, of royal favour, of every advantage to be derived from a king of their own religion. Ormond, whom the violent and bigotted of their party conſidered as a mortal enemy, was removed from his government, with evident impatience of

Secret conſults of the popiſh party. State Tracts, vol. III. Memoirs of Ireland.

his continuing in power, even for the ſhorteſt time. He was directed to reſign the ſword immediately to two lords juſtices. The age and infirmities of the duke were aſſigned as the cauſe of his removal; and, in public, Ormond affected to believe this to be the real cauſe. During his adminiſtration a ſtately hoſpital had been erected near Dublin for the reception of old ſoldiers; hither he invited the military officers to an entertainment, and, at the concluſion, holding his glaſs filled to the brim, he thus addreſſed himſelf to the company. "See, gentle-"men!—They ſay at court I am old and doating.—But my hand "is ſteady, nor doth my heart fail; and I hope to convince ſome "of them of their miſtake.—This to the king's health."

But however Ormond concealed his ſentiments *of the king's real purpoſe, the proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland felt the moſt melancholy apprehenſions. They ſaw the popiſh gentry crowding* in triumph to the capital, buſy in conſultation, intemperate in their expreſſions of joy, vaunting their own loyalty, traducing and reviling others. Every rumour of their meetings was received with terrour, and every violent expreſſion reported with diſmay. Imaginary dangers were diſcovered in the choice of a new council, though compoſed of proteſtants; and in the appointment of two lords juſtices, who had repeatedly approved their fidelity in this ſtation; Boyle, primate and chancellor, and Forbes earl of Granard. In this time of fear, Boyle was conſidered by the puritans as a churchman little removed from popery; Granard was regarded by the churchmen as a ſectary invidiouſly advanced to divide the proteſtant intereſt. The prelate was indeed impreſſed with high notions of loyalty, and the earl had married a lady of preſbyterian principles; he was the protector of the northern puritans, had humanely ſcreened their teachers from thoſe ſeverities which in England proved both odious and impolitic, and gained them a penſion of five hundred pounds annually from government.

BUT whatever difference was apprehended in the political or religious ſentiments of theſe governours, they now concurred amicably in ſupport of the general intereſt of proteſtants, and of the public tranquillity. Futile informations were every day received from papiſts of plots formed againſt the king, by thoſe whom they called fanatics. Reports were made by proteſtants of expreſſions violent and dangerous, uſed by popiſh gentry in their private meetings. But all ſuch officious accuſations were equally diſcouraged. Yet ſo intolerable was the inſolence of papiſts, and ſo violent were the clamours of both parties, that Granard intimated a deſire of being diſmiſſed from his ſtation. James thought his ſervice ſo neceſſary for the preſent, that in a letter, written with his own hand, he aſſured him, that nothing ſhould be done in Ireland prejudicial to the proteſtant intereſt. Theſe aſſurances were communicated; and the juſtices laboured to allay the fears of proteſtants, by repreſenting the improbability of any ſcheme being meditated in favour of popery, when the Engliſh and Scottiſh ſubjects were ſo numerous and powerful, poſſeſſed of all the force and authority of the kingdom. A. D. 1685.

THE effects of theſe prudent endeavours to preſerve the public peace, were ſoon diſcovered on the attempts made in Scotland and England to diſturb the government of James. The forces of Ireland marched with alacrity to the northern province, to be tranſported, if neceſſary, and to ſerve againſt the adherents of Argyle. During the rebellion of Monmouth, the popiſh ſubjects every moment flattered themſelves that ſome puritans at leaſt would endeavour to raiſe an inſurrection in favour of this popular duke: it was even whiſpered, and believed, that the earl of Granard intended to ſhare his fortunes. But, to the utter diſappointment of all ſuch expectations, no commotion was attempted, no ſigns of diſloyalty appeared; every ſubject of Ireland expreſſed an abhorrence of Monmouth's attempt, and a reſolution to ſupport the reigning prince. Still the virulent Ibid.

and deſigning of the popiſh party ſpread their futile rumours of plots and inſurrections, and affected a deadly terrour of fanatics. The vulgar of their communion were aſſured, that the proteſtants had formed a conſpiracy to cut them off by a general maſſacre; that they aſſembled frequently by night, and were on the point of executing their bloody purpoſe. Some were really alarmed; many pretended fear. They abandoned their dwellings, and concealed themſelves from the imaginary danger. Tales were framed, informations taken by magiſtrates, and tranſmitted to the ſtate. The lords juſtices, to allay the ferment, found it neceſſary to iſſue a proclamation againſt "night-meeting," a new ſpecies of crime, the invention of malignant and deſigning men, who wiſhed to give their party the merit of being perſecuted; and, by loading their adverſaries with odium, to juſtify any ſeverities that might hereafter be inflicted on them.

James now felt himſelf poſſeſſed of that vigour which a prince derives from a diſcomfited rebellion. He declared his purpoſe of employing popiſh officers in England, and even cautioned his parliament againſt the preſumption of objecting to this exerciſe of prerogative. In Ireland he proceeded with ſtill leſs reſerve. A letter to the lords juſtices and council informed them, that the contagion of Monmouth's rebellion had been extenſively diffuſed; that, for the ſafety of Ireland, it was judged neceſſary to recall the arms of the militia, and to depoſite them in the king's ſtores. This militia was entirely formed of proteſtants, embodied, armed, and diſciplined by the duke of Ormond. The order for reſigning their arms was received with conſternation by men trained to an habitual horrour of the popiſh Iriſh, and who now expected to be expoſed defenceleſs to their fury. This conſternation was encreaſed by the intemperance of papiſts, who exulted over their rivals, and threatened them with the vengeance of government, ſhould they betray their rebellious purpoſes, by retaining any arms, even thoſe of their own property. The juſtices were not without their fears that the proclamation for diſarming them might be attended with ſome commotion. Primate Boyle was employed to practiſe with the citizens of Dublin, and laboured to diſſipate their terrour. He exhorted them to diſplay their loyalty, by chearfully depoſiting their arms in the king's ſtores, where they would be well preſerved, and lye at hand ready to be reſumed on any danger. The citizens reſigned their arms with the better grace, by pretending to yield to the force of his arguments. Their example influenced other quarters of the kingdom, and in all places the orders of government were obeyed without apparent reluctance.

THE *diſarming ſo conſiderable a body of proteſtants was but the beginning of that great work which James now meditated,* and which, to the utter diſſatisfaction of the impatient Iriſh, was to be diſcloſed gradually, and with ſome degree of caution. A new chief governour was now deſtined for Ireland, who might act with greater authority, and a more cordial compliance with the king's wiſhes than could be expected from the preſent lords juſtices. All thoughts of employing the earl of Rocheſter in this kingdom had ended with the life of Charles the Second. He was advanced by his brother-in-law to the dignity of lord high treaſurer of England. Talbot, the great patron of the Iriſh, was created earl of Tyrconnel; and ſcarcely had the rebellion of Monmouth been ſubdued, when the Iriſh catholic clergy, in the fullneſs of their zeal, and pride of imaginary conſequence, framed a petition to the king, that he would be pleaſed to eſtabliſh this earl in ſuch authority in Ireland, as might ſecure them in the exerciſe of their functions. But James could not yet reſign himſelf to ſuch counſellors. Talbot had but juſt now been ennobled, and might be well contented to ſerve the king's purpoſes in a ſtation inferiour to that of

King's State of the Proteſt. of Ireland, Appendix. No. ii.

chief governour. He was unpopular, and even odious to many of the Engliſh nation, and the king himſelf knew that he was precipitate and incautious. For the preſent, therefore, he complied with his more moderate counſellors; and the earl of Clarendon, his other brother-in-law, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.

THE king's near affinity to Clarendon, and the exalted principles of loyalty and ſubmiſſion which this lord profeſſed, and which was indeed the faſhionable language of courtiers, perſuaded James that he might not be averſe to promoting his deſigns; nor were they entirely concealed from him. In his public inſtructions, the king intimated a deſire of introducing catholics into corporations, and inveſting them with magiſtracies and judicial offices. At the ſame time, ſome condeſcenſion was to be ſhewn to the terrours and ſuſpicions of the proteſtant party. The new lord lieutenant was commanded to declare, that his majeſty had no intention of altering the acts of ſettlement. Thus, by aſcertaining the bounds which he was not to paſs, James reſerved the liberty, and almoſt intimated his purpoſe of indulging the Iriſh catholics in every other particular.

Clarend. Let. vol. I. p. 113. 4to.

Ibid. vol. II. p 283.

LORD CLARENDON, in his ſpeech to the privy council on receiving the ſword of ſtate, expreſſed his ſatisfaction at aſſuming the adminiſtration in ſuch *perfect peace and quietneſs*. But in this he was inſincere, or greatly deceived; for, at this juncture, Ireland was in conſiderable ferment. No ſooner had the proteſtant militia been diſarmed, than thoſe ſavage banditti, called tories, iſſued in vaſt numbers from their private haunts, to the extreme terrour and annoyance of the civilized and induſtrious. The Engliſh were defenceleſs againſt their ravages; the Iriſh would not ſuppreſs their friends and kinſmen. The grievance was ſo manifeſt and urgent, that Clarendon was empowered to reſtore ſome arms to thoſe who were fit to be entruſted, and moſt expoſed to depredation; but he was too cautious to exerciſe this power with the neceſſary ſpeed and alacrity. In the mean time, the proteſtant ſubjects not only became a prey to robbers, but were expoſed to the malice of another ſet of miſcreants ſtill more deteſtable. A number of informers ſuddenly ſtarted up in various quarters, and laboured to involve their neighbours in the guilt of treaſon. They tortured their inventions for plauſible fiction, or ranſacked their memories for the caſual converſations of ſeveral years paſt, in order to accuſe the Engliſh inhabitants of words ſpoken againſt the king when duke of York. The proteſtant who exacted rent from his tenant, he who repelled the violence of a tory, he who had at any time given any offence to his neighbour, was ſuddenly accuſed, ſometimes impriſoned, expoſed to a litigious proſecution, or harraſſed with continual apprehenſions from revenge and perjury. Informations multiplied in every part of Ireland, and were daily heaped on the lord lieutenant. He ſaw clearly through their falſehood and malice, yet could not venture openly to diſcourage them, as the king retained an unprincely reſentment of offences committed againſt him before his acceſſion, and as he affected a particular jealouſy of the proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland. Clarend. Let. vol. I.

THE Iriſh catholics were no ſtrangers to this prepoſſeſſion of the king, nor were their leaders inattentive to take advantage of it. Though they could not yet attempt to ſubvert the acts of ſettlement, yet they prepared a petition for the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered by theſe acts; an application not in itſelf entirely unreaſonable, but juſtly offenſive in the manner of it; for it was agreed to chuſe agents from the ſeveral counties, who, without any intervention of the lieutenant, were to repair to England, and addreſs themſelves directly to the throne. The more moderate of their party refuſed to concur in a proceeding diſreſpectful to the governour, who had acted with lenity, and even ſome degree of indulgence to the Iriſh catholics. Their next petition, therefore, was conveyed to him; and in this they had Ibid. vol. I. p. 27. & alib.

had the hardineſs to deſire a general reverſal of the outlawries occaſioned by the rebellion of the year ſixteen hundred and forty-one. This, as lord Clarendon expreſſes it, “ would great-“ ly alarm the Engliſh, and perhaps ſtartle ſome of the Iriſh too, “ who had gotten new eſtates.” And, however the caſe of ſome particulars might have merited attention and favour, yet the petition, if granted in its full extent, muſt have been conſidered as the previous ſtep to an utter ſubverſion of all eſtabliſhments of property. But the Iriſh knew no moderation in their demands. Their gentry crowded round Whitehall, and were graciouſly received. Hither Tyrconnel had repaired on the arrival of lord Clarendon in Ireland. He made ſuch repreſentations of Iriſh affairs as ſuited the intereſts of his party, or gratified the violence of his paſſions, and was heard with perfect confidence by his deluded maſter.

It ſoon appeared that the power of this lord was irreſiſtible, and that the moſt violent and offenſive meaſures were moſt agreeable to the cabinet. The ſeals of Ireland were ſuddenly taken from primate Boyle, and a new chancellor was ſent from England, Sir Charles Porter, a man whoſe diſtreſſed circumſtances promiſed to render him implicitly ſubmiſſive to the court. Three proteſtant judges, without any reaſon aſſigned, any objection alledged againſt their conduct, were at once removed; in their places, two popiſh lawyers of Iriſh birth, Nugent and Daly, and one Ingolſby, an Engliſhman, were raiſed to the bench; and when Ingolſby declined this preferment, Rice, another Iriſh lawyer, not of unexceptionable character, was choſen to ſupply his place. In vain did lord Clarendon repreſent, that the admiſſion of Roman catholics into offices of truſt and honour, without taking the oath of ſupremacy, was contrary to law. To James ſuch language was impertinent and uncourtly. All theſe new popiſh judges, and ſome popiſh lawyers, were admitted into the privy council of Ireland, an honour not hitherto

Clarend. Let. vol. I. p. 88.

Vol. I. paſſim.

to conferred on men of their rank. Rice was aſhamed of ſuch advancement, and heſitated; Nagle, an active and ſkilful lawyer of the popiſh party, and greatly favoured by Tyrconnel, declined to accept an honour which would interfere with the buſineſs and ſolid advantages of his profeſſion.

Clarend. Let. vol. I. p. 107. & paſſim. A. D. 1686.

EVEN the rumours of ſuch changes and appointments were ſufficient to alarm the Engliſh proteſtants. Traders ſold their effects, and abandoned a country in which they expected a ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of popery, and a total confuſion of property. To conſole him for the loſs of his regiment, the earl of Granard was appointed preſident of the council, an office hitherto unknown in Ireland; but declining to accept this honour, and declaring his purpoſe to retire from public buſineſs, he encreaſed the apprehenſions of his party by thus diſcovering his own. *The Iriſh, inſtead of waiting quietly for the effects of the king's favour, ſeemed rather ſolicitous to* augment the terrour of their rivals. They boaſted their correſpondence with Whitehall, and their intelligence of every purpoſe of their favourite monarch. They talked with confidence of alterations to be made in the army; they whiſpered their expectations of ſome extraordinary changes in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The archbiſhoprick of Caſhel was vacant, nor could the king be perſuaded to *fill it up*. The popiſh clergy did not ſcruple to report that he had *written to the pope to nominate* a new archbiſhop. And, although this ſeems to have been the mere ſuggeſtion of their vanity, yet it ſoon appeared that the revenues of this, and other vacant ſees, were reſerved for the maintenance of popiſh biſhops. Orders were iſſued by the king's [redacted]nd that the catholic clergy ſhould not be moleſted in the exerciſe of their functions; and theſe were ſoon followed by a notification of the royal pleaſure, that their prelates ſhould appear publicly in the habit of their order. The proteſtant clergy were prohibited from treating of controverſial points in the pulpit. In this particular their conduct was ſtrictly watched; and whoever preſumed to glance the ſlighteſt reflection on popery, was inſtantly delated to the king, and marked as diſaffected and ſeditious.

Vol. I. Let. May 8. July 20. To encreaſe that gloom now evidently impreſſed on every proteſtant, the earl of Tyrconnel arrived in Ireland with power to command and regulate the army, independent of the lord lieutenant, with particular orders for the admiſſion of Roman catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace, and with a number of new military commiſſions, whereby the old proteſtant officers were ſuſpended, and the worſt and meaneſt of the catholic party ſubſtituted in their place. His natural violence was enflamed by the extravagant adulations with which the popiſh party received their patron and protector, and prompted him to the moſt inſolent and contemptuous treatment of the lord lieutenant. He raved of the iniquity of the acts of ſettlement, of miſconduct in the whole adminiſtration of Ireland, of the baſeneſs and diſloyalty of particular perſons. He proceeded to execute the king's commands with furious impatience: officers and private men were diſmiſſed from the army, without any plauſible cauſe aſſigned, frequently with abuſe and contumely, ſometimes with injuſtice and cruelty. Their places were ſupplied by Iriſh catholics; and, in all preferments, thoſe Iriſh only were taken in, who entertained the higheſt notions of the authority of the pope. The vulgar, in their aſtoniſhing ignorance, when they had taken the oath of fidelity, imagined that they had ſworn fidelity to the pope and their religion, and declared that their prieſts had forbidden them to take any other oath.

The king's inſtructions to Tyrconnel implied no more than that all ſubjects indiſcriminately ſhould be admitted to ſerve his majeſty, without regard to their religious principles; but this lord iſſued ſtrict orders that none but catholics ſhould be admitted into the army. Lord Clarendon was offended, and remonſtrated againſt a conduct which muſt enflame the jealouſies already raiſed amongſt the king's ſubjects. Tyrconnel was for a moment confounded, and had the meanneſs to deny his own orders. But lord Roſcommon, with the ſpirit of a ſoldier, aſſerted to his face, that he and other officers had received theſe orders from him in terms the moſt peremptory and explicit.

Claren. Lett. July 22.

The bolder and more violent of the popiſh party declared, that in a few months not one proteſtant would be left in the army; and now that they had gotten arms, they would ſpeedily regain their lands. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants againſt paying any rent to their Engliſh landlords; and, with the ſame inſolence, ſome popiſh clergy forbad the people to pay tythes to proteſtant incumbents.

The earl of Clarendon was every day alarmed with intelligence of theſe extravagances, and every day inſulted by the violence of Tyrconnel. He was even accuſed of reluctance in obeying the king's orders, becauſe he did not at once pour in numbers of catholic freemen into every coporation, and eſtabliſh catholic magiſtrates in every county, before he could inform himſelf of their claims, characters, and qualifications. The principles in which he had been trained taught him an implicit ſubmiſſion to his ſovereign; and that it was his part only to repreſent the impropriety and danger of ſuch orders as he diſapproved, without preſuming to diſobey them, or to retire from his ſtation. Agreeably to theſe principles, he remonſtrated both to the king and Sunderland againſt the heat and preſumption of Tyrconnel; yet with a pliancy which at this day [redacted]o honour on his character, declared the utmoſt readineſs to execute the king's purpoſes, whatever they might be, though in a manner leſs offenſive and alarming.

Vol. I. paſſ.

To quiet the ſuſpicions and fears of proteſtants, he recommended a commiſſion of grace for confirming titles, and a general pardon for offenſive words ſpoken againſt the king while duke of York, to put an end to litigious proſecutions. But Sunderland returned no anſwer to his repreſentations, and was even ſuſpected of ſecreting his letters from the king: nor did James vouchſafe any explanation of his ſentiments. He now poſitively refuſed to repeat his former aſſurances of maintaining the acts of ſettlement by a proclamation. Tyrconnel was left at liberty to proceed in his uſual courſe of violence. Having already filled one complete moiety of the army with Iriſh catholics, he haſtened to England, denouncing the terrour of his influence againſt all thoſe who had not ſerved the king with ſufficient ardour. He was attended by Nagle, the ableſt, moſt acute, and artful of the Iriſh lawyers, a violent impugner of the acts of ſettlement, and who was now to employ all his artifice to perſuade the king, if not utterly to reſcind, at leaſt to invalidate theſe acts. The caſe of many ſufferers who could not be reſtored to their eſtates from the want of lands to reprize the preſent poſſeſſors, afforded arguments ſufficiently plauſible, and which a man of his abilities could enforce with great advantage. But ſeveral of the king's counſellors retained a warm affection for what was called the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland; they dreaded the violence of Tyrconnel and his projector, and the danger of breaking in on thoſe eſtabliſhments of property which had ſubſiſted for twenty years, and by which the country had been remarkably improved. Their repreſentations had ſome effect upon the king. Nagle could not immediately be admitted to kiſs his hand, and was at length received with evident coldneſs. But ~~his patron~~, and the more violent of the popiſh party, reſolved to make ſome uſe of his abilities. They employed him to write a treatiſe on the injuſtice of the acts of ſettlement. It was publiſhed in the form of a letter from Coventry, and hence known, and much ſpoken of in thoſe days, by the name of "the Coventry Letter."

Claren. Lett. vol. II. p. 18.

Secret Conſults, &c.

In the mean time, the Clarendon was accuſed to the king of male-adminiſtration in ſeveral inſtances, alledged without regard to candour or veracity. His defence was clear and ſatiſfactory; but his brother, Rocheſter, refuſed to renounce his religion, and was removed from his office of treaſurer. He himſelf was not found an inſtrument ſuited to all the deſigns, wildly conceived and haſtily purſued by the bigotted or inſidious counſellors of a bigotted and deluded king. The appointment of a ſucceſſor to lord Clarendon became an objection of deliberation in the cabinet. Several lords were propoſed and rejected by the king. Sunderland, the preſent miniſter, flattered the partialities of his maſter, by recommending the unworthieſt and moſt dangerous of all the competitors. Tyrconnel ſtipulated to pay him an annual *penſion from the profits of the Iriſh government*, and *by his intereſt was appointed chief governour of Ireland*, with the inferior title of lord deputy.

Claren. Lett. vol. II.

Memoirs of Ireland.

And here, it may not be improper to view the character of this lord more nearly than it hath been hitherto exhibited. A native of Ireland, deſcended from the race of old Engliſh of the Pale, he came into the world about the time when this race were particularly united with the original Iriſh; and, *from* concurring in their political intrigues, were led to concur *in their inſurrection*. From his infancy he imbibed his ſentiments in religion and politics from the moſt bigotted to popery, and the moſt hoſtile to Engliſh government. In his youth he had been witneſs of the carnage at Drogheda; and, on his eſcape from this infernal ſcene, [redacted] retained a violent abhorrence of fanatics, in which denomination he included all of the proteſtant party. Obſequiouſneſs and vivacity recommended him to the royal brothers on the continent, at a time when an obſequious and lively aſſociate was particularly ſuited to the vacant hours of their exile. Here he diſcovered his reſentment and his ſpirit in no very honourable manner, by propoſing to aſſaſſinate Oliver Cromwell. When provoked by the ſuppoſed injuries of his party, he afterwards threatened to turn his poignard on the duke of Ormond: but in ſuch menaces he diſcovered more of paſſion and malignity than of reſolution. He was incautious and precipitate; virulent in his cenſures, with a diſregard to truth, which even became proverbial; furious in his animoſities to a degree of apparent frenzy, yet not with that placability which ſometimes attends the ſudden ſtart of paſſion; his revenge was ſteadily and unalterably purſued; his attachment to the popiſh party was merely factious, without attention or regard to the different modes of religion, for his life was profligate, and his converſation profane. In the vanity of that power he gradually acquired, he inſulted his ſuperiours, and tyrannized over thoſe below him: *to the one his deportment* was vulgar, to the *other brutal. If, at any time, he condeſcended* to artifice and inſinuation, this violence to his natural temper was ſoon diſcovered, for the leaſt diſappointment caſt him into a paroxiſm of rage. Every ſtep of his exaltation was gained by bribery and flattery, and enjoyed without temper, juſtice, or decency.

To this popiſh delegate of a popiſh prince, lord Clarendon reſigned the ſword of ſtate, in a general and violent agitation of the kingdom. He embarked at the *port of* Dublin, *attended* by fifteen hundred proteſtant families of Dublin, who abandoned a country where the peace, the property, and the lives of proteſtants were expoſed to the malice of the meaneſt and moſt malignant of a party now inſulting in the fullneſs of their triumph, with their friend and patron in ſupreme authority, attended by popiſh miniſters and officers of ſtate. Sir Charles Porter had not proved ſo pliant as the king expected. He demeaned himſelf to all parties with that equity and impartiality which ſuited his ſtation, and declared againſt being inſtrumental in any illegal or clandeſtine deſigns. He was removed from his

Clarend. Diary.

his office, and Sir Alexander Fitton placed at the head of the Chancery in Ireland, a man convicted of forgery, and publicly ſtigmatiſed, but who redeemed the infamy of his character by conforming to the king's religion. An appointment ſo odious and alarming, was ſoon followed by ſubſtituting Nagle, the popiſh lawyer, as attorney-general, in the place of Sir William Domville, a proteſtant long diſtinguiſhed by his loyalty and abilities. Nugent and Rice were advanced to the ſtation of chief judges; Iriſh papiſts were choſen to ſucceed them, and three proteſtants only were ſuffered on the benches, Keating and Worth, who were ſuppoſed implicitly obedient, and Lyndon, a man of meanneſs and inſignificance. In courts thus ſupplied were the validity of outlawries and forfeitures, the titles of proteſtants, and the claims of papiſts to be determined.

Secret Conſults, &c.

A. D. 1687.

ALMOST the whole army of Ireland was by this time formed of Iriſh catholics, and a number of proteſtant officers deprived of commiſſions which they had purchaſed, and gradually driven from the kingdom, ſought ſhelter in Holland, poured out their grievances to the prince of Orange, and were by him protected and employed. The admiſſion of catholics into the ſeveral corporations had proceeded ſlowly during the adminiſtration of lord Clarendon; and ſome more compendious method was to be deviſed, to inveſt this party with the whole power of the kingdom, and eſpecially the power of modelling all future parliaments. Tyrconnel addreſſed himſelf to the city of Dublin, and without the decency of aſſigning any plauſible pretence, recommended to them to reſign their charter to the king. They heſitated; he grew more peremptory; they ſtill delayed their anſwer; in a rage of paſſion he loaded them with reproaches, and thundered out the ſeverity of the royal vengeance on their perverſeneſs. It was vain to urge reaſon to the deputy, or to expect juſtice from him. Their recorder was diſpatched to Whitehall; introduced to the king by the duke of Ormond, preſented their

petition,

tition, ſetting forth their loyalty and ſervices, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected with diſgrace. A quo warranto was immediately iſſued, and judgment haſtily pronounced againſt their charter. Many other corporations were diſſolved by the ſame procedure within the ſhort courſe of two terms. Some corporations were either flattered or intimidated into a ſurrender of their charters. In ſeveral inſtances, a new charter was granted to ſuch men as the attorney-general approved, who were put in poſſeſſion of the corporation by a popiſh ſheriff, and the former poſſeſſors left to bring their action before popiſh judges againſt the intruders; or, where theſe had greateſt power, the ancient members were impriſoned for their diſobedience.

Secret Conſults, &c.

In forming the new corporations it was *the general rule, that in great cities where the Engliſh intereſt had been predominant*, two thirds of the members ſhould be catholics, and one third proteſtants; but thoſe called proteſtant were choſen from quakers, or other enthuſiaſts, from the poor, the profligate, and contemptible. And although lords and gentlemen of the adjacent country were taken into every corporation, yet it was found neceſſary, in order to complete theſe bodies, to receive an additional number of the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous Iriſh; ſo that in one *northern city*, a man *was made* chief magiſtrate who had been condemned *to the gallows*.

Archives of Trin. Col. Dub. MS.

From the invaſions made by James on the learned bodies of England, it cannot be expected *that* the univerſity of Dublin, the only proteſtant ſeminary in Ireland, ſhould have been entirely unattempted. It was indeed an object of particular envy to thoſe who wiſhed to make the whole iſland *papal*; and lord Clarendon had not been yet removed, when the king's mandate was preſented to the governours of the univerſity, directing them to admit one Green, a Roman catholic, to a profeſſorſhip, with all its emoluments and arrears of ſalary. It was ſtyled in the king's letter a profeſſorſhip of the Iriſh language; and ſo ignorant were his adviſers, that no ſuch eſtabliſhment had ever been made. The founder and his grant, the office and its emoluments, exiſted only in their imaginations. Green was thus diſappointed; but the univerſity expected ſome farther attacks with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions. They ſhared in the general conſternation of proteſtants on the appointment of Tyrconnel to the government of Ireland; and with the timidity of retired men, ſeem to have expected every violence from a popiſh adminiſtration.

In theſe terrours they reſolved to convert moſt of their plate into money, for the purpoſe of erecting new buildings or purchaſing new lands. The conſent of their viſitors was obtained, and the conſent of Clarendon for tranſporting the plate (duty-free) into England, as to a better market. In the mean time, Tyrconnel arrives, is informed of this tranſaction, ſeizes the plate in the port of Dublin, and depoſits it in the king's ſtores. The more moderate of his adviſers, aſhamed of this tyranny, interpoſed, and prevailed on him to reſtore it to the univerſity. The plate was ſold; when, in an inſtant, all the abſurd fury of Tyrconnel was rekindled. The purchaſer appeared before him. Nugent, the lord chief juſtice, with aſtoniſhing impudence, accuſed him of purchaſing ſtolen goods, the property of the king, and obliged him to give ſecurity to proſecute the governours of the univerſity. Happily Nagle was poſſeſſed of more reaſon and temper, and by the authority of his opinion, defended them from any farther outrage. But the terrour of this ſenſeleſs violence of Tyrconnel had not yet ſubſided, when another letter from the king directed that one Doyle ſhould be admitted to a fellowſhip, without taking any oaths but the oath of a fellow. The man was wretchedly inſufficient, and ſcandalouſly profligate; but he was lately reconciled to popery, and the merit of his converſion was to be rewarded. But here again

Archives of Trin. Col. Dub. MS.

the ignorance of his patrons happily defeated the purpoſes of their party. The oath of a fellow included in it the oath of ſupremacy, and this Doyle refuſed to take. The terms of the king's mandate were ſo explicit, that the popiſh judges directed him to procure a ſecond letter; and his character was proved to be ſo infamous, that his friends were aſhamed to make any farther effort in his favour. The vexation of Tyrconnel at this diſappointment was expreſſed in a manner worthy of him: he ſtopped the penſion annually paid to the univerſity from the exchequer; and which, at this time, made the moſt conſiderable part of their ſubſiſtence.

Secret Conſults, &c. King's State of the Proteſtants of Ireland.

AND now the kingdom every where reſounded with complaints of the meanneſs, the ignorance, and brutality of popiſh ſheriffs, ſcandalous *partialities in the courts of juſtice*, the inſolence and barbarities of *military officers, robberies* unreſtrained and unpuniſhed, *broils wildly raiſed*, and murders wantonly committed, a fearful decay of trade, and a defiance and contempt of law. Outlawries were daily reverſed; the ſons of rebels and murderers ſtood foremoſt in the favour of government; hinds and menial ſervants gained offices of truſt and authority, and inſulted their former maſters. Indigent men ſuddenly advanced, had no other means of ſupporting their new ſtations, but by involving themſelves in debts which *they were* neither able nor inclined to diſcharge, *and even forcing* goods from tradeſmen, who trembled at their brutal arrogance. The credit of merchants was deſtroyed; numbers of artificers were reduced to beggary, or driven to other countries for ſubſiſtence; and ſo ignorant were the popiſh miniſters, that they beheld *ſuch* inſtances of public calamity without concern, as if it were only the calamity of proteſtants.

Memoirs of Ireland, Secret Conſults, &c.

BUT the alarming decreaſe of the Iriſh revenue had its full impreſſion on thoſe Engliſh miniſters, whoſe views were not ſolely confined to the eſtabliſhment of popery. They imputed it to the miſconduct of Tyrconnel; they inveighed againſt his violence. Lord Bellaſis declared with particular warmth, that his folly and madneſs were ſufficient to ruin ten kingdoms, and urged the king to appoint a wiſer and more temperate governour for Ireland. To avert the impending ſtorm, Tyrconnel obtained permiſſion to attend his royal maſter, now in his progreſs at Cheſter. He committed his government to the hands of chancellor Fitton and lord Clanricarde, reminding theſe and his popiſh counſellors of the fullneſs of that power they had now acquired in the kingdom; and, with hideous indecency, praying God to damn them ſhould they ever part with it. Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, attended him to Cheſter; and his abilities were of uſe. James liſtened to his repreſentations *of the ſtate of Ireland: and theſe were ſo plauſibly calculated to recommend his patron, that the king accounted him*ſelf juſtified in remitting Tyrconnel to his government. Several addreſſes were ſent from Ireland to Cheſter. That of the univerſity declared, that while they retained their religion they could not depart from their loyalty. James, in his ſhort anſwer, aſſured them that he had no doubt of the loyalty of any of the church of England. Yet Tyrconnel was inſtructed on his departure to diſmiſs almoſt all the proteſtant officers now remain*ing in the army.*

Archives of Trin. Col. Dub. MS.

THE popiſh miniſters of Ireland were by this time ſo ſecure and confident, that as they had no common enemy to contend with, they found leiſure to contend with each other. One Sheridan, ſecretary of ſtate and commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, had been reſtrained by Tyrconnel in his practice of ſelling employments: fired with reſentment, and relying on the countenance of his kinſman, father Petre, reſolved to ruin the lord deputy. With the aſſiſtance of the popiſh primate, he drew up an accuſation againſt him, which was tranſmitted to London, and which Tyrconnel encountered by a particular de-

Secret Conſults, &c.

tail of his briberies, and other ſiniſter practices. The progreſs of their conteſt was too mean and inſignificant to merit a recital. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the influence of Sunderland proved ſuperiour to that of Petre. Sheridan was diſmiſſed from his employments; but the triumph of Tyrconnel was not without ſome mortification and diſgrace. To revenge himſelf on the popiſh primate, the king was made to ſolicit the pope that he would appoint a co-adjutor to this prelate. Odeſcalchi, in his contempt of James, abſolutely rejected this ſlight requeſt. Petre, and his aſſociates of the clergy, repreſented to the king king and queen how injurious theſe altercations of Tyrconnel and Sheridan muſt prove to the catholic cauſe, and what advantage its enemies muſt derive from their quarrels. They expreſſed the utmoſt contempt *of the lord deputy and his conduct,* a man *whoſe ſervices amounted to nothing more than diſpoſſeſſing* proteſtants of their places, and this effected by raiſing public diſcontents and general calamity. The earl of Caſtlemain, who, ſince his embaſſy to Rome, had received no mark of royal favour, was recommended as a perſon worthy to be entruſted with the government of Ireland, and qualified to anſwer all the king's purpoſes.

Secret Conſults, &c.

THE pope was ſaid to have united in recommending Caſtlemain. The miniſters of France laboured to counteract him. They ſent intelligence to Tyrconnel of theſe ſecret murmurs and deſigns. Tyrconnel, on conſulting with his friends, Rice and Nagle, deemed it neceſſary by ſome brilliant meaſure to convince the king both of his zeal and abilities. He propoſed to convene an Iriſh parliament, which, as the ſheriffs were popiſh, and the corporations modelled agreeably to his wiſhes, muſt prove entirely at the devotion of government. Heads of a bill were framed, with a plauſible ſemblance of relieving the diſtreſſed and injured Iriſh, which unhinged the whole ſettlement of Ireland, and gave the king power over the greater part of its lands. Rice was commiſſioned to lay this favourite ſcheme before the Engliſh council, and Nugent obtruded himſelf as his collegue. They were received coldly by the miniſters; but James, without any previous conference with the cabinet, where he apprehended ſome oppoſition, introduced their ſcheme to the privy-council, declaring warmly againſt the iniquity of the acts of ſettlement. To thoſe who yet retained a regard to the intereſts of their kinſmen and countrymen, it appeared at firſt view ſo violent and dangerous, that the agents were with difficulty admitted to be heard. And however plauſibly Rice ſupported his project, the weakneſs and futility of Nugent rendered it contemptible. They were inſulted even in the royal preſence, and diſmiſſed with diſgrace. *The populace were ſoon informed of their ill-ſucceſs; they attended them with potatoes elevated on poles, and roared out in ſcorn, "Room for the Iriſh ambaſſadors!"* Such are the general accounts of this tranſaction. Sunderland, in his apology, claims the merit of their diſappointment; and declares, that he rejected a bribe of forty thouſand pounds offered for his ſupport of this project.

A. D. 1688.

THE Iriſh catholics were mortified at this ſevere diſappointment; but their mortification was ſoon allayed by the birth of *a prince. Before they were indulged with any hopes of the queen's pregnancy, they had diſpoſed of the ſucceſſion agreeably to their own wiſhes and ignorant conceptions. They declared that Fitz-James, natural ſon of the king, ſhould be legitimated by the pope, and thus become inheritour of the crown.* There was now no occaſion for ſuch deviſes; their joy was unbounded, and they generally expreſſed it by the moſt ſenſeleſs inſolence and outrage. The popiſh lord mayor of Dublin indeed diſplayed his triumph over the proteſtant party by a ludicrous inſtance of ſeverity. He committed the officers of Chriſt Church to durance, becauſe "their bells did not ring merrily enough" on this happy occaſion.

Claren. Lett. vol. II. p. 139.

King's State of the Proteſtants.

Ireland now exhibited a gloomy ſcene of oppreſſion and dejection, of inſolence and deſpair, of power exerciſed without decency, and injuries ſuſtained without redreſs. That Engliſh intereſt which princes and ſtateſmen had wiſely laboured to eſtabliſh in this country, was diſcouraged, depreſſed, and threatened with final extirpation. But new changes and new commotions were at hand. The pride, the obſtinacy, and the bigotry of the king, his headſtrong and inſidious counſellors, his foreign enemies, the ſpirit of the old republicans not yet extinguiſhed, the juſt and general indignation of ſubjects whoſe rights had been trampled down with ſcorn, their well-grounded fears for the conſtitution, their ſolicitude for religion, all conſpired to produce a revolution, the moſt glorious and important of thoſe events which dignify the annals of the Britiſh empire.

Secret Conſults, &c. Memoirs of Ireland.

The enterprize of the prince of Orange was yet a ſecret to James, when Tyrconnel, we are aſſured, received intelligence of his deſign from Amſterdam, and conveyed it to the king. It was received with deriſion both by Sunderland and his maſter. But this infatuated prince was ſoon awakened to a dreadful ſenſe of his danger; and, on the firſt certain aſſurance of an invaſion, Tyrconnel was directed to tranſport four thouſand forces to England. Every day uſhered in new advices and reports. In Ireland they were received with agitation and aſtoniſhment: Engliſh and Iriſh alike ruſhed in crowds to Dublin, impatient for intelligence, and eager to confirm their hopes or allay their fears, by conferring with their aſſociates. The Iriſh catholics ſtill affected to deſpiſe the prince of Orange and his attempt. They exclaimed that the States of Holland were weary of him; and, therefore, were ſending him on a deſperate enterprize, to end his days on a ſcaffold like the duke of Monmouth. Nugent, the lord chief juſtice, delivered theſe ſentiments from the bench, and ſpoke with delight of Engliſh rebels hung up every where in cluſters. But, advices were ſoon received that the prince had landed, that James was deſerted by his ſubjects, that the prince advanced, that he every day gained new adherents. The Iriſh and their chief governour forgot their pride, and ſunk at once into conſternation. Tyrconnel deſcended to flatter the proteſtants, to boaſt of his equal and impartial government, and to court them to make the moſt favourable repreſentations of his conduct. The Engliſh proteſtants, on the other hand, were rouſed from their dejection; and no ſooner had they received intelligence of commiſſioners being ſent by the king, and a treaty opened with the prince of Orange, than the moſt ſpirited among them propoſed to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin. But the uncertainty of events in England, the well-known ſeverity of James, ſhould he once be extricated from his preſent diſtreſs, and ſome hopes that Tryconnel would of himſelf abandon the government, operated on the more cautious, and defeated this deſign. In the mean time, new commiſſions were iſſued by Tyrconnel for levying forces. They were granted to all who would accept them, without paying even the fees of office. The popiſh clergy enjoined their people to take arms in this time of danger. In every quarter of the kingdom an armed rabble ſuddenly ſtarted up, who called themſelves the king's ſoldiers, and unpaid and unreſtrained by government, ſupported themſelves by open depredations. The Engliſh inhabitants endeavoured to defend themſelves againſt theſe marauders, and the whole country ſeemed gradually to decline from the order and ſecurity of ſocial and civil life.

A LETTER addreſſed by an unknown perſon to lord Mount-Alexander, in the county of Down, warned him of a general maſſacre intended by the Iriſh. The ſtyle was mean and vulgar; nor was the information on that account leſs plauſible: it was confident and circumſtantial, and pointed out Sunday the ninth day of December, as the preciſe time when this bloody deſign was to be executed, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition.

Ibid. Mackenzie's Narrative. Impartial Account of Paſſages in Ireland, from the Notes of an eye-witneſs. 4to. Lond. 1689.

Harris's Life of King Wil. Append. No. xxi.

condition. The like intelligence was conveyed to ſome other gentlemen of the northern province. And whether theſe letters were the contrivance of artifice, or the effect of credulity, their influence was wonderful. Men habitually poſſeſſed with horrour of Iriſh barbarity, who in the very ſcene of all the ſufferings of their fathers, had liſtened from their infancy to hideous narratives of the inſurrection in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-one, who were now expoſed to the inſolence and violence of the Iriſh, and ready to catch the alarm at the leaſt appearance of commotion, could not heſitate a moment to give credit to theſe informations. They were confirmed by ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances. Popiſh prieſts had announced to their congregations what they called "a ſecret intention," and enjoined them to ſtand ready armed to obey their orders. It was remembered, that a friar of Derry had preached with unuſual energy on the ſubject of Saul's deſtroying the Amalekites, and the iniquity of ſparing thoſe whom divine vengeance had devoted to deſtruction. Lord Mount-Alexander's letter was inſtantly ſent to Dublin; copies multiplied; the intelligence was conveyed through all orders of men. In a moment the capital became a ſcene of uproar and confuſion; the guards of the lord deputy ſtood aſtoniſhed; the caſtle bridge was drawn up, while a tumultuous crowd of men, women, and children, ran precipitately to the ſhore, imploring to be conveyed away from the daggers of the Iriſh. In vain did Tyrconnel diſpatch two lords to aſſure them of ſecurity and protection; their remonſtrances were drowned in clamour, ſhreiking, and wailing. An unuſual number of veſſels lay in the harbour; the people crowded them in an extacy of terrour and impatience, leaving their leſs ſucceſsful friends ſtupified with expectation of the fatal blow.

Mackenzie.

Impartial Account, &c.

The dreadful intelligence was ſoon conveyed to every part of Ireland. In ſome places it was received on the very day aſſigned for the maſſacre. The people ſtarted ſuddenly from their devotions, fled aſtoniſhed, propagated the pannic, and thus ſwelled the crowds of fugitives; ſome gained the coaſt, and were tranſported to England, others ſought ſhelter in walled towns and proteſtant ſettlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of Iriſh plunderers. In the northern counties, where the proteſtants were moſt numerous, they collected the arms ſtill left among them, reſolving to defend themſelves, and already meditating the deſign of riſing againſt the preſent government.

Of all the northern cities, Derry, or London-Derry, (as it was called) afforded principal ſhelter to the fugitive proteſtants. Seated on the weſt ſide of the Lake Foyle, it maintained a communication, by a ferry, with the county called by the ſame name with the capital: it was ſurrounded by a firm wall, ſtrengthened by baſtions, but was by no means ſufficient to ſuſtain the ſiege of a regular army. On the firſt alarm of an invaſion of England by the prince of Orange, Tyrconnel had recalled the garriſon of this city to Dublin. It conſiſted of a regiment well diſciplined and appointed, under the command of lord Mountjoy, ſon of primate Boyle; and being for the moſt part compoſed of proteſtants, was acceptable to the inhabitants. Tyrconnel ſoon perceived the errour of leaving this city to the government of the townſmen, and detached the earl of Antrim's regiment, conſiſting entirely of papiſts, Iriſh, and Highlanders, to take their quarters in Derry. A body of twelve hundred men, tall and terrible in their aſpect, followed by a crowd of women and children, arrived at a village called Limavaddy, within twelve miles of Derry, at the very moment when the inhabitants received the informations of an intended maſſacre, and were deliberating on this important intelligence. The proprietor of this village was terrified at the diſorder and turbulence of a body, which, in this time of ſuſpicion, ſeemed rather

Walker's Diary of the Siege of Derry. Mackenzie.

the inſtruments of ſlaughter and barbarity, than the regular forces of government. He inſtantly diſpatched the moſt alarming accounts to Derry of the number, appearance, and deſtination of his gueſts, conjuring the citizens to ſhut their gates againſt the barbarous crew. His letter found them already alarmed by the general reports of danger. They were collected in their ſtreets, conferring earneſtly, ſome reſolute, ſome wavering, ſome wiſhing to exclude the popiſh forces without appearing to take part in the attempt. Tomkins and Norman, two aldermen, conſulted the biſhop: the biſhop, cautious from years, and, by his principles, an enemy to reſiſtance, preached peace and ſubmiſſion. Some graver citizens concurred with him; others affected to concur. The troops approached; two of their officers were already in the town to provide quarters; an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the Ferry-gate. In this critical moment, nine young men of the populace, with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, drew their ſwords, ſnatched up the keys of the city, raiſed the draw-bridge, locked the Ferry-gate, were inſtantly joined by numbers of their own rank, ſecured the other gates, aſſembled in the great ſquare, deaf to all timid counſels and remonſtrances, ſeized the magazine, and were ſoon countenanced and applauded by men of better condition. The body of inhabitants caught the ſame ſpirit, and declared for a brave defence. Their numbers were quickly encreaſed by a conflux from the neighbouring diſtricts; the magazine afforded them ſome few arms, and a ſmall quantity of ammunition. Philips of Limavaddy, the man who firſt encouraged them to this enterprize, was choſen their governour. They threatened to fire on the king's ſoldiers, and conjured their neighbours to concur with them in defence of their lives, their properties, and religion.

Mackenzie. To the ſociety of London they immediately tranſmitted an account of their dangers and proceedings; and Cairnes, the moſt conſiderable of their party, was commiſſioned to ſolicit ſuccours from the prince of Orange. At the ſame time, their magiſtrates and graver citizens, anxious for the event of an enterprize commenced under every diſadvantage, addreſſed themſelves to lord Mountjoy, and, by his mediation, to Tyrconnel. They ſet forth their utter inability to reſtrain the populace, terrified by the rumours of a maſſacre, and the outrages of the new-raiſed regiment, aſcribing their inſurrection to Providence, who had ſtirred them up for their own ſafety and the public peace, againſt the wild attempts of the northern Iriſh. They declared their reſolution to confine themſelves entirely to ſelf-defence, without violating their allegiance; at the ſame time, they repreſented the vaſt numbers of northern proteſtants who had been driven to take arms from the ſame fears, and for the *ſame purpoſes.*

Apology for the Proteſt. of Ireland. State Tracts, vol. III. Mackenzie.

TYRCONNEL, too late, perceived his errour in withdrawing his garriſon from Derry, and endeavoured to correct it. Lord Mountjoy, and Lundy his lieutenant-colonel, was inſtantly remanded to Ulſter with ſix companies, and ordered to reduce this city. Mountjoy, a proteſtant lord, was highly acceptable to the inhabitants; his popiſh forces they deteſted. They diſclaimed all mutinous and ſeditious purpoſes, but ſtill expreſſed *their firm purpoſe* to defend themſelves. After various conferences, *Mountjoy* was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly ſtipulated, that a free pardon ſhould be granted within fifteen days; that, in the mean time, two companies only [redacted] be quartered in the city; that the forces afterwards admitted ſhould be formed of one half proteſtants at leaſt; that until the pardon were received the citizens ſhould keep the guards; and that all ſhould be left at liberty who deſired to remove. Tyrconnel had now the mortification of finding the people of Derry aſſuming the power of purging and modelling his forces, and diſmiſſing and diſarming his popiſh ſoldiers.

Walker's Diary.

Mountjoy aſſumed the command of their city, and was obeyed as a friend and aſſociate. By his advice the arms were repaired, money chearfully ſubſcribed, ammunition purchaſed in Scotland, and Cairnes the agent earneſtly ſolicited to procure ſupplies.

Hamilton's Actions of Enniſkilleners.

THE northern proteſtants beheld the ſpirit of the men of Derry with a generous emulation. Enniſkillen, the only borough-town in the county of Fermanagh, ſituated on an iſland in the narrow part of Lake Erne, and inhabited by a few reſolute proteſtants, refuſed admittance to two companies of Tyrconnel's popiſh army. In Downe, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, parties aroſe under the direction of *Mount-Alexander*, Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and other leaders. Their aſſociations were *publiſhed in the ſeveral counties*, declaring, that they had united *for ſelf-defence* and *the proteſtant religion*; that they reſolved to act in ſubordination to the government of England, and to promote a free parliament. County councils were nominated, and a general council, to meet at Hillſborough, which appointed officers, and directed the operations of the aſſociated body.

Mackenzie.

Secret Conſults, &c. Memoirs of Ireland.

THE Northerns had the fairer opportunity of forming and ſtrengthening this aſſociation, as Tyrconnel trembled in the capital, and ſeemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom. His counſellors repreſented the vanity of contending with the prince of Orange, and the deſperate circumſtances of James. He ſeemed convinced, and ready to reſign his government; profeſſed to wait only until it ſhould be demanded from him, and peeviſhly aſked whether he ſhould caſt the ſword of ſtate over the caſtle wall. He prevailed on ſome proteſtants to notify theſe his ſentiments to their friends in London. Keating, the judge, in a letter to Sir John Temple, enlarged on the diſtracted ſtate of Ireland, and the jealouſies both of proteſtants and catholics, declaring, that the army was ready to diſband, and that the deputy only waited for directions from England. In the preſent unſettled ſtate of affairs in London, ſuch informations were flattering. That momentous interval between the flight of James and the inveſtiture of William with the ſovereignty, engaged this prince too buſily, and agitated him too violently, to allow any attention to the affairs of Ireland. The Engliſh ſubjects of this kingdom had been lately deprived of a powerful advocate, by the death of the duke of Ormond. Their applications were now made to lord Clarendon; and ſoon after the arrival of the prince in London, ſome gentlemen of Ireland requeſted this lord to preſent them to his highneſs, in order to lay before him the ſtate of their country. Clarendon was by no means acceptable to the prince: he had, with great ſeverity, condemned the forward deſertion of his ſon lord Cornbury; and, although he himſelf ſoon followed his example, yet he was thought cold to the intereſts of the prince of Orange, and affected to treat the deſign of ſeating him on the throne with indignation and diſguſt. It is alſo ſaid, that William had ſome ſecret intimations, that on the ſettlement of the nation Clarendon entertained hopes of returning to his Iriſh government; that Tyrconnel hated him, and that nothing was ſo likely to confirm him in a deſperate oppoſition, as any countenance ſhewn to this lord and his pretenſions. However this may be, he could not be admitted to the prince without various delays, and was at length received with coldneſs. When the prince was obliged to receive a formal addreſs of the proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, ſenſible that it was not at preſent in his power to aſſiſt them, he returned a conciſe and phlegmatic reply: "I "thank you; I will take care of you."

Clarend. Diary.

Secret Conſults, &c.

Clarend. Diary.

WHAT he had neither leiſure nor power to attempt openly, William laboured to effect by practiſing ſecretly with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, a popiſh general, ſent into England on the firſt alarm of an invaſion, was, in ſome ſort, his priſoner. He

Memoirs of Ireland.

Mem. de la Fayette.

He was eſteemed a man of honour, had ſerved with reputation in France, but was baniſhed on account of his imprudent addreſſes to the king's daughter, princeſs of Conti. He was recommended to the prince as one who had conſiderable influence on Tyrconnel. He propoſed to repair to Ireland, and confer with his friend the deputy, expreſſing the utmoſt confidence of perſuading him to reſign his government, and promiſing to return ſhould he prove unſucceſsful. William readily embraced this overture. Hamilton arrived at Dublin; but, inſtead of executing his commiſſion, adviſed Tyrconnel to maintain his ſtation, aſſuring him, that the affairs of England began to wear an aſpect favourable to James, and that nothing but the *firmneſs* of his friends was neceſſary to reinſtate him. Tyrconnel was thus determined in his meaſures, and *Hamilton continued*, and was employed in Ireland.

Still the deputy found it neceſſary to diſſemble. He aſſured the proteſtant lords of his readineſs to ſubmit to the prince of Orange. By the warmth of his expreſſions, which was miſtaken for the effect of conviction and ſincerity, he perſuaded lord Mountjoy to repair to James, in conjunction with the chief baron, Rice, to repreſent the weak condition of Ireland, and the neceſſity of yielding to the times, inſtead of exaſperating his Engliſh ſubjects by a futile attempt to conquer *England* by his Iriſh powers. He even intimated, that if the king ſhould refuſe to ſurrender Ireland, he ſhould regard the refuſal as the effect of force, and deem himſelf *fully* warranted to reſign his authority. In accepting this unpopular commiſſion, Mountjoy was careful to ſtipulate with Tyrconnel, that no more levies ſhould be made, no more arms or commiſſions given out, no more troops commanded into Ulſter, no perſons impriſoned, no private houſe diſturbed by ſoldiers. He departed, and on his arrival at Paris was committed to the Baſtile, while Rice employed himſelf in ſoliciting ſuccours for the ſervice of his maſter.

Harris's Life of King Will. Append. No. xxiii.

maſter. At Dublin Tyrconnel grew outrageous; he utterly denied the ſtipulations made with Mountjoy; the arms yet remaining in the hands of proteſtants were wreſted from them by his ſoldiers in every place ſubject to his power, their horſes ſeized, their perſons inſulted, and their houſes plundered. Temple, ſon of Sir William, at whoſe inſtances Hamilton had been employed, was pierced too deeply by theſe melancholy effects of his advice, and in the bitterneſs of vexation put an end to his own life.

THE deputy was farther encouraged by a meſſenger from king James, aſſuring him, that he would ſoon appear in Ireland with a powerful armament. He had too long ſuffered the northern aſſociators to proceed unmoleſted, awed by lord Inchiquin in Munſter, who appeared in arms with more zeal than ſtrength; in Connaught, by lord Kingſton, who ſtood at the head of the proteſtants in this province, and preſerved a communication with their brethren of Ulſter. The Northerns had attempted to reduce Carricfergus, but without ſucceſs; and, though their powers were greatly magnified, yet the men were inexperienced, their officers unſkilful, their ammunition utterly inſufficient, their arms ſuch as they had ſecreted on the general order for diſarming proteſtants. Theſe defects were ſupplied by zeal and ardour. On aſſurance of ſupplies from England, they boldly proclaimed William and Mary in the north-eaſtern towns. But their exultation was ſpeedily allayed. A proclamation by the deputy commanded them to lay down their arms, and to diſſolve their aſſemblies; and they had the mortification to find it ſubſcribed by lord Granard, and ſome other proteſtant counſellors. General Hamilton marched againſt them with a formidable body of troops. They abandoned Newry; they retired gradually to Dromore; here they were overtaken by the enemy; they fled before their ſuperiour numbers, and were purſued with ſlaughter; they gained Hillſborough, but quickly

Secret Conſults, &c. Memoirs of Ireland.

Apology for Proteſt. of Ireland. State Tracts, vol. III.

Mackenzie.

abandoned this town, reſigned the caſtle, and continued their flight. They ſeemed entirely broken; ſeveral fled to Britain, others accepted protections from the Iriſh army. But, by the ſpirit and authority of Mount-Alexander, Rawdon, and other leaders, about four thouſand were ſtill kept embodied, and took their ſtation at Colerain, in order to prevent the enemy from paſſing the river Bann: at the ſame time, thoſe of the north-weſt poured into Enniſkillen as their place of refuge.

Impartial account of paſſages in Ireland, &c.

THE Iriſh army were ſo totally engaged in riot and plundering, that the confederates had time to collect, and to fortify Colerain. Hither lord Blany found it neceſſary to lead his party from Armagh. The garriſons of Charlemont and *Mountjoy* were informed of his motions, and attempted to intercept him, by ſeizing the bridge at a *place named Artrea*. He was more alert, and ſecured the *paſs juſt at the moment of* their approach. They advanced; he drew up his men and marched to attack them; they fled, were purſued and ſlaughtered; and this inconſiderable advantage ſerved to animate the Northerns. Colerain was attacked, and the enemy bravely repulſed; but the place was not long found tenable. The Iriſh, after a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh, paſſed the Bann in boats, and the Northerns haſted by various routes to Derry, before the enemy ſhould cut them off from this their laſt refuge.

FROM the time of lord Mountjoy's departure, the government of this city, and the principal direction of the north-eaſtern counties had been *reſigned* to Lundy, a man who flattered the proteſtants by declarations of attachment to their cauſe, and reſolution of fighting bravely, at leaſt againſt the tyrannical and illegal government of Tyrconnel. Notwithſtanding theſe public profeſſions, he was ſuſpected of retaining a regard to James and his ſervice. He had *frequently* diſappointed the expectations of the aſſociate-proteſtants, obliged them to abandon poſts thought *ſufficiently* tenable, and by an inactive and irreſolute conduct, which was not attributed to any defect of courage, became generally ſuſpected. William in his embarraſſments was obliged to truſt and to employ him; and, when an officer of the name of Hamilton was ſent to Derry with arms, ammunition, and money, a commiſſion from the new king was delivered to Lundy to command in the town, and to adminiſter the oaths to all officers civil and military. Some refuſed the oaths; Lundy would not conſent to take them publicly, alledging, that he had already ſworn on board Hamilton's veſſel. Murmurings and diſcontents were thus excited among the people: ſome prepared to abandon a city ready to be betrayed, when Cairnes, their agent, happily arrived from London, with aſſurances from king William, that troops and *ſupplies* were prepared for their relief and the general ſervice *of Ireland. He conjured them by no means to* deſert a cauſe ſo glorious, and which *muſt ſpeedily* prove ſo triumphant. They forgot their ſuſpicions; they declared for a brave defence; the garriſon was regulated; proviſions diſtributed; Lundy ſeemed to have caught the ſpirit of the people, and announced his reſolution of marching to engage the enemy.

Walker's Diary. Mackenzie.

In ſuch circumſtances, the garriſon received a new alarm, and the enemy became ſtill more formidable. James had caſt himſelf into the arms of the French king. Louis commiſerated his fallen ſtate, and hated William, who had juſt declared war againſt him. Preparations were made for the ſervice of the royal exile; and James, after a mortifying attendance on the miniſters, and after various difficulties and obſtacles raiſed by their intrigues, at length effected his embarkation. Fourteen ſhips of war, ſix frigates, and three fire ſhips, attended him at Breſt*. About

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* In fixing on this number, I follow Ralph, and the tract quoted as his authority. Rereſby's magnificent account of this embarkation ſeems only the echo of thoſe rumours which James's party induſtriouſly ſpread in England, with the artifice or vanity uſual on ſuch occaſions.

Mem. de la Fayette. twelve hundred forces of his own native ſubjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, formed his army. The count de Lauſun was deſtined to command it. He conferred the Garter on this favourite; but, as he had not influence ſufficient to make him a duke of France, Lauſun was diſguſted, and declined to take part in the expedition. Mareſchal Roſen, a German officer, was ſubſtituted in his place as lieutenant-general. Rereſby. Louis, we are told, in the ardour of generoſity, offered to ſupply him with a French army. But James ſeemed to have caught the fire of heroiſm from his protector, and earneſtly replied, that "he would recover his dominions by the aſſiſtance of his own ſubjects, or periſh in the attempt." They parted with mutual expreſſions of tenderneſs and affection; and Louis, to diſpel the gloom of his friend, gayly expreſſed his wiſh never to ſee him more, as the beſt he could form for his intereſt.

Kennet. Ralph. He ſailed from Breſt, and on the twelfth day of March landed at Kinſale, reſolving, contrary to the ſentiments of ſome of his adherents, to make Ireland the ſcene of his operations, where his party was numerous, and where he might ſupport a brilliant appearance of royalty. At Cork Tyrconnel appeared to congratulate his maſter, and expreſſed his zeal by ordering a magiſtrate to execution who had declared for the prince of Orange. James inſtantly created him a duke. In a ſtately progreſs he arrived at the capital; and on the twenty-fourth day of the ſame month made his triumphant entry, followed by a ſplendid train of French, Britiſh, and Iriſh, attended by the Count d'Avaux, in the character of ambaſſadour of France, met by the magiſtrates, and the whole body of popiſh eccleſiaſtics, ſecular and regular, in their proper habits, with the hoſt borne in ſolemn proceſſion, and adored devoutly by the king, amidſt the acclamations of thoſe who favoured his cauſe, and thoſe who could not reſiſt his power.

A. D. 1689.

ADDRESSES were inſtantly poured upon him from all orders of people. That of the proteſtant eſtabliſhed clergy touched gently on the diſtraction of the times, and the grievances they had experienced. He aſſured them of protection and redreſs *. To the univerſity he was ſtill more gracious: he promiſed to defend, and even to enlarge their privileges. But his faireſt declarations were received with coldneſs and ſuſpicion, when all the remaining proteſtants of the privy council were removed, and their places ſupplied by d'Avaux, Powis, Berwick, the biſhop of Cheſter, and others of his zealous adherents. He now iſſued five ſeveral proclamations: by the firſt, he ordered all proteſtants who had lately abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection, under the ſevereſt penalties, and that *his ſubjects of every perſuaſion ſhould unite againſt the prince of Orange: the ſecond was calculated to ſuppreſs robberies,* commanding all catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their ſeveral abodes: a third invited the country to carry proviſions to his troops: by the fourth he raiſed the value of money: and the laſt ſummoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the ſeventh day of May.

AFTER theſe firſt formal acts of ſovereignty, James naturally deemed the reduction of the Northerns a peculiar object of his attention. With reſpect to Derry, the great ſeat of what in his court was called rebellion, we are told, that different counſels were propoſed. Some declared for ſending an irreſiſtible force which ſhould at once take the city by ſtorm; others were for blocking it up, and reducing it by famine; others again for preſſing it by a ſlow ſiege, ſo as to inure the Iriſh forces to fatigue and diſcipline, and to teach them the arts

Burnet.

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* This account is taken from the appendix of Leſly's anſwer to King. As the addreſs and anſwer are there ſtated at large, it ſeems to deſerve more credit than the repreſentations of ſome Engliſh writers.

of war. Fatally for the intereſts of James, this laſt meaſure was adopted; but to encourage the beſiegers, and to confound the ſtubborn inſurgents, he reſolved to appear in perſon, and lead his forces to the walls.

Vindication of Walker's Diary.

Among theſe reſolute and active Northerns who took arms againſt Tyrconnel and his maſter, was George Walker, a clergyman of a Yorkſhire family, and rector of a pariſh in the county Tyrone. The danger and turbulence of the time, when the aſſiſtance of every man became neceſſary, called him forth in the defence of law, liberty, and religion; and in a cauſe the moſt glorious that a citizen can eſpouſe, he was zealous and indefatigable. He raiſed a regiment, and commanded it. He flew from poſt to poſt, conferred with the leaders, and animated the people, who were the more convinced of their danger when a man of his peaceable profeſſion appeared in arms. As the enemy grew more formidable by the arrival of James, he felt an increaſing ardour. He haſtened to Derry; he informed Lundy of the approach of this king, reminded him of his former declarations, entreated him to give the enemy battle before their whole ſtrength was collected, and his garriſon diminiſhed. Lundy ſtill affected vigour; as the Iriſh had paſſed the Bann, he was now to prevent them from croſſing the Finn-Water: he ſtationed his forces for this purpoſe; but, in the hour of danger, he refuſed to ſupport them, ſhamefully abandoned his own poſt, and hid himſelf within the walls of Derry, ſhutting the gates againſt many of thoſe who ſought the ſame refuge.

Walker's Diary. Mackenzie.

In the mean time, two Engliſh colonels, Cunningham and Richards, arrived in Lake Foyle with two Engliſh regiments. They notified their arrival to Lundy, whoſe orders they were to obey, adviſing him to ſecure the paſſes he had already abandoned, that if a battle ſhould be neceſſary, he might engage to more advantage with their reinforcement to ſupport him. On his return to Derry he received their letter; his written anſwer directed them to land; his meſſenger delivered his orders, that they ſhould leave their men on board, and come to the city with ſome of their officers to conſult on the meaſures neceſſary in the preſent juncture, when there were not proviſions for ten days, though all unneceſſary perſons ſhould be removed. Eleven officers from the ſhips and five of the town formed a council of war, in which it was readily agreed, in conſequence of Lundy's repreſentations, that the place was by no means tenable; that the Engliſh regiments ſhould not land; that the principal officers ſhould privately withdraw from the town, and leave the inhabitants to make the beſt conditions in their power with the enemy. Theſe reſolutions were communicated to the town-council, where it was reſolved to offer terms of capitulation to James, who now advanced ſlowly towards the city. Walker's Diary.

THESE proceedings were not long a ſecret to the people; they ſaw their leaders flying, the Engliſh regiments preparing to return to England with all the proviſions intended for their relief, although Lundy aſſured them they ſhould land. They exclaimed againſt the governour, the council, and every ſuſpected officer; they roared out for vengeance againſt their betrayers. In the phrenſy of rage and terrour, they ſlew one officer as he was haſtening to eſcape from the city, another they wounded. In this moment of diſtraction, Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement, and, although Lundy commanded him to retire, inſiſted on entering the town, and was received with acclamations. To the ſoldiers who eagerly crowded round him, he inveighed againſt the baſe purpoſe of ſurrendering to a cruel and perfidious enemy, and was heard with rapture. While he expoſtulated with Lundy, they ruſhed to the walls, pointed their cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take poſſeſſion of the city. While the more cautious and timid ſent a deputation Ibid.

putation to apologize for this violence of an head-ſtrong populace, they with one voice declared for defence. Governour, councils, magiſtrates, at once loſt all authority. Lundy reſigned all care of the city, and concealed himſelf in his own houſe. The garriſon choſe for themſelves two new governours, Walker, the gallant eccleſiaſtic, and one major Baker, that if either ſhould fall they might not be left without command. By direction of theſe men they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to ſeven thouſand and twenty men, three hundred and forty-one officers.

Walker's Diary.

When the firſt ſudden agitation had ſubſided, their reſolution grew compoſed and deliberate. They ſuffered the timid to depart unmoleſted. Lundy, by connivance of the new governours, eſcaped to the ſhips in a diſguiſe ſuited to his meanneſs, bending under a load of match. The ſtores were viewed, orders iſſued, and obeyed with regularity; each regiment had its own ground, each company knew its own baſtion; they repaired each to their poſt without any military parade, but without confuſion or diſorder. Eighteen clergymen of the eſtabliſhed church, and ſeven non-conformiſt teachers, chearfully ſhared the labours and dangers of the ſiege; and, in their turns, every day collected the people in the cathedral church, and by the fervour of their devotions, and thoſe ſtrains of eloquence which their circumſtances inſpired, animated and enflamed their hearers. Some jealouſies, however, broke out from theſe different religious parties, even in the hour of their common danger; and one diſſenting teacher pronounced thoſe unworthy to fight for the proteſtant cauſe who ſhould refuſe to take the covenant. But the diſcreet and pious of both parties prevailed, preached obedience and mutual union, and laboured to elevate the people to the utmoſt pitch of that devotional ſpirit which renders courage irreſiſtible.

AND here one might dwell with aſtoniſhment on this deſperate attempt of a garriſon, in a town meanly fortified and miſerably ſupplied; as yet encumbered with thirty thouſand fugitives who could give them no aſſiſtance, and aſſailed by twenty thouſand beſiegers. But the plain, unſtudied, unadorned effuſions of their brave governour, Walker, riſe above all elaborate deſcription. "It did beget," ſaith he, "ſome diſorder among "us and confuſion, when we looked about us and ſaw what we "were doing, our enemies all about us, and our friends running away from us. A garriſon we had, compoſed of a number of poor people frightened from their own homes, and "ſeemed more fit to hide themſelves than to face an enemy. "When we conſidered, that we had no perſons of any experience in war among us, and thoſe very perſons that were ſent "*to aſſiſt us, had ſo little confidence in the place, that they* "no ſooner ſaw it but they *thought fit to leave it;* that we had "but few horſe to ſally out with, and no forage; no engineers "to inſtruct us in our works; no fire-works, not ſo much as a "hand-granado to annoy the enemy; not a gun well mounted "in the whole town; that we had ſo many mouths to feed, and "not above ten days proviſion for them in the opinion of our "former governours; that every day ſeveral left us, and gave "conſtant intelligence to the enemy; that they had ſo many "opportunities to divide us, and ſo often endeavoured it, and "to betray the governours; that they were ſo numerous, ſo "powerful, and well-appointed an army, that in all human "probability we could not think ourſelves in leſs danger than "the Iſraelites at the Red-Sea; when we conſidered all this, it "was obvious enough what a dangerous undertaking we had "ventured upon. But the reſolution and courage of our people, "and the neceſſity we were under, and the great confidence and "dependence among us on God Almighty, that he would take care "of us and preſerve us, made us overlook all thoſe difficulties."

Walker's Diary, 4to. Lond. p. 22.

WITH minds thus poſſeſſed, they reſiſted both the perſuaſions and the aſſaults of their beſiegers. They made their ſallies in a manner unauthoriſed by military rules. Any officer that could be ſpared engaged in the adventure, and any ſoldiers who pleaſed followed his ſtandard. Such were the repeated ſucceſſes of this irregular war, that when the beſiegers battered the walls, the garriſon had the hardineſs to adviſe them to ſpare their labour and expence, as their gates were ever open, and wider than any breach they could make. Eleven days James continued his aſſaults with repeated mortifications, and without any proſpect of ſucceſs. Impatient of his diſappointments, he left the camp and returned to Dublin, peeviſhly exclaiming, that if his army had been Engliſh they would have brought him the town piece-meal. The only exploit performed in his northern expedition was that of reducing the fort of Culmore, and this he was ſuſpected to have atchieved by the help of money. Walker's Diary.

Ibid. THE garriſon of Derry ſtill continued to defeat all the attempts of their beſiegers, and to harraſs them by ſucceſsful ſallies. But they were ſoon threatened with more terrible enemies, diſeaſe and famine. The heats of ſummer proved even peſtilential to men fatigued and confined, and their ſcanty and unwholeſome diet enflamed their diſorders. In the heavineſs of their affliction, and their melancholy forebodings, they diſcovered in Lake-Foyle thirty ſhips, which they doubted not had been ſent to their relief from England. Theſe indeed contained troops, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, under the command of Kirk; but Kirk was too much hardened againſt the diſtreſſes of his fellow-creatures to make any hazardous attempt in favour of the garriſon. He was alarmed at magnificent accounts of the force and diſpoſitions of an enemy who were caſt into conſternation at his appearance. He heſitated, and returned no chearful anſwer to the ſignals of the beſieged.

The enemy, encouraged by this irreſolution, prepared to oppoſe his paſſage. Their batteries were planted, and their forces ranged on each ſide the lake where it grew narrow towards the city, and from two oppoſite forts they ſtretched a boom acroſs the water, formed of ſtrong timber joined by iron chains and ſtrengthened by thick cables.

The fleet, to which the garriſon looked for relief, ſet ſail and diſappeared. With great difficulty, and after repeated diſappointments, they at length received the afflicting intelligence from Kirk, that as he found it impoſſible to force a paſſage by the river for his ſtores and victuals, he had ſailed round to lake Swilly, if by any means he might give ſome diverſion to the enemy, and ſend ſupplies to the proteſtant forces collected at Enniſkillen. He comforted them, at the ſame time, with an *aſſurance that he would ſtill relieve them; that more forces were hourly expected from England; that both there and in Scotland* affairs were entirely favourable to the new government; that by the intelligence he had gained, the beſiegers could not long continue to inveſt them; adviſing them, at the ſame time, "to be good huſbands of their proviſions." From this advice they drew a melancholy preſage of all their future ſufferings.

Walker's Diary.

Every day the garriſon was leſſened by diſeaſe, and the wretched ſurvivors more and more enfeebled by fatigue and hunger. Baker, one of their governours, died; they choſe an officer of the name of Mitcheburne to ſucceed him. When numbers of them were ſcarcely able to ſupport their arms, they threatened death to any who ſhould mention a ſurrender. General Hamilton endeavoured to move them by perſuaſion; they reproached him with his own treachery. Roſen, who was ſent to command the ſiege, and conducted it with vigour and addreſs, thundered out dreadful menaces againſt them; and thus by convincing them that no mercy was to be expected, confirmed their reſolution. Outrageous at this obſtinacy, he declared, that if the town were not ſurrendered by the firſt day of July, all of their faction through the whole country to Ballyſhannon, Charlemont, Belfaſt, Inniſowen, protected and unprotected alike, ſhould be given up to plunder, and driven under their walls, there to periſh, unleſs relieved by a ſurrender of the town. The appointed day arrived, but the garriſon continued their defence. On the next morning a confuſed multitude was ſeen hurrying towards the walls. At a diſtance they were miſtaken for enemies; the garriſon fired on them, but happily without any damage to the thouſands of miſerable proteſtants, of all ages and conditions, infirm, old, young, women, infants, goaded on by ſoldiers whoſe ears were tortured with their ſhrieks, and who executed their hideous orders with tears. The afflicting ſpectacle tranſported the garriſon to fury. Numbers of the wretched ſufferers thus driven to periſh beneath their walls, conjured them with bended knees and lifted hands, by no means to conſider their diſtreſs, but to defend their lives bravely againſt an enemy who ſought to involve them all in one common ſlaughter. A gallows was now erected in view of the beſiegers; they were aſſured, that all the priſoners taken by the garriſon ſhould be inſtantly executed, unleſs their friends were allowed to depart. Confeſſors were even admitted to prepare them for death; but Roſen was ſtill unmoved. Happily the intelligence of his barbarous intentions flew to Dublin. The proteſtant biſhop of Meath remonſtrated to James; he anſwered, that he had already ordered theſe captives to be releaſed, obſerving, that ſuch ſeverities were uſual in foreign ſervice, however ſhocking to his ſubjects. Thoſe who ſurvived a confinement of almoſt three days without ſuſtenance or ſhelter, were thus permitted to return to their habitations, where the ravages of the ſoldiery had left them no means of comfort. Some of their ableſt men were ſtolen into the town, and five hundred

King's State.

Walker.

uſeleſs people crowded among them, and paſſed undiſcovered, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the enemy.

Walker.

THE garriſon, with a confirmed horrour of the beſiegers, continued their obſtinate defence, and even made deſperate and ſucceſsful ſallies when they were too much weakened by hunger to purſue their advantage. The fleſh of horſes, dogs, and vermin, hides, tallow, and other nauſeous ſubſtances, were purchaſed at extravagant prices, and eagerly devoured. Even ſuch miſerable reſources began to fail, and no means of ſuſtenance could be found for more than two days. Still the languid and ghaſtly crowds liſtened to the exhortations of Walker; ſtill he aſſured them from the pulpit that the Almighty would grant them a deliverance. While their minds were yet warm with his harangue, delivered with all the eagerneſs of a man inſpired, they diſcovered three ſhips in the lake making way to the town. Kirk, who had abandoned them from the thirteenth day of June to the thirtieth of July, at length thought fit, in their extreme diſtreſs, to make an hazardous attempt to relieve them; an attempt which he might have made with leſs danger at the moment of his arrival, and which poſſibly might ſtill have been deferred, had he not received ſome intimations of a treaty for ſurrendering. Two ſhips laden with proviſions, and convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, advanced in view both of the garriſon and the beſiegers. On this intereſting object they fixed their eyes in all the earneſtneſs of ſuſpence and expectation. The enemy, from their batteries, from their muſketry, thundered furiouſly on the ſhips, which returned their fire with ſpirit. The foremoſt of the victuallers ſtruck rapidly againſt the boom, and broke it, but rebounding with violence, ran aground. The enemy burſt inſtantly into ſhouts of joy, and prepared to board her; on the crowded walls the garriſon ſtood ſtupified by deſpair. The veſſel fired her guns, was extricated by the ſhock, and floated. She paſſed the boom, and was followed by her companions. The town was relieved, and the enemy retired.

Walker.

Of ſeven thouſand five hundred men regimented in Derry, four thouſand three hundred only remained to be witneſſes of this deliverance; and of theſe more than one thouſand were incapable of ſervice. The wretched ſpectres had ſcarcely taſted food, when they had the hardineſs to march in queſt of the enemy; and ſome few men were loſt by adventuring too boldly on their rear-guard. They retired in vexation to Strabane, having loſt eight thouſand men by the ſword and by various diſorders, in a ſiege of one hundred and five days.

Hamilton's Actions of the Enniſkilleners.

During the whole courſe of this ſiege, James's army had been conſiderably embarraſſed in their operations by the Enniſkillen-men, ſo were theſe proteſtants named who had collected about Enniſkillen, choſen Guſtavus Hamilton governour of their little town, and proclaimed William and Mary. Lord Galmoy marched to reduce them, and inveſted Crom caſtle, their frontier garriſon, ſeated on Lake-Erne. As he found it impracticable to bring up his cannon, he recurred to a ridiculous artifice: eight horſes were employed to draw two pieces formed of tin, bound with cords, and ſo coloured as to reſemble cannon. With this new ſpecies of artillery he threatened to batter the caſtle. The garriſon returned a defiance; and being reinforced from Enniſkellen, ſallied, and drove the enemy from their trenches, returning in triumph with conſiderable booty, and the tin cannon which had been drawn up with ſo much apparent difficulty. Galmoy thus became contemptible; he ſoon rendered himſelf deteſtable. On his march he had taken two youths priſoners, with whom he found commiſſions from the prince of Orange. He now propoſed to exchange them for one of his own officers. The officer was returned, but the youths were executed; and the Northerns thus confirmed in their dread and abhorrence of an enemy that kept no faith.

Their numbers daily encreaſed, their excurſions were ſo ſucceſsful, and both their numbers and ſucceſſes were ſo magnified, that the ruling party at Dublin expected them ſpeedily at their gates. But their real numbers were inſufficient for any conſiderable enterprize, nor were they furniſhed with arms or ammunition, until their victory over a party of the enemy at Belturbet, and the arrival of Kirk ſupplied their neceſſities. They thus became ſo formidable, that a plan was formed to attack them at once by three different armies. For this purpoſe, Macarthy, a gallant and experienced officer, lately created a peer, encamped at Belturbet with ſeven thouſand men; Sarſefield, another general equally diſtinguiſhed, led an army from Connaught; Fitz James, duke of Berwick, prepared to attack them from the North. But the ignorance of their danger proved the means of their deliverance. They knew only of the motions of the Connaught army. They marched out with a rapidity unexpected and aſtoniſhing; they ſurpriſed the enemy's camp, and routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. Againſt the duke of Berwick they were leſs ſucceſsful. As he approached to Enniſkillen, ſome companies ſent to ſeize a poſt which they might defend againſt his numbers, ventured beyond the bounds preſcribed, were ſurpriſed, and cut to pieces; but at the approach of Hamilton, the governour, Berwick retired.

Hamilton's Actions of the Enniſkilleners.

MACARTHY, the remaining general, was ſtill more formidable: with an army which had already ſuppreſſed lord Inchiquin in Munſter, he marched towards Enniſkillen, and inveſted Crom. An officer, called Berry, was detached to the relief of the caſtle; but as the enemy advanced againſt him with a ſuperiour body, found it neceſſary to retreat. He was purſued; a ſkirmiſh followed, in which the Enniſkilleners were victorious; and the arrival of the main bodies on each ſide, the one commanded by Macarthy, the other by Wolſley, one of Kirk's officers, produced a general engagement near Newtown-Butler and Liſnaſkea; and from both of theſe places the battle hath taken its name. The inferiour numbers of the Northerns were ſupplied by an undaunted reſolution, and an abhorrence of the enemy. They defeated and purſued them with great ſlaughter, granting quarter to none but officers. About two thouſand fell by the weapons of an enemy tranſported by zeal and reſentment, about five hundred plunged into lake Erne, and but one of all the multitude eſcaped. The ſame number were made priſoners, and with theſe their general, Macarthy. Stung with the diſgraceful iſſue of his expedition, he ruſhed upon the enemy from a wood, whither he had been driven with a few horſemen, was deſperately wounded, and conducted to Enniſkillen, expreſſing fear that his wounds might not prove mortal. The news of this victory was ſoon conveyed to the army which retired from Derry, and ſerved to precipitate their flight.

CHAP. VI.

James returns to Dublin.—His parliament.—Bill for repealing the acts of ſettlement.—Cruel act of attainder,—paſſed,—concealed,—and diſcovered.—Other acts of his parliament.—James levies money by his prerogative.—His braſs coinage.—Meanneſs and cruelty of his government.—His conteſt with the univerſity of Dublin.—Sufferings of the univerſity,—and of the proteſtant clergy.—Inſolence of popiſh clergy,—and bigotry of James.—Levies raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland.—Landing of duke Schomberg.—Carricfergus ſurrendered.—Schomberg advances.—Newry and Carlingford burnt by the duke of Berwick.—Iriſh retreat to Drogheda.—Schomberg encamps at Dundalk.—His diſtreſſes.—James offers battle.—Schomberg declines it.—Conſpiracy in his camp.—Excurſions and ſucceſs of the Enniſkilleners.—Miſery of the Engliſh camp.—Schomberg reinforced,—decamps,—removes his ſick,—retires to winter quarters.—Diſappointment and diſcontents of the Engliſh parliament.—Enquiry into the conduct of the war in Ireland.—William reſolves to undertake the Iriſh war.—Action at Cavan.—James and Schomberg reinforced.—Action in the bay of Dublin.—Charlemont ſurrendered.—William lands at Carricfergus,—advances ſouthward.—His vigour. His force.—Council held by James.—He reſolves to defend the paſſage of the Boyne.—Situation of his army.—William's army encamped near the river.—William wounded.—Falſe rumours of his death.—Deſerters, and their reports.—William reſolves to paſs the river.—Schomberg diſguſted.—Diſpoſition of the forces.—Battle of the Boyne.—James's army defeated.—They retreat in good order.—James aſſembles the magiſtracy of Dublin.—His ungracious ſpeech.—He flies to France.—William advances towards the capital.

WHILE

A. D. 1689. WHILE the armies of James proceeded ſo unſucceſsfully in the northern province, this prince returned to Dublin; and here, in all the ſtate of ſovereignty, aſſembled his parliament. King's State. In the upper houſe, a number of new popiſh lords, and ſeveral whoſe outlawries had been reverſed, gave a weight to their party which could not be balanced by four or five proteſtant lords ſtill remaining in the kingdom, and three prelates ſummoned by writ to this aſſembly. The commons were almoſt entirely compoſed of men named by Tyrconnel, returned from ſuch counties as were ſubject to his power, or ſuch corporations as he had previouſly modelled. The univerſity returned two proteſtant members, and about four more were admitted from other places. Leſlie's anſwer to King's Append. The ſeſſion was as uſual, opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which James commended the exemplary loyalty and zeal *of his Iriſh ſubjects; declared his* abhorrence *of invading either the rights of conſcience*, or thoſe of property; that it was his firm purpoſe to eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience whereſoever he had power, without any other teſt or diſtinction but that of loyalty; that he would readily conſent to any wholeſome laws for the good of the nation, the improvement of trade, and the relieving ſuch as had been injured by the late acts of ſettlement, "as far forth as might be "conſiſtent with reaſon, juſtice, and the public good." He enlarged on the generoſity he had experienced from the moſt Chriſtian king; and concluded with repeating his ſenſe of their ſignal loyalty. King's State. Fitton, in the upper houſe, and Nagle, ſpeaker of the commons, enlarged on this ſpeech; it was echoed by a joint addreſs; and a bill was immediately brought in, containing a recognition of the king's title, and an abhorrence of the prince of Orange and his uſurpation.

A DECLARATION was now publiſhed by James, addreſſed to all his ſubjects of Ireland. In this he expreſſed a ſatisfaction, that ſince his arrival in this kingdom he had demonſtrated the falſehood and malice of his enemies, by his favour to proteſtant ſubjects, and his protection of their properties, privileges, and religion; hoping that his ſubjects of England would hence form a judgment of what they might expect from him; and aſſuring all his ſubjects of a full pardon, if they ſhould return to their obedience within twenty-four days after his appearance in England. The moſt obvious rules of policy muſt have dictated a conduct conformable to this declaration. But in his preſent petty ſeat of royalty, James found himſelf totally enſlaved by different factions, and is ſaid to have expreſſed a ſenſe of his condition. The ambaſſador, d'Avaux, affected to take the lead in his council, and James was ſervilely attentive not to afford him any pretence of complaint. All preferments in his army were given to Frenchmen, to the utter diſcontent and indignation of the Iriſh. The Iriſh were conſoled by their aſcendency in the new parliament, and with their uſual violence reſolved to ſeize the opportunity of providing for their own intereſts, without even a decent attention to the difficulties and embarraſſments of their king. Inſtead of providing relief for the ſufferers by the acts of ſettlement and explanation, the commons with a tumultuous ſhout of joy, received a bill for the repeal of theſe acts. Daly, the popiſh judge, inveighed ſo violently againſt it, as to incur the cenſure of the commons, who inſiſted on calling him to the bar, and obliging him to beg pardon. But in a tranſport of joy, on ſome falſe intelligence of the ſurrender of Derry, they remitted this ſeverity. In the lords, to whom the bill was haſtily ſent up, the proteſtant biſhop of Meath argued againſt it both on the principles of juſtice and of policy; and this, as we are told, by the direction and deſire of James. Whatever unfavourable opinion he had formed of the acts of ſettlement, and however his Iriſh miniſters had poſſeſſed him with the hardſhips their countrymen had ſuſtained from theſe acts, yet nothing could more provoke the

True account of the State of Ireland, by a perſon who, with great difficulty, left Dublin. Lond. 1689.

King's State.

Leſlie.

Engliſh, even of his own party, than his countenancing to this bill. It therefore ſeems natural to expect, that he muſt have expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of it. But it was not only a favourite object of the Iriſh, but warmly recommended by the French ambaſſadour; and their united powers were not to be reſiſted. When an addreſs againſt the bill was preſented by the purchaſers under the acts of ſettlement, James coldly replied, "that he could not do evil, that good might reſult from "it." When ſome peers propoſed to enter their proteſt, he obſerved, that proteſts were uſual only in rebellious times.

King's State.

The bill for repealing the acts of ſettlement was thus paſſed, with a preamble which exculpated the Iriſh from rebelling in ſixteen hundred and forty-one; and a clauſe whereby the real eſtates of all thoſe who dwelt in any of the three *kingdoms*, and did not *acknowledge king James's power*, or who aided or correſponded with thoſe who rebelled againſt him, ſince the firſt day of Auguſt ſixteen hundred and eighty-eight, were declared to be forfeited and veſted in the king. Thus, by a ſtrain of ſeverity at once ridiculous and deteſtable, almoſt every proteſtant of Ireland who could write was to be deprived of his eſtate.

King's State, Appendix.

But this Iriſh parliament was not contented with recovering the eſtates of their anceſtors, and expelling the proteſtant proprietors, by virtue of their preſent act. In the fullneſs of triumphant inſolence, they reſolved on a *proſcription* as virulent as that of Rome. An act was paſſed by which a number of perſons in the ſervice of the *prince* of Orange, thoſe who had retired *from* the kingdom, and did not return in obedience to the king's proclamation, numbers who were reſident in Britain, and therefore preſumed to be adherents to the new government, were all attainted of high treaſon, and adjudged to ſuffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unleſs they ſurrendered within certain periods aſſigned. It was provided, that the eſtates even of thoſe who were detained abroad by ſickneſs, or non-age, ſhould be ſeized by the king; and, in defiance of juſtice and humanity, they were to prove their own innocence before they could be reſtored. Two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-one perſons, of all orders and conditions, peers, peereſſes, prelates, baronets, knights, clergy, gentry, and yeomanry, were included in this dreadful ſentence. Their names were haſtily collected by their reſpective neighbours, and received with ſo much eaſe and precipitation, that Nagle, on preſenting the bill to James, declared, that "many were attainted on ſuch evidence "as ſatisfied the houſe, and the reſt on common fame." It was ſo framed as to preclude the king from all power of pardoning, after the firſt day of November, 1689. In the mean time, *a ſtatute which affected the lives and properties of ſo many thouſands, was carefully concealed from them,* and lay unknown in the cuſtody of the chancellor. At length, when four months King. had elapſed from the day limited for pardoning, Sir Thomas Southwell obtained a view of this fatal act for the inſtruction of his lawyer, who was to draw a warrant for his pardon, which James had promiſed. Nagle was ſurpriſed and enraged at this diſcovery: after ſome evaſions, he inſiſted, that the king was merely a truſtee for the forfeitures, and had now no power of pardoning Southwell. Nothing remained for James but to reproach his attorney-general for having framed an act intrenching on his prerogative.

Of the other acts made in this aſſembly, the more remarkable were a ſupplement to the bill of attainder, by which the perſonal eſtates of abſentees were veſted in the king; one declaring that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and againſt writs of errour and appeals to England; one for liberty of conſcience; another which took away the proviſion formerly made for miniſters in towns corporate; and one for entitling the Romiſh clergy to all tythes and eccleſiaſtical dues payable by thoſe of their own communion. In ſome few inſtances James is ſaid to have ſtill diſcovered an attention to the ſentiments of the Engliſh: he oppoſed and defeated a bill for the repeal of Poynings' law; nor would he conſent to eſtabliſh inns of court in Ireland for the education of law-ſtudents, a point ſo long and ſo ardently purſued by the Iriſh catholics.

King.

But the execution of his government correſponded with the enormous exceſſes of his legiſlature. The parliament had granted him a monthly ſubſidy of twenty thouſand pounds to be levied from lands. A tax ſo grievous was yet inſufficient for his purpoſes. While the parliament yet ſubſiſted, he iſſued a proclamation by virtue of his prerogative royal, impoſing another tax of the ſame rate on all chattles. Some of his own council ventured to remonſtrate againſt this arbitrary proceeding, and reminded him of the advantage it muſt give his enemies. But James had forgotten all ſcruples, for he could not obtain money from France. He reſented the interpoſition of his counſellors; he inſulted them with their own declaration, that it was a branch of his prerogative to levy money. "If I cannot do "this," ſaid he, "I can do nothing."

King. Simon on Iriſh Coins.

An exhauſted country could ſcarcely ſupply theſe demands; and oppreſſive as they were, yet an extenſive military eſtabliſhment required new reſources. In defiance of law, reaſon, and humanity, the king choſe one reſource, which has rendered his name horrible to Iriſh proteſtants. By ſeizing the tools and engines of one Moore, who, by virtue of a patent of the late king, enjoyed the right of a copper-coinage in Ireland, he eſtabliſhed a mint in Dublin and Limerick. Braſs and copper of the baſeſt kind, old cannon, broken bells, houſehold utenſils, were aſſiduouſly collected; and from every pound-weight of ſuch vile materials, valued at four pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the firſt proclamation they were made current in all payments to and from the *king* and the ſubjects of the realm, except in the duties on importation of foreign goods, money left in truſt, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promiſed, that when this money ſhould be decried, he would receive it in all payments, or make full ſatisfaction in gold and ſilver. His ſoldiers were now paid in this coin; it was poured on the proteſtant traders. The nominal value was raiſed by ſubſequent proclamations; the original reſtrictions were removed, and this baſe money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As braſs and copper grew ſcarce, it was made of ſtill viler materials, of tin and pewter. It was obtruded on proteſtants with many circumſtances of inſolence and cruelty. Old debts of *one* thouſand pounds were diſcharged by pieces of vile *metal, amounting to thirty ſhillings in intrinſic value.* Attempts were made *to purchaſe gold* and *ſilver* at immoderate rates with the braſs money; but this was quickly forbidden on pain of death; and when proteſtants attempted to exonerate themſelves of theſe heaps of coin, by purchaſing the ſtaple commodities of the kingdom, James, by proclamation, ſet a rate on theſe commodities, demanded them at this rate, returned his braſs on the proprietors; and, with all the meanneſs of a trader, exported them to France. It appeared indeed, in the end, that James was the *only* gainer by this iniquitous project; and that in the final courſe of circulation, his own party became poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of this adulterate coin, juſt at the time when William had power to ſuppreſs it by proclamation. Yet certain it is, that during that melancholy interval in which the popiſh party was predominant, proteſtants felt all the diſtreſſes ariſing from a ſtate of war and diſorder, aggravated by the wanton inſolence of their adverſaries. If they attempted to purchaſe corn, or other proviſions with the braſs coin, theſe were inſtantly ſeized for the king's uſe, and the proprietors impriſoned, as men who intended to ſupply the enemy.

King.

Simon on Iriſh Coins. Append.

King's State, p. 139. 4to.

my. "We were at a loſs," ſaith archbiſhop King, "what the "meaning of taking away corn from proteſtant farmers, houſe-"keepers, and bakers ſhould be, when there was no ſcarcity in "the kingdom.—But Sir Robert Parker, and ſome others, "blabbed it out in the coffee-houſe, that they deſigned to "ſtarve one half of the proteſtants, and hang the other; and "that it would never be well till this were done. We were ſen-"ſible that they were in earneſt by the event, for no proteſtant "could get a bit of bread, and hardly a drop of drink in the "whole city of Dublin. Twenty or thirty ſoldiers ſtood con-"ſtantly about every bake-houſe, and would not ſuffer a pro-"teſtant to come nigh them." Such repreſentations are ſometimes derided as the fictions of an enflamed party. But however improbable theſe inſtances of ſenſeleſs tyranny may appear, they are confirmed by undoubted traditions received from the ſufferers, and tranſmitted with every circumſtance of credibility.

Harris's Life of King Wil. Append.

Archives of Trin. Col. Dub. MS.

In the midſt of public diſorder, of all that oppoſition already made to James, and all the dangers which threatened him, he was ſtill reſigned to the popiſh clergy, and with an unmanly bigotry ſtill adopted all their meaſures for the extenſion of popery. A ſchool erected at Kilkenny by the duke of Ormond, was converted into a popiſh ſeminary by a new charter. Repeated diſappointments had not diſcouraged his prieſts from their attempts on the univerſity of Dublin; nor was James deterred by the conſequence of his invaſions on the Engliſh univerſities. In a few months after his arrival in Ireland, a mandamus was preſented to the governours of the univerſity of Dublin, in favour of Green, who had been already diſappointed of his imaginary profeſſorſhip. He was now deſtined to another office, that of ſenior fellow of Trinity College. At a time when thi ſociety ſhared deeply in the general calamity, when no rent could be received, when their penſion from the Exchequer was with-held, when their daily food was purchaſed by ſelling ſome

8 part

part of their remaining plate; when the terrours of royal vengeance were thundered in their ears, and James and his forces at hand to execute their threats, the governours undauntedly refuſed *obedience* to the mandamus. They pleaded their own cauſe before Sir Richard Nagle; they urged the incapacity of Green, and the falſe allegations of his petition, “ But there are “ much more important reaſons,” ſaid they, “ drawn as well “ from the ſtatutes relating to religion, as from the obligation “ of oaths we have taken, and the intereſt of our religion “ (which we will never deſert) that render it wholly impoſſible “ for us, without violating our conſciences, to have any concur“ rence, or to be any way concerned in the admiſſion of him.” The iſſue of this unequal conteſt was ſpeedy and deciſive. In a *few days fellows and ſcholars were forcibly ejected by the ſoldiers of a prince, who had promiſed not only to defend, but to* augment their privileges; the property of particular members, the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community were all ſeized; their chapel was converted to a magazine, their chambers into priſons. The members of the ſociety obtained their perſonal liberty only by the interceſſion of the biſhop of Meath; and this, on the expreſs condition, that three of them ſhould not meet together on pain of death. Petre is ſaid to have *poſſeſſed* James with the deſign of conferring this college on the Jeſuits. In the mean time, one Moor, a popiſh eccleſiaſtic, was nominated provoſt, a man of liberal ſentiments, and a lover of letters; who, with the aſſiſtance of Macarthy, another of his own order, preſerved the library, books, and manuſcripts, from the ravages of a barbarous army.

Archives of Trin. Col. Dub. MS.

THE proteſtant clergy were by this time deprived, for the moſt part, of their ſubſiſtence. They could recover no dues from non-conformiſts; for theſe were, by the late act for liberty of conſcience, exempted from the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts. They could demand no tythes from the numerous

King's State.

numerous body of Roman catholics; while popiſh incumbents, who every day multiplied by the death, ceſſion, or abſence of proteſtants, exacted them from all parties. Yet in the day of perſecution, both clergy and laity felt an unuſual fervour of devotion, and crowded to their places of worſhip. The popiſh government was offended, and poſſibly alarmed at theſe meetings. A proclamation was iſſued, confining proteſtants to their reſpective pariſhes, which, in effect, excluded great numbers from public worſhip, as, in ſeveral parts of Ireland, two pariſhes or more had but one church. But the popiſh clergy were for meaſures more direct and violent. By the aſſiſtance of magiſtrates, they ſeized churches for their own uſe, not in the country only, but the capital. The proteſtants remonſtrated to James; he acknowledged his promiſe of protecting them, and publiſhed a proclamation againſt theſe outrages. But the clergy and their votaries diſdained obedience to any orders repugnant to the intereſts of the faith. A conteſt now aroſe between the prieſts and their king; and in this conteſt James had the exquiſite mortification of finding himſelf foiled and defeated. His order of reſtitution was ſometimes evaded, by repreſenting the church demanded for the proteſtants as a place of ſtrength; and, therefore, improper to be entruſted to their cuſtody. Chriſt Church in Dublin was ſeized, and could not be reſtored, becauſe ſome arms were ſaid to be concealed in it. When no ſuch frivolous pretences could be urged, the prieſts and popiſh magiſtrates retained the churches with a contemptuous diſregard of the repeated orders of a king, whoſe authority in eccleſiaſtical affairs they totally renounced. And whatever impotent reſentment he expreſſed at this inſolence, yet he ſtill reſigned himſelf ſervilely to the clergy; and ſeemed only ſolicitous to employ his momentary power for making Ireland what he called a catholic kingdom. An order was iſſued in the name of his governour of Dublin, that no more than five proteſtants ſhould meet together, even in churches, on pain of death. The alarm of an invaſion indeed was pleaded for this ſeverity; but vulgar bigotry was ever the predominant principle of James. At the very moment when the formidable powers of his enemies were gathering round him, he thought himſelf worthily employed in filling the dioceſe of Meath with popiſh incumbents, and erecting a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin.

Harris's Life of King Will. Appendix.

AN adminiſtration at once ſo tyrannical and contemptible, owed its duration to the Engliſh factions, and thoſe diſtreſſes and embarraſſments which William bitterly experienced in his elevation. The tempeſt in the political ſyſtem was allayed, but the agitation ſtill continued. The new king was ſurrounded with ſecret and avowed enemies. The war with France was declared; and Louis was his mortal foe. Inſurrection was already meditated in Scotland; England was a ſcene of various diſcontents. It was ſcarcely poſſible for William in his complicated dangers, his fears, his ſuſpicions, his management of parties, to proceed in the ſervice of Ireland with neceſſary vigour. The Engliſh forces could not be ſpared; and, perhaps, it was deemed hazardous to ſend them againſt the late king. New levies were ordered, and ſpeedily completed; but the arms of the Tower had been embezzled; others were to be ſought in Holland; nor was it found eaſy to raiſe money on parliamentary grants. In the mean time, the neglect of Ireland became a ſubject of popular complaint. The vulgar might ſuggeſt reaſons for it ſuited to their own ſentiments; but they who affected diſcernment, aſcribed it to the counſels of lord Hallifax, who was ſaid to have perſuaded his new maſter, that the commotions of Ireland would force all parties to a full and final ſettlement of England. The ſea-fight of Bantry Bay, and the adventure of lord Dundee, retarded the ſuccours deſtined for Ireland; and, at the ſame time, encreaſed the popular diſcontents.

Impartial Hiſtory of Occurrences in Ireland, 4to. p. 6.

The levies for the ſervice of this kingdom conſiſted of eighteen regiments of foot, and five of horſe; the men ſtrangers to war; the officers, ſons of Engliſh gentry, employed in order to enſure their attachment, and equally unexperienced with their ſoldiers. The chief command was aſſigned to duke Schomberg, (for William had conferred this title on his general, together with the Garter;) and to him count Solmes, another foreign officer, was ſecond in command. Schomberg, Kennet. who knew little of political expediency, or the intrigues of the cabinet, expreſſed his impatience of delay. He propoſed to march the troops immediately to Port-Patrick in Scotland, whence they might be conveyed in a few hours to Ireland, without a tedious preparation of tranſports neceſſary for a longer voyage. His overture was coldly received. At length, on the ſixteenth day of July, when the moſt affecting intelligence had arrived of the diſtreſſes ſo bravely ſupported by the garriſon of Derry, he was introduced to the houſe of commons, returned thanks for their generous donation of one hundred thouſand pounds, took a ſolemn leave, and declared his reſolution of expoſing his life in Ireland for the ſervice of the king and of their houſe. On the twentieth he arrived at Cheſter; a great part of his forces were ſtill at a diſtance; tranſports, cloathing, tents, proviſions of every kind, were found inſufficient; twenty-two days were waſted in endeavouring to ſupply all defects; the ſeaſon of action was already too far ſpent; Schomberg could delay no longer. On the twelfth day of Auguſt he ſet ſail, with about ten thouſand of his forces, and part of the artillery. On the next day he appeared in the bay of Carricfergus, and landed near Bangor, in the county of Downe.

The forces ſtationed by James in the neighbouring garriſons might have oppoſed his landing with great advantage; but no ſuch attempt was made. Thoſe of Belfaſt and Antrim retired at his firſt appearance, ſome to Liſburne, moſt to Carricfergus, as the place of greateſt ſtrength. The laws of war forbad him to proceed until he had reduced this town; having ſent detachments to take poſſeſſion of the places abandoned by the enemy, he marched with a conſiderable force and laid ſiege to Carricfergus. This town was encompaſſed by a wall and foſſe, and defended by baſtions, but without any covered way. Its citadel, ſurrounded with high walls, and fortified by two round towers at the land entrance, ſerved to defend the gate. The whole of it was irregular, conforming to the curve of the rock, which is a precipice over the ſea near forty feet high, but to the land not exceeding twenty. The town and caſtle, if well defended, might have checked the progreſs of Schomberg. But on the firſt approach of the beſiegers, the garriſon parleyed. They *demanded liberty to ſend to king James for ſuccours, or for licence to ſurrender.* The demand was *ſcornfully rejected*, and the ſiege carried on in form, while ſix ſhips battered the town from ſea. The garriſon, in the next place, required to march out with the honours of war; Schomberg inſiſted on making them priſoners. But after the hoſtilities of ſome days, in order to prevent delay in a ſeaſon ſo advanced, he allowed them to march with their arms and ſome baggage, and to be conducted to the next Iriſh garriſon. His ſoldiers murmured at this indulgence; and ſuch was the reſentment of the Ulſter Scots for the outrages they ſuſtained from theſe men, and ſuch their virulent enmity to popiſh troops, that without regard to faith, they fell furiouſly upon the garriſon, wreſted their arms from them, plundered the more helpleſs, and were reſtrained from murder only by the vigorous interpoſition of the general.

Harris's Life of King Will.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

The remainder of Schomberg's army had by this time arrived; but as the artillery horſes were ſtill detained at Cheſter, he ordered the train and other neceſſaries to be conveyed by the fleet to Carlingford, while his army advanced to Liſburne, to

Ibid.

Hillſborough, to Dromore, to Loughbrickland, through a deſolated country. The proteſtants had abandoned it on the firſt commotions of the North, and now the popiſh inhabitants fled precipitately with all their cattle and effects, or were forced forward by the progreſs of the Engliſh army. In this march, the Enniſkilleners, (who, together with Kirk's forces, had joined the duke at Carricfergus) formed the advance-guard, in all the pride of victory, when their ſucceſſes had been completed, by gaining Sligo, from which the Iriſh garriſon, commanded by Sarſefield, fled precipitately on a falſe alarm of danger. The Engliſh beheld theſe men, whoſe exploits had been ſo celebrated, with ſurprize and diſappointment. Inſtead of a regular and well diſciplined battalion, they found them a militia without any of the pomp, and *ſcarcely furniſhed with the conveniences of war; their equipage mean and unſeemly, and their horſes of the low breed of their country.* Yet with this diſadvantageous appearance, they retained an undaunted ſpirit, and a contempt of the enemy. They beheld their reconnoitering parties with impatience, and lamented the ſcrupulous diſcipline of Schomberg, which prevented them from flying to the attack. While the general too cautiouſly reſtrained theſe men from their irregular war, and proceeded with a ſcrupulous conformity to military rules, the enemy gained time to burn down Newry in their retreat; and while the duke of Berwick was thus employed, one of his parties ſet flames to Carlingford. Schomberg, by a trumpet, threatened to give no quarter, ſhould the enemy continue theſe barbarities; they abandoned Dundalk, without injuring the town: and hither the Engliſh army advanced, encamping at about the diſtance of a mile northward from the town, in low and moiſt ground, with the mountains of Newry to the eaſt, the town and river to the ſouth, and on the north, hills and bogs intermixed.

Hamilton's Actions of the Enniſkilleners.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

SUCH were the exalted ideas which James's officers had formed of Schomberg and his army, that they entertained little hope of oppoſing him, and were ſaid to deliberate whether it might be expedient not only to abandon their preſent ſtation at Drogheda, but to retire from Dublin. Tyrconnel had the honour of diverting them from a reſolution ſo inglorious. He haſtened to the main army at Drogheda, conſiſting of about eight or ten thouſand; he aſſured them of an immediate reinforcement, to the amount of twenty thouſand more. Theſe troops were inſtantly poured in from the ſouthern province; it was therefore finally reſolved to maintain their preſent ſtation.

Ibid.

HITHERTO duke Schomberg had marched through a country full of bogs and mountains, where the enemy's cavalry could not annoy him. The country before him was plain and open, where the ſuperiour numbers of the enemy could eaſily ſurround his army, and cut off all communication with their ſhips and their northern friends. The fleet on which he depended for artillery and proviſions had not yet arrived at Carlingford. His men, undiſciplined and ignorant, had already experienced the hardſhips of their preſent ſervice, waſted by a fatiguing march in rain and tempeſt, in cold and hunger, through a country diſpiriting by its aſpect, and by the inclemency of the ſeaſon rendered ſtill more dreary and diſtreſſing. Several had ſunk under theſe ſeverities; the ſick lay languiſhing on the roads, and gave full employment to parties detached from every regiment in the army to collect and convey them to the camp. In ſuch circumſtances, Schomberg deemed it imprudent to advance. The enemy were elated with intelligence that "he halted." Mareſchal Roſen at once pronounced, that "he muſt be in want "of ſomething;" and immediately drew his forces towards Dundalk, while the duke fortified his camp, ſo as to make it impoſſible for the enemy to force him to an action.

His

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

His ſoldiers in a confined and unwholeſome ſtation, in the midſt of damps and winter ſhowers, without ſufficient food, fewel, or covering, attended by ſurgeons who had provided for the cure of wounds, but neglected the proviſions neceſſary for diſeaſes, ſoon grew languid and diſtempered. The ſick were at firſt removed to Carlingford. But an unfriendly climate and inclement ſeaſon ſoon weakened the whole army by fluxes; and a burning fever was caught from the garriſon of Derry. While the attention of a vigilant and humane commander was fixed on the diſtreſſes of his ſoldiers, the enemy approached. One party was detached to ſeize the paſs at Newry, ſo as to fall on the rear of the Engliſh; but, on the firſt appearance of oppoſition, retreated to Sligo. Another preſented themſelves before the camp, but at the ſight of ſome cavalry retired to their main body. The whole army was then drawn out with James at their head, and diſplayed their royal ſtandard. The duke obſerved them calmly, and when his officers were impatient to engage, "Let them alone," ſaid he, "we ſhall ſee what they "will do." They ſtill advanced; Schomberg was ſtill compoſed, inſiſting, that their appearance indicated no intention of fighting. They drew up in regular array, as if to ſtorm the camp. The duke then diſpatched orders to his cavalry to return, on an appointed ſignal, from foraging, and the foot were commanded to ſtand to their arms. Theſe orders were received with joy; even the ſick and languid ſeized their muſkets in full confidence of victory, and only ſolicitous to be relieved from their preſent diſtreſs. But at the moment when an engagement ſeemed inevitable, James drew off his forces to Ardee. His army affected aſtoniſhment and vexation at this retreat; as if the ſtorming duke Schomberg's camp were *an enterprize of no danger*, they imputed his apparent *irreſolution* to a miſtaken tenderneſs for his Engliſh ſubjects; and Roſen exclaimed, "Had your majeſty ten kingdoms, you would *loſe*

Hiſtoire d'Ireland par Magehagan.

"them." The Engliſh on the other hand ſuſpected, that the enemy's motions had been intended only to countenance a conſpiracy formed by ſome French papiſts to betray the camp. On the ſucceeding day the deſign was diſcovered; the principal accomplices were executed, and a number of popiſh ſoldiers diſarmed, and tranſported to Holland.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

While Schomberg confined his other forces, and was aſſiduous in exerciſing and training his inexperienced troops, the Enniſkilleners were allowed to make their uſual excurſions. About a thouſand of theſe brave Northerns ſuddenly attacked a ſuperiour body of the enemy on their march to Sligo, ſlew their commander, routed the party, and gained a conſiderable booty. But the joy of this victory was ſoon allayed by the loſs of Jameſtown and Sligo, from which Sarſefield drove the garriſons. A French officer indeed, having poſſeſſed himſelf of a fort, and being ſupplied with proviſions, bravely maintained his poſt, and at laſt capitulated upon honourable terms. Sarſefield attempted to ſeduce his men to the ſervice of king James: one only accepted his gold, his horſe, and furniture, and the next day rode off to the camp of Dundalk.

Here the diſtreſſes of the army every day encreaſed. The fleet indeed gradually arrived at their place of deſtination, and furniſhed ſome proviſions; but the contagion had ſpread too widely, and raged too violently to be ſubdued. The Engliſh, unaccuſtomed to ſeverities, confined to a low and moiſt ſtation, drenched with perpetual ſhowers, without the means of health, or the relief neceſſary in ſickneſs, died daily in great numbers. Several of their moſt diſtinguiſhed officers caught the infection, languiſhed, and expired. The men accuſed their general of an intention to protract the war, and of indifference to their calamity. They imputed it to the coldneſs of his years, and even to dotage, that they were confined to a peſtilential ſpot, inſtead of being led againſt an enemy they were confident of defeating.

Ibid.

He ordered that they ſhould build huts for ſhelter ; in liſtleſs deſpondency they ſlighted his orders, and thus encreaſed their own diſtreſs ; indifferent to all expedients for relief, as they ſuperſtitiouſly conceived that they were fated to deſtruction. They recounted the calamities of former times, by which Dundalk was diſtinguiſhed ; they liſtened to narratives of tremendous meteors hovering over the very place on which they lay, of ſhrieks and groans heard in the air, the ſure prognoſtics of calamity. Every day rendered them more and more habituated to ſpectacles of miſery, till at length they were deprived of all remains of ſenſibility. Their companions died unnoticed ; the ſurvivours uſed their bodies for ſeats or ſhelter, and when theſe were carried to interment, murmured at being deprived of their conveniences.

Impartial Hiſt.

The enemy, who encamped on *firmer and more elevated* ground, inſulted their miſeries. They imputed *it* to the judgment of Heaven, that the heretical army (ſeated in a valley, and ſurrounded with mountains) was overwhelmed with rains, while they themſelves enjoyed an unclouded ſky : yet, in the end, their calamities became equally grievous, and their numbers were equally diminiſhed.

While they prepared to retire to winter-quarters, Schomberg was reinforced by ſome regiments from England and Scotland. To prevent theſe troops from catching the infection and to preſerve the remains of his army, he reſolved to abandon his fatal ſtation, and, for the preſent, pitched a new camp beyond the town. The men now clamoured at being drawn from their huts, which they had at length conſented to build, and expoſed in ſhattered tents to the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. The ſick were ordered on board the ſhips ; the ſhips could not contain their numbers. Waggons were provided to convey them to Belfaſt ; ſome died on their firſt attempt to remove ; the officers were employed in attendance on the ſick : the general

Ibid. p. 31.

Ibid. p. 35.

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at the age of fourſcore years, afflicted with this ſcene of wretchedneſs, expoſed to the violence of a dreary and tempeſtuous ſeaſon, ſtood for hours at the bridge of Dundalk, commanding, encouraging, directing every means for alleviating the miſeries of his men. Scarcely had they been diſpoſed in the waggons, when at the firſt violent motion ſeveral expired, and the roads were ſtrewed with their carcaſſes. An army thus waſted was ſuddenly alarmed with advice that the enemy was at hand. Even the faint and diſeaſed catched at their arms, and ſtill confident of victory, cried out, "the papiſts ſhall now pay for our being "detained ſo long in ſuch diſmal quarters." Happily the alarm proved falſe. It was now time for Schomberg to diſpoſe of that part of his army which remained in the northern towns. Hither he retired without any interruption from the enemy, (except one futile and ill-conducted attempt to ſeize the paſs at Newry) and hither his ſoldiers conveyed the infection of their camp.

London Gazette.

The people of England had poſſeſſed their minds with the moſt brilliant expectations from duke Schomberg's army. His diſtreſſes had been concealed from them; they were aſſured that his camp was in a flouriſhing condition, ſupplied abundantly with every neceſſary. But, inſtead of reducing Ireland, they found him entrenching himſelf againſt an enemy they were long habituated to deſpiſe, and confining his operations to the protection of the northern province. Their pride was exaſperated at the diſappointment; the factious were delighted at this new occaſion of loading the king's miniſters with odium. From the firſt riſe of the war in Ireland, the Engliſh commons affected to diſcover an attention to this kingdom, poſſibly with the greater zeal, as it was apparently neglected by the king. They ſtudied means for relieving thoſe proteſtants who fled from Ireland. Their artificers were allowed to trade in Engliſh corporations; their clergy to hold benefices in England conſiſtently with their Iriſh preferments, until theſe ſhould be recovered; their

Commons Journals, April 9, 1689. June 25. —— 29.

their gentry they recommended to be ſupplied from the eſtates of thoſe who were in arms againſt the preſent government. Enraged at repeated intelligence of the diſtreſs ſuſtained by the brave garriſon of Derry, they enquired into the delays and miſconduct in the ſervice of Ireland; and when the king heſitated to communicate the minute-books of that committee of the privy-council who managed the affairs of this kingdom, they reſolved that his adviſers were enemies to the king and kingdom. When theſe were obtained, and found inſufficient for their ſatisfaction, they examined witneſſes, they enquired with particular accuracy into the conduct of Lundy, now a priſoner in the Tower, and they addreſſed the king that he might be tranſmitted to London-Derry, there to be tried by a court-martial.

July 13.

Auguſt 12.

In the midſt of this ferment, George Walker arrived in London with an addreſs to the king from the inhabitants of Derry. He was received with the utmoſt grace, and immediately preſented with five thouſand pounds. The city of London invited him to an entertainment; the populace crowded round him with acclamations; and the eyes of all were turned with wonder and delight on this military clergyman; for he reaſſumed the habit of his original profeſſion, and by this ſlight circumſtance ſeems to have rendered himſelf an object of greater favour and attention. With the houſe of commons he was equally a favourite. He petitioned them for ſome relief for the widows and orphans of thoſe who periſhed in the defence of Derry, and for the clergy of this city. They addreſſed the king to diſtribute ten thouſand pounds for this purpoſe. Walker received their thanks from the ſpeaker, and was deſired to preſent the thanks of the houſe to thoſe who had ſerved under him. They conſulted him upon the affairs of Ireland; and now, more exaſperated by the event of Schomberg's expedition, they greedily received his information, that the misfortunes

London Gazette.

Commons Journals. November.

tunes of the duke aroſe entirely from the miſconduct of one Shales, purveyor to the army, by whoſe default his grace wanted artillery, horſes, and carriages, the ſoldiers bread, their horſes ſhoes and forage, and the ſurgeons medicines. In their rage they multiplied addreſſes. They firſt deſired that perſons ſhould be ſent into Ireland to take account of the numbers and condition of the army; then, that the king ſhould order Shales to cuſtody. But this had been already ordered: as the man had been employed by James, he was the more obnoxious to thoſe who affected attachment to the preſent government. The houſe again deſired that the king would inform them by whoſe advice Shales had been employed. To this queſtion he declared that he could return no anſwer; but, at the ſame time, to *allay the reſentments of the houſe which pointed directly at his miniſters, he propoſed that the commons ſhould nominate* commiſſioners, to take care of all preparations neceſſary for the ſervice of Ireland. This gracious condeſcenſion ſerved to check their animoſity for a moment, but not to extinguiſh it. They indeed deſired to be excuſed from ſuch a recommendation, leaving it "to his majeſty's great wiſdom to nominate fit perſons." But they ſoon remonſtrated with new violence againſt miſcarriages in the army, the fleet, and in Ireland; and reſolved, that the king ſhould be addreſſed to take theſe into conſideration, to find out the authors, and to entruſt the management of affairs to perſons unſuſpected, and more to the ſafety of his majeſty and ſatisfaction of his ſubjects. But it is no part of the preſent work to trace the progreſs of faction and competition in this aſſembly. It is only pertinent to obſerve, that William, irritated, mortified, and diſtracted by contention, inſtead of retiring, as he once propoſed, to Holland, and relinquiſhing a ſovereignty attended with the moſt exquiſite vexations choſe new friends, reſolved to call a new parliament, to commit the reins of government to his popular queen, and to undertake the war of Ireland in perſon.

Commons Journals. December.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

THE firſt report of this deſign was a conſiderable encouragement to the Engliſh army in Ulſter. Duke Schomberg had retired to winter quarters with about half thoſe numbers he had brought to Ireland; and, although the diſtempers of his army were not immediately ſubdued, yet care and conveniences, wholeſome food, and warm quarters, ſoon reſtored them to an unuſual degree of vigour. Several regiments were broken one into another, and officers ſent to England for recruits. The Enniſkilleners made ſome excurſions with their uſual alertneſs; nor were the Iriſh regiments ſtationed at Ardee entirely inactive. Early in the month of February, Schomberg received intelligence that the enemy were collecting about Dundalk, in order to diſturb his frontier garriſons. Some troops were detached to watch their motions; but it ſoon appeared that their deſign lay another way. The Enniſkilleners had ſurpriſed their garriſon at Belturbet, and fortified the place; their preſent purpoſe was to recover it. The gallant Northerns, under their victorious leader Wolſey, marched from the town, hoping to ſurpriſe them in Cavan. But hither the duke of Berwick had already arrived with a conſiderable reinforcement; and the Northerns, to the number of one thouſand, were encountered by four thouſand Iriſh. The ſudden violent impreſſion of a ſpirited enemy had a greater effect in this petty action, than perhaps is uſually experienced in more extenſive engagements. The Iriſh at the firſt onſet fled from thoſe who had been accuſtomed to victory. The northern forces burſt into the town, and were plundering it, when thoſe of the enemy who had fled to the fort ſallied out to renew the engagement. Wolſey could recall his men from their preſent diſorder, only by ſetting fire to a town ſtored with all manner of proviſions. Thus forced from their prey, they completed their victory, with conſiderable ſlaughter.

Ibid.

THE ſpirits of the Engliſh army were elevated by ſuch petty ſucceſſes. Cloaths, arms, ammunition, and proviſions arrived from England; and to animate them ſtill farther, ſeven thouſand well-appointed troops of Denmark landed at Belfaſt, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg. Schomberg was now employed in furniſhing his frontier garriſons with ſtores; nor was James leſs aſſiduous in forming his magazines and preparing for the campaign. If he really expreſſed a reſolution of truſting to his own ſubjects for ſucceſs, he had by this time forgotten ſuch heroic ſentiments. He now accepted five thouſand French troops, under the conduct of count Lauzun; and in their place an equal number of Iriſh was tranſported to France. However ſuch an exchange might have been warranted by theory or authority, James had the mortification to find his new auxiliaries refractory and diſobedient. They knew and acknowledged no ſuperiour but Lauzun; and this general attended, not to the intereſt of the king, but that of his troops: he conſidered himſelf as in an enemy's country, and lived at free quarter.

A.D. 1690. Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

A TRIVIAL incident ſerved to encreaſe the mortification of this unhappy prince. The only frigate he yet retained of that royal fleet which once obeyed him, lay in the bay of Dublin ready to convoy ſome ſmall veſſels to France laden with various goods, for which he had obtruded his braſs coin on the proprietors. Some firing was heard from ſea; James flattered himſelf that it was occaſioned by ſome of his ſubjects of England returning to their allegiance. The ſtrand was quickly crowded; James himſelf rode towards the ſhore at the head of his guards, and thus became the ſpectator of the gallantry of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who had failed with a few ſhips from Belfaſt, and now, after ſome reſiſtance, took the frigate with the whole convoy.

BUT what afflicted James ſtill more ſenſibly was the loſs of Charlemont. This fort was eſteemed ſo ſtrong and ſo well provided, that Schomberg in his progreſs did not venture to attack it. In ſpring, when his forces were capable of action, Caillemote, a brave French officer, was poſted on the Blackwater, and harraſſed and ſtreightened the garriſon; as the ſeaſon advanced, the caſtle was more cloſely inveſted, and the governour ſummoned to ſurrender. This governour, O'Regan, a brave Iriſh officer, but of rude and vulgar manners, deigned no other reply, but that "The old knave Schomberg ſhall not "have this caſtle." A detachment of five hundred men ſent to its relief, with a ſmall quantity of ammunition and proviſions, was ſuffered to march in after a ſlight reſiſtance. They ſoon found that their additional numbers only ſerved to haſten on that famine with which the garriſon was threatened; and, therefore, attempted to return, but were repeatedly driven back with ſlaughter. O'Regan, incenſed at their *ill-ſucceſs*, ſwore that if they would not force their way, they were to expect no entertainment within, and obliged them to lodge on the counterſcarp and dry ditch within the paliſadoes. The diſtreſſes of the garriſon, and the detachment thus excluded, ſoon became intolerable, and the governour, of conſequence, leſs arrogant. He propoſed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

IN the mean time, ſeveral new regiments, Engliſh, Dutch, and Brandenburghers, arrived in the northern province; and the army was every day encouraged with aſſurance that William was ſpeedily to land. The hopes of pay, the expectations of preferment, the deſire of having their ſovereign a witneſs of their meritorious conduct, poſſeſſed both officers and ſoldiers. They impatiently expected the king; and, on the fourteenth day of June, received him at Carricfergus in a tranſport of joy. He came, attended by prince George of Denmark, the young duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Mancheſter, and other perſons of diſtinction; was met by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, Kirk, and other officers; received an addreſs from the northern clergy, preſented by Walker, and publiſhed his proclamations for the ſuppreſſion of rapine, violence, and injuſtice. His military genius prompted him, and the preſent diſtracted ſtate of England, together with the formidable preparations of France, obliged him to a vigorous proſecution of the war. From Belfaſt he advanced to Liſburne and Hillſborough. Here he commenced the exerciſe of his civil authority, by an act highly acceptable to the inhabitants of the northern province. The teachers of diſſenting congregations which abounded in this province, had acted with zeal againſt the cauſe of popery and the late king. One of this order had the merit of firſt encouraging the populace to ſhut the gates of Derry; ſeveral had patiently endured the hardſhips of the ſiege; and in every part of Ulſter theſe miniſters had ſhared deeply in the diſtreſſes of war. William now iſſued his warrant, granting them an annual penſion of twelve hundred pounds, to be paid by the collector of cuſtoms in the port of Belfaſt; a penſion afterwards inſerted in the civil liſt, and made payable from the exchequer. His forces were ordered to take the field; and when ſome cautious counſels were ſuggeſted by his officers, he rejected them with indignation. "I came not "to Ireland," ſaid he, "to let graſs grow under my feet." At Loughbrickland, his whole army aſſembled from their different quarters, and were joined by the king and his train. William ordered them to change their encampment, that he might review the regiments on their march to the new ground. The officers imagined, that on a tempeſtuous and duſty day, he would content himſelf with a general view from ſome convenient ſtation; but they ſaw him dart quickly into the throng, riding eagerly from place to place, examining every regiment and every troop diſtinctly and critically. His ſoldiers were thus pleaſed and animated, every man conſidering himſelf as under the immediate inſpection of his royal leader, who took his quar-

Harris's Life of King Wil. Walker's Diary.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

ters in the camp, was the whole day on horſeback, at the head of an advanced party, viewing the adjacent country, reconnoitering, or directing the accommodations neceſſary for his ſoldiers. When an order was preſented to him to be ſigned for wine for his own table, he paſſionately exclaimed, that his men ſhould be firſt provided; "Let them not want," ſaid he, "I "ſhall drink water." An army of thirty-ſix thouſand men thus animated, and excellently appointed, advanced ſouthward to decide the fate of Ireland, while the fleet coaſted ſlowly in view, to ſupply them with every neceſſary, and thus to encreaſe their confidence.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Six days had elapſed from the time of William's landing, when James received the firſt intelligence that a prince, who, he confidently believed muſt be detained in England by faction and diſcontent, was already on his march to meet him. He committed the guard of Dublin to a militia, under the command of Lutterel, the governour, and marched with ſix thouſand French infantry, to join the main body of his army, which, at the approach of the enemy, had retired from Dundalk and Ardee, and now lay near Drogheda, on the banks of the river Boyne. His numbers were about thirty-three thouſand. His council of officers reminded him, that the naval armament of France was completed, and the fleet perhaps already on the Engliſh coaſt; that Louis had promiſed, as ſoon as the ſquadron attending on William ſhould return, he would ſend a fleet of frigates into the Iriſh ſeas to deſtroy his tranſports; that he would be thus fatally detained in Ireland, while Britain was threatened by foreign invaſion, and the domeſtic enemies of the reigning prince concerting an inſurrection. In ſuch circumſtances they adviſed him to wait the event of thoſe deſigns formed in his favour, not to hazard an engagement againſt ſuperiour numbers, to ſtrengthen his garriſons, to march to the Shannon with his cavalry and a ſmall body of foot, and thus to maintain a defenſive war againſt an enemy, which, in a ſtrange and unfriendly climate, without proviſions or ſuccours, muſt gradually periſh by diſeaſe and famine. James, on the contrary contended, that to abandon the capital were to confeſs himſelf ſubdued; that his reputation muſt be irreparably ruined; that the Iriſh, who judged by appearances, would deſert; and, what was ſtill of more moment, his friends in England and Scotland muſt be diſpirited, and deterred from their attempts to reſtore him. He expreſſed ſatisfaction, that he had at laſt the opportunity of one fair battle for the crown. He inſiſted on maintaining his preſent poſt; and from ſuch animated language, his officers concluded that he meant to take a deſperate part in the engagement: yet, with an ominous precaution, he *diſpatched Sir Patrick Trant, one of his commiſſioners of revenue, to Waterford, to prepare a ſhip for conveying him to France in caſe of any misfortune.*

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

WILLIAM was no ſtranger to the motions of the French, and the machinations of his enemies. Whatever was the proper conduct for James, it was evidently his intereſt to bring their conteſt to an immediate deciſion. On the laſt day of June, at the firſt dawn of morning, his army moved towards the river in three columns. He marched at the head of his advanced guard, which by nine o'clock appeared within two miles of Drogheda. William obſerving a hill weſt of the town, rode to the ſummit with his principal officers, to take a view of the enemy. On their right was Drogheda, filled with Iriſh ſoldiers. Eaſtward of the town on the farther banks of the river, their camp extended in two lines, with a moraſs on the left, difficult to be paſſed. In their front were the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by ſome breaſt-works, with huts and hedges, convenient to be lined with infantry. On their rear, at ſome diſtance, lay the church and village of Donore; three miles farther was the paſs of *Duleek*, on which they depended for a retreat. The view of their encampment was intercepted by ſome hills to the ſouth-weſt; ſo that Sgravenmore, one of William's generals, who counted but forty-ſix regiments, ſpoke with contempt of the enemy's numbers. The king obſerved, that more might lye concealed behind theſe hills, and many be ſtationed in the town; "But it is my purpoſe," ſaid he, "to be ſpeedily acquainted with their whole "ſtrength."

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

His army was now marching into camp; when William, anxious to gain a nearer and more diſtinct view of the enemy, advanced, with ſome officers, within muſket-ſhot of a ford oppoſite to a village called Old-bridge; here he conferred for ſome time on the methods of paſſing, and planting his batteries; when, riding on ſtill weſtward, he alighted and ſat down to refreſh himſelf on a riſing-ground. Neither the motions of William nor of his army were unnoticed. Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarſefield, and ſome other generals, rode ſlowly on the oppoſite banks, viewing the army in their march, and ſoon diſcovered the preſent ſituation of the king. A party of about forty horſe immediately appeared in a plowed field oppoſite to the place on which he ſat. In their center they carefully concealed two field-pieces, which they planted unnoticed under cover of a hedge, and retired. William mounted his horſe; at that moment the firſt diſcharge killed a man and two horſes on a line, (at ſome diſtance) with the king: another ball inſtantly ſucceeded, grazed on the banks of the river, roſe, and ſlanted on his right ſhoulder, tearing his coat and fleſh. His attendants crowded round him, and appeared in confuſion. An univerſal ſhout of joy rung through the Iriſh camp, at the news that Orange was no more. It was conveyed rapidly to Dublin; it was wafted to Paris; Louis received it with exſtacy; and the guns of the Baſtile proclaimed the meanneſs of his triumph.

While ſome ſquadrons of the enemy's horſe drew down to the river, as if to purſue a flying enemy, William rode through his camp, to prevent all alarms or falſe reports of his danger. On the arrival of his artillery, the batteries were mounted, and the cannonading continued on each ſide, not without ſome execution, till the cloſe of evening. Some deſerters were received, and gave various accounts of the ſtrength and diſpoſition of the enemy. One who appeared of ſome note, ſpoke ſo plauſibly, and, at the ſame time, ſo magnificently of their numbers, that William ſeemed diſconcerted. To Sir Robert Southwell, his ſecretary of ſtate, who had given him different intelligence, he expreſſed his ſuſpicion that the enemy was really ſtronger than he imagined. Southwell communicated the king's doubts to Cox, his under-ſecretary, through whoſe channel the intelligence had been conveyed. Cox, with an acuteneſs, which ſeems to have laid the foundation of his future fortune, led the deſerter through the Engliſh camp; and when he had ſurveyed it, aſked to what he computed the amount of William's forces. The man confidently rated them at more than double their number. The king was thus ſatisfied that his reports aroſe from ignorance and preſumption. Other deſerters made reports more unfavourable to the enemy; and the king was aſſured, that James, in expectation of a defeat, had already conveyed part of his baggage and artillery to Dublin.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Harris's Life of King Will.

About nine at night, William called a council of war, not to deliberate, but to receive his orders; and here he declared his reſolution of paſſing the river in front of the enemy. Duke Schomberg, with the caution natural to his years, endeavoured to diſſuade him from this hazardous enterprize; and when he could not prevail, inſiſted, that part of the army ſhould be immediately detached to ſecure the bridge of Slane, about three miles weſtward of their camp, ſo as to flank the enemy, and to cut them off from Duleek, the paſs through which they

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

might retreat. It is generally imputed to the indifference with which his counſel was received, that this general retired in diſguſt, and received the order of battle in his tent, declaring that "it was the firſt ever ſent to him." Nor did James diſcover more attention to this important paſs of Slane. In his council of war, Hamilton recommended that eight regiments might be ſent immediately to ſecure the bridge. James propoſed to employ fifty dragoons in this ſervice; the general, in aſtoniſhment, bowed, and was ſilent.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

WILLIAM directed that the river ſhould be paſſed in three different places; by his right wing commanded by count Schomberg, ſon of the duke, and general Douglas on the weſt, at ſome fords diſcovered near the bridge of Slane; by the center commanded by duke Schomberg, in front of the *Iriſh* camp; and by the left wing led by the *king himſelf*, at a ford between the army and the town of Drogheda. At midnight William once more rode through his camp with torches, inſpected every poſt, and iſſued his final orders.

Ibid.

EARLY on the ſucceeding morning, count Schomberg with the cavalry, and Douglas with the infantry, which compoſed the right wing, marched towards Slane with greater alacrity than the troops ſent from the other ſide to oppoſe them. They croſſed the river without any oppoſition except from a regiment of dragoons ſtationed over night at the ford, of which they killed ſeventy, before their retreat could be ſecured. They advanced and found their antagoniſts drawn up in two lines. They formed, mixing their horſe and foot, ſquadron with battalion, till on the arrival of more infantry they changed their poſition, drawing the horſe to the right, by which they conſiderably out-flanked the enemy. But they were to force their way through fields encloſed by deep ditches difficult to be ſurmounted, eſpecially by the horſe; who, in the face of an enemy, were obliged to advance in order; beyond theſe lay the moraſs ſtill more embarraſſing. The infantry were ordered to plunge in, and while the horſe found a firm paſſage to the right, forced their way with fatigue and difficulty. The enemy, aſtoniſhed at their intrepidity, fled inſtantly towards Duleek, and were purſued with ſlaughter.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

By the time when it was ſuppoſed that the right wing had made good their paſſage, the infantry in the center was ſet in motion. The Dutch guards firſt entered the river, on the right, oppoſite to Old-bridge. The French proteſtants and Enniſkilleners, Brandenburghers and Engliſh, at their ſeveral paſſes to the left, plunged in with alacrity, checking the current, and ſwelling the water, ſo that it roſe in ſome places to their middle, in others to their breaſts, and obliged the infantry to ſupport their arms above their heads. The Dutch had marched unmoleſted to the middle of the river, when a violent diſcharge was made from the houſes, breaſt-works, and hedges, but without execution; they moved on, gained the oppoſite banks, formed gradually, and drove the Iriſh from their poſts. As they ſtill advanced, the ſquadrons and battalions of the enemy ſuddenly appeared in view behind the eminences which had concealed them. Five of theſe battalions bore down upon thoſe Dutch who had already paſſed, but were received firmly, and repulſed. The efforts of the Iriſh horſe were equally unſucceſsful. Two attacks were bravely repelled, when the French and Enniſkilleners arrived to the ſupport of the Dutch, and drove back a third body of horſe with conſiderable execution.

Ibid.

In the mean time, general Hamilton led the Iriſh infantry to the very margin of the river to oppoſe the paſſage of the French and Engliſh. But his men, although ſtationed in the poſt of honour at the requiſition of their officers, ſhrunk from the danger. Their cavalry proved more ſpirited. A ſquadron of Danes was attacked with ſuch fury and ſucceſs, that they fled back through the river. The Iriſh horſe purſued, and, on their return,

turn, fell furiouſly on the French huguenots, who had no pikes to ſuſtain their ſhock, and were inſtantly broken. Caillemote, their brave commander, received his mortal wound, and when borne to the Engliſh camp, with his laſt breath animated his countrymen who were paſſing the river. As he lay bleeding in the arms of four ſoldiers, he collected ſtrength to exclaim repeatedly, in his own language, "A la gloire, mes enfans! a la gloire!" "To glory, my boys! to glory!" The rapidity of the Iriſh horſe, the flight of the Danes, and the diſorder of the French, ſpread a general alarm, and the want of cavalry ſtruck the minds even of the peaſants, who were but ſpectators of the battle ſo forcibly, that a general cry of "Horſe! horſe!" was ſuddenly raiſed, was miſtaken for an order to "Halt," ſurpriſed and confounded the center, was conveyed to the right wing, and for a while retarded their purſuit. In this moment of diſorder, duke Schomberg, who had waited to ſupport his friends on any dangerous emergency, ruſhed through the river, and placing himſelf at the head of the huguenot forces, who were now deprived of their leader, pointed to ſome French regiments in their front, and cried, "Allons, meſſieurs; voila vos "perſecuteurs." "Come on, gentlemen, there are your perſe-"cutors." Theſe were his laſt words. The Iriſh horſe who had broken the French proteſtants, wheeled through Oldbridge, in order to join their main body; but were here cut down by the Dutch and Enniſkilleners. About ſixteen of their ſquadron eſcaped, and returning furiouſly from the ſlaughter of their companions, were miſtaken by the huguenots for ſome of their own friends, and ſuffered to paſs. They wounded Schomberg in the head, and were hurrying him forward, when his own men fired and ſlew him. About the ſame time, Walker of London-Derry, whoſe paſſion for military glory had hurried him unneceſſarily into this engagement, received a wound in his belly, and inſtantly expired.

AFTER

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After an uninterrupted firing of an hour, the diſorder on both ſides occaſioned ſome reſpite. The centre of the Engliſh army began to recover from their confuſion. The Iriſh retreated towards Donore, where James ſtood during the engagement, ſurrounded by his guards; and here, drawing up in good order, once more advanced. William had now croſſed the river at the head of Dutch, Daniſh, and Engliſh cavalry, through a dangerous and difficult paſs, where his horſe floundering in the mud, obliged him to diſmount, and accept the aſſiſtance of his attendants. And now, when the enemy had advanced almoſt within muſket-ſhot of his infantry, he was ſeen with his ſword drawn, animating his ſquadrons, and preparing to fall on their flank. They halted, and again retreated to Donore. But here *facing about vigorouſly, they charged with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Engliſh cavalry, though led on by their king, was forced* from their ground. William, with a collection of thought which accompanies true courage, rode up to the Enniſkilleners, and aſked "What they would do for him?" Their officer informed them who he was; they advanced with him, and received the enemy's fire. But, as he wheeled to the left, they followed by miſtake; yet, while William led up ſome Dutch troops, they perceived their errour, and returned bravely to the charge. The battle was now maintained on each ſide with equal ardour, and with variety of fortune. The king, who mingled in the hotteſt part of the engagement, was conſtantly expoſed to danger. One of his own troopers miſtaking him for an enemy, preſented a piſtol to his head: William calmly put it by. "What," ſaid he, "do you not know your friends?" The preſence of ſuch a prince gave double vigour to his ſoldiers. The Iriſh infantry were finally repulſed. Hamilton made one deſperate effort to turn the fortune of the day, at the head of his horſe. Their ſhock was furious, but neither orderly nor ſteady. They were routed, and their general conveyed a priſoner to William. The king aſked him whether the Iriſh would fight more. Upon "my honour," ſaid Hamilton, "I believe they will; for they "have yet a good body of horſe." William ſurveyed the man who had betrayed him in his tranſactions with Tyrconnel, and in a ſullen and contemptuous tone exclaimed, "Honour! "YOUR honour!"

NOR was this aſſeveration of Hamilton well-grounded. The right wing of William's army had by this time forced their way through difficult grounds, and purſued the enemy cloſe to Duleek. Lauzun rode up to James, who ſtill continued at Donore, adviſing him to retreat immediately, as he was in danger of being ſurrounded. He marched to Duleek at the head of Sarſefield's regiment; his army followed, and poured through the paſs, not without ſome annoyance from a party of Engliſh dragoons, which they might eaſily have cut to pieces, had they not been ſolely intent on flying. When they reached the open ground, they drew up, and cannonaded their purſuers. Their officers ordered all things for a retreat, which they made in ſuch order, as was commended by their enemies. Their loſs in this engagement was computed at fifteen hundred; that of William's army ſcarcely amounted to one third of this number *.

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* Burnet aſſures us, that all Tyrconnel's papers were taken in the camp, and thoſe of James afterwards found in Dublin; from which the king learned the deſign of the French to burn his tranſports. "Among the earl of "Tyrconnel's papers," ſaith the right reverend hiſtorian, "there was one "letter writ to queen Mary at St. Germains, the night before the battle, but "it was not ſent. In it, he ſaid, he looked on all as loſt; and ended it "thus, *I have now no hope in any thing but in Jones's buſineſs.*" This he explains, by telling us, from the information of lord Carmarthen, that this Jones was employed to aſſaſſinate king William. He ſays, that Sir Robert Southwell inſpected all the papers and letters of Tyrconnel, and gave him copies of two. In one he writes, that Jones is come; that his propoſition was likelier to ſucceed than any yet made; but that his demands were high, *if any thing can be high for ſuch a ſervice.* In another he writes, that Jones had been with the king, *who did not like the thing* at firſt; but, he adds, we have now ſo ſatisfied

HERE was the final period of James's Iriſh royalty. He arrived at Dublin in great diſorder, and damped the joy of his friends, who, at the intelligence of William's death, every moment expected to receive him in triumph. He aſſembled the popiſh magiſtrates and council of the city: he told them, that in England his army had deſerted him; in Ireland, they had fled in the hour of danger, nor could be perſuaded to rally, though their loſs was inconſiderable; both he and they muſt therefore ſhift for themſelves. It had been deliberated, whether, in caſe of ſuch a misfortune, Dublin ſhould not be ſet on fire; but on their allegiance he charged them to commit no ſuch barbarous outrage, which muſt reflect diſhonour on him, and irritate the conquerour. He was obliged, he ſaid, to yield to force, but would *never ceaſe to labour for their deliverance; too much blood had been already ſhed; and Providence ſeemed to declare againſt him; he, therefore, adviſed them to ſet their priſoners at liberty*, and ſubmit to the prince of Orange, who was merciful. The reflection on the courage of his Iriſh troops was ungracious, and provoked their officers to retort it on the king. They

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ſatisfied him in conſcience and honour, that every thing is done that Jones deſires. Sir Robert Southwell, it ſeems, informed Burnet alſo, that Nagle furniſhed this Jones with money, and a poignard *of a particular compoſition*, together with a *Bible* bound without a Common Prayer, that, if ſeized, he might paſs for a diſſenter.

THE authority of Sir Robert Southwell, who attended William as ſecretary of ſtate, is indeed very conſiderable: elſe we might poſſibly be tempted to rank the *poignard of a particular compoſition*, with thoſe *ſilver bullets* of which we read in the reign of Charles the Second. And ſtill the whole narrative would appear leſs dubitable, if the biſhop had explained how papers of ſuch conſequence were ſuffered to remain in James's camp, when he had already ſent the baggage to Dublin, in expectation of a defeat; and how letters of any conſequence ſhould, after an interval of ſeveral days, be ſeized in Dublin, when James, or his miniſters at leaſt, were left at full leiſure to deſtroy or to remove them.

contended,

contended, that in the whole of the engagement, their men, though not animated by a princely leader, had taken no inglorious part. They obſerved, that while William ſhared the danger of his army, encouraging them by his preſence, by his voice, by his example, James ſtood at ſecure diſtance a quiet ſpectator of the conteſt for his crown and dignity. "Exchange "kings," ſaid they, "and we will once more fight the battle." Their indignation was encreaſed, when they ſaw the prince who inveighed againſt Iriſh cowardice, fly precipitately to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a purſuit, and inſtantly embark for France. They who did not impute this conduct to a defect of ſpirit, at leaſt complained, that his Iriſh adherents were ſhamefully ſacrificed to his intereſts and deſigns in England. Nor did the officers of William expreſs entire ſatisfaction at his conduct. They complained, that the enemy were not purſued with ſufficient vigour, without weighing the diſadvantage ſuſtained by the loſs of duke Schomberg, or the danger of purſuit through a difficult paſs and an unknown country. They contended, that at the very moment of victory, ten thouſand men ſhould have been detached to Athlone and Limerick, to ſeize theſe important places, and prevent the Iriſh from re-aſſembling. But they were ſtrangers to thoſe anxieties which oppreſſed the king's mind. He every moment looked for an invaſion in England, and expecting to be recalled, deemed it imprudent to divide his army, or to remove to any diſtance from the coaſt. Drogheda was ſummoned; the Iriſh governour heſitated, but being aſſured, that if the cannon were brought up no quarter was to be expected, he ſurrendered on condition that the garriſon ſhould be conveyed, unarmed, to Athlone; and William now advanced ſlowly towards the capital.

CHAP. VII.

Dublin in confuſion.—Conduct of Fitzgerald.—King William encamps at Finglaſs.—Addreſs of the proteſtant clergy.—The king's declaration, and commiſſion of forfeitures.—Iriſh prepare to renew the war.—Waterford and Duncannon reduced by William.—His anxieties.—He returns to Chappel-Izod, and reſolves to embark.—He is diverted from his purpoſe, and joins the army.—General Douglas marches againſt Athlone.—His progreſs,—his ill ſucceſs,—his retreat.—William beſieges Limerick.—Vigorous defence of the garriſon.—Engliſh artillery ſurpriſed by Sarſefield.—Siege ſtill continued.—A breach,—a ſtorm.—Engliſh repulſed.—William raiſes the ſiege,—and embarks for England.—Enterprize of the earl of Marlborough.—Cork reduced.—Fort of Kinſale ſurrendered.—Engliſh forces retire to winter quarters.—General diſorder and diſtreſs.—Rapparees.—Civil adminiſtration at Dublin.—Attempt on the Engliſh frontier.—Action at the Moat of Grenoge.—Arrival of Saint Ruth.—Ballymore reduced.—March to Athlone.—The Engliſh town forced.—Efforts to gain the Iriſh town.—Reſolution of the beſieged.—Preparations for paſſing the river,—ſuſpended,—reſumed.—The paſſage.—Athlone taken.—Proclamation of pardon.—Saint Ruth retires to Aghrim.—The ſituation of his army.—Engliſh march to the attack.—The battle obſtinately maintained.—Death of Saint Ruth.—Final defeat of the Iriſh.—Galway beſieged, and ſurrendered on honourable conditions.—Situation of the Iriſh in Limerick.—Preparations for the ſiege.—Cautious procedure of Ginckle.—Succeſsful attempt to paſs the Shannon.—New declaration publiſhed by the general.—Second paſſage of the river.—Attack at Thomond-bridge.—The garriſon diſcontented.—A parley.—Engliſh priſoners releaſed.

—Their diſtreſſes.—Terms of capitulation propoſed by the garriſon,—rejected by Ginckle.—Treaty renewed.—Articles of capitulation ſettled and ſigned.—War of Ireland finally concluded.

A. D. 1690. IT doth not appear that James, on retiring, gave any orders to his officers, or any inſtructions for continuing the war. But, although he had renounced the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh, yet the intereſts of their religion were involved in his cauſe; nor had they any hopes of recovering the lands of their anceſtors, or ſecuring thoſe they ſtill retained, but by contending againſt the new government. Moſt of his army marched through Dublin, bending their courſe to Limerick and Athlone, with indignation at their king, affecting to rejoice at his flight, which relieved them from the embarraſſment of a leader who had no ſpirit for enterprize, no ſincere concern for their intereſts. The metropolis was now threatened with all the evils of anarchy. The civil officers of James had already fled, or were preparing for flight; no detachment had been ſent by William to ſecure the city. The proteſtant priſoners were ſet free, with violent animoſity againſt their perſecutors, breathing revenge, and ready for every outrage. They aſſembled in ſmall parties, they held their conſultations, and were on the point of forcing and rifling the houſes of papiſts, when Fitzgerald, a military officer of the family of Kildare, who had been delivered from his confinement, ſuddenly appeared among the populace, and diſſuaded them from their purpoſe. His character and family commanded their obedience; and, with the aſſiſtance of ſome gentry and clergy, he aſſumed the government of the city, gained the keys of the caſtle, perſuaded the main-guard, compoſed of about thirty popiſh militia, to lay down their arms, put them in the hands of proteſtants, and ſent expreſſes to king William's camp to requeſt immediate aſſiſtance.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Harris's Life of King Will. p. 271.

In this interval of danger and terrour, Fitzgerald was every moment alarmed. It was whiſpered that one thouſand of the enemy were returned. The ſuburbs were already ſet on fire; he flew to extinguiſh the flames, and the incendaries vaniſhed. In the mean time, the populace, ſtill impatient for plunder, broke into the houſe of Sarſefield; he ruſhed among them, and by perſuaſion, by menaces, by violence, reſtrained their outrages. Still they clamoured that the enemy were returning; he ſent new expreſſes to the king, and at length received nine troops of horſe, under the command of Auverquerque and Sgravenmore, attended by the duke of Ormond, (a perſon more acceptable to the citizens) and theſe again were reinforced by the Dutch guards. William, in the mean time, continued to advance *ſlowly, and encamped at Finglaſs, a village within two miles of the capital. Hence he entered the city, and repaired to* the cathedral church of Saint Patrick, to return thanks for his victory; but, ſtill attentive to the diſcipline and duties of a general, returned immediately to his camp. Here the proteſtant clergy attended him with an addreſs, congratulating his arrival, praying for his ſucceſs, expreſſing their loyalty, and entreating him not to think unfavourably of them for continuing in Ireland, and ſubmitting to a power which they could not reſiſt, and by which they had been enabled to ſerve both the church and his majeſty. He anſwered in the uſual manner, that he came to free them from popiſh tyranny, and doubted not, by the divine aſſiſtance, to complete his deſign; permitting them to appoint a day of ſolemn thankſgiving, and to compoſe an occaſional form of prayer. Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

William now publiſhed a declaration calculated, to detach the lower orders of ſubjects from their leaders. He promiſed pardon and protection to labourers, common ſoldiers, farmers, plowmen, and cottiers, to townſmen and artificers who remained at home, or ſhould return to their dwellings and ſur- Ibid.

render

render their arms. He commanded all tenants of proteſtant ſubjects to pay their rents to their reſpective landlords, and that the tenants of thoſe who were concerned in rebellion ſhould detain their rents, until the commiſſioners of his revenue ſhould ſignify to whom they were to be paid. As to the deſperate leaders of the rebellion, he declared his reſolution of leaving them to the event of war. A pardon ſo confined, and which indeed expreſsly warned the gentry who adhered to James, that they had no part to take but that of obſtinately continuing the war, is imputed to the influence of thoſe Engliſh who were impatient for forfeitures. They were gratified by a commiſſion iſſued for ſeizing and ſecuring all forfeitures accruing to the crown by the rebellion of the Iriſh, although no courts of judicature were now opened for *proceeding regularly and legally*. The commiſſioners *ſeized without mercy*; they harraſſed the country, yet made but inconſiderable returns into the Exchequer. They pleaded the defects of their commiſſion, and that as they were not ſufficiently empowered to diſpoſe of their ſeizures, theſe were frequently retaken by force. Thus the impatience of William's Engliſh adherents only ſerved to confirm the Iriſh in their averſion to the new government; and by a ſhameful diſregard, and almoſt perpetual violation of his protections granted to the peaſantry, they forced this order alſo to crowd to their old leaders, and to take arms for their ſecurity.

London Gazette. Harris's Life of King Wil.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Thus the Iriſh prepared to renew the war, poſſeſſed with every paſſion and every principle which renders an enemy dangerous and deſperate. They were exaſperated at the aſperſions caſt by James upon their national character, and impatient to redeem it. They ſaw their religion on the point of being utterly extinguiſhed, and their remains of property ready to be ſeized by ſtrangers; no ſecurity in ſubmiſſion, no reliance on any promiſes of pardon. Their leaders found leiſure to collect and enflame their party by the undecided conduct of king William. The joy of his late ſucceſs was inſtantly allayed by intelligence of the bloody victory gained by Luxemburg, in Flanders, over prince Waldeck and his confederate army; his mind was ſtill impreſſed with alarm and anxiety from the motions of the French navy; eight days had paſſed ſince his victory at the Boyne, when he at length reſolved to divide his army; and while he marched ſouthward, Douglas, one of his generals, was detached with ten regiments of foot, and five of cavalry, to reduce Athlone. Scarcely had William advanced thirty miles from the capital, when he received the afflicting intelligence of Tourville's ſucceſs over the united fleets of England and Holland. He was now doubly ſolicitous to gain a ſecure ſtation for his tranſports; and, for this purpoſe, to reduce Waterford and Duncannon. He haſtened his march; Wexford had already declared for him, and now received his garriſon; Clonmel was abandoned by the Iriſh; Waterford was ſummoned; the garriſon, after ſome heſitation, demanded the enjoyment of their eſtates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. This laſt article only was admitted; they accepted it, and ſurrendered. The fort of Duncannon threatened a more obſtinate reſiſtance: the governour demanded time to conſult Tyrconnel; and, when refuſed, boldly declared, that he would take it; but on the approach of the army, and the appearance of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel with ſixteen frigates, he accepted the ſame conditions with Waterford. Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

HAVING thus obtained the immediate object of his enterprize, William, again alarmed by the ſecond appearance of the French navy on the coaſt of England, deemed his preſence neceſſary in this kingdom, where dejection and diſcontent operated violently on the minds of all his ſubjects. The charge of completing the reduction of Ireland was committed to his generals; the neceſſary orders iſſued for his departure; and from Ibid.

the camp he returned to Chappel-Izod, in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Here, while employed in receiving petitions, and redreſſing the grievances ariſing from perpetual violations of his protection, he received new diſpatches, informing him, that the French fleet had retired; that all their boaſted enterpriſes amounted to nothing more than the deſtruction of ſome fiſhing boats, and the inconſiderable village of Tinmouth, in the weſt; that the terrours of his friends were diſſipated, and the ſecret machinations of his enemies diſcovered and defeated. Such pleaſing intelligence diverted him from his purpoſe; he now reſolved to proſecute the Iriſh war, and returned to his camp.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

In the mean time, Douglas proceeded in his expedition to Athlone. He marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundering, and even murdering with impunity, in defiance of the royal proclamation, or the formal orders of their general. As he advanced, the Iriſh peaſantry appeared ſucceſſively in conſiderable bodies to claim the benefit of king William's declaration; and were ſucceſſively enſnared by aſſurance of protection, and expoſed to all the violences of the ſoldiers. An army abhorred and execrated, at length appeared before Athlone. To the ſummons ſent by Douglas, the governour, Grace, a brave old officer, returned a paſſionate defiance; "Theſe are my terms," ſaid he, "firing a piſtol at the meſſenger." His garriſon conſiſted of three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horſe, with a larger body encamped at a ſmall diſtance to ſupport them, all violently exaſperated againſt the beſiegers, and encouraged by falſe rumours of the death of William, of inſurrections, and of invaſions in England. That part of Athlone which lay on the eaſtern ſide of the Shannon, and was called the Engliſh town, Grace deemed indefenſible; he had, therefore, ſet fire to it, and broken the fair ſtone bridge built by Sir Henry Sidney, in the reign of Elizabeth, reſolving to maintain the Iriſh diſtrict on the weſt. About two hundred yards above it, he raiſed ſome breaſt-works, caſt up redoubts, and other works near the end of the bridge, and mounted two batteries, beſides thoſe of the caſtle, which ſtood on an eminence and commanded the river.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Douglas thus found the enemy ſtronger and better diſpoſed than he expected. His works were carried on with ſufficient vigour; and he commenced his operations by playing on the caſtle from a battery of ſix guns, but without any conſiderable effect. He found his train utterly inſufficient for the enterprize he had undertaken; he loſt his beſt gunner by a ſhot from the town; in a few days his men grew faint and ſickly from ſcanty proviſions, his horſes weak from want of forage: it was rumoured *that Sarſefield had actually* marched with fifteen thouſand *men to raiſe the ſiege, and to cut off* the retreat of the Engliſh forces. The ſpirits of the garriſon were on fire, and their efforts redoubled, while Douglas formed the inglorious reſolution of retiring. He decamped at midnight, unmoleſted; and, in his terrour of the enemy, marched by devious and painful routes to join the royal army. The proteſtant inhabitants of the country near Athlone, who had enjoyed the benefit of Iriſh protections, were thus expoſed to the utmoſt ſeverities. On the approach of the beſiegers they declared in favour of the Engliſh; and were, therefore, forced to attend them in their retreat; they abandoned their habitations and their harveſts, and the miſerable pittance of proviſions which they carried with them became the prey of a neceſſitous and mercileſs army.

Correſpondence of Clarke Secretary at War. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

Douglas found the king advancing to Limerick, the great ſeat of the Iriſh force, anxious for intelligence of the numbers and ſituation of the enemy. He was aſſured that count Lauzun, with other Frenchmen of diſtinction, had already abandoned the

town,

town, and prepared to return home; that all the forces of their nation yet in Limerick, amounting to three thouſand, had declared their reſolution of capitulating ſeparately, and retiring from the kingdom, but were diverted from this purpoſe by the clamour and importunities of the Iriſh; that Boileau, one of their generals, had undertaken the command of Limerick, and occupied it with his troops, while the Iriſh forces lay encamped on the Connaught ſide, ready to ſupply him with men and proviſions, and had already ſecured the adjacent paſſes of the Shannon. Limerick, like Athlone, conſiſted of two diſtinct towns, the Engliſh and Iriſh; the former almoſt ſurrounded by the river, and united to the other by a bridge. It was fortified by ſtrong walls, baſtions, and ramparts, and defended by a caſtle and citadel. It was deemed hazardous to attempt it only on one ſide. But William, poſſibly from an *expectation that the French would ſtill retreat, and the Iriſh of conſequence* ſurrender, reſolved on the attempt, though the ſeaſon was advanced, and his army reduced to twenty thouſand. At preſent he had but a field train; however, his artillery, conſiſting of ſix twenty-four pounders, and two eighteen pounders, was on the road from Dublin, eſcorted by two troops of horſe.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Ibid.

On the ninth day of Auguſt William decamped, and began his approaches to the town, through grounds interſected with ditches and hedges lined with Iriſh infantry, who retreated gradually as the pioneers levelled the incloſures, until they came to a narrow and encumbered paſs between two bogs, terminated by an old fort built by Ireton, and communicating with the town by three different lanes. Of theſe, the broadeſt was occupied by the Iriſh horſe, while their muſketeers were drawn up under cover of the hedges on the right and left. As the Engliſh army advanced in order, two field pieces were ſo planted as to bear upon the enemy's horſe; and after ſome diſcharges forced them from their ground, while their infantry were attacked, and after ſome reſiſtance driven under the walls. Ireton's fort, and another advantageous poſt, were gained without reſiſtance, and immediately mounted with field-pieces to annoy the town and outworks. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, William encamped within cannon ſhot of the walls, without the uſual precautions for ſecurity, and before his artillery arrived ſummoned the governour to ſurrender. Boileau addreſſed his anſwer, not to the king, to whom he would not give his royal titles, but to Sir Robert Southwell, the ſecretary. He expreſſed his ſurprize at the ſummons, and declared his reſolution of meriting the good opinion of the prince of Orange, by a vigorous defence of the place entruſted to him by his majeſty. But this ſpirited anſwer, William was aſſured, by no means correſponded with the *ſentiments of his garriſon, who were prevented from an immediate ſubmiſſion only by the remonſtrances of the governour,* the duke of Berwick, and Sarſefield. And, to animate his hopes ſtill farther, Ginckle, his Dutch general, gained a ford about three miles from the town, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, and where a ſtrong detachment was now poſted on each ſide of the river. Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

THE garriſon, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. They learned from a French deſerter the ſituation of the king's tent, and on this quarter directed all the fury of their artillery; ſo that William found it neceſſary to remove. Among other articles of intelligence, the deſerter informed them of the train expected from Dublin, its route, its motions, the nature, and number of its convoy. The enterpriſing ſpirit of Sarſefield was enflamed. He ſaw the deſperate ſituation of his party, numbers of French troops already retired to Galway, and preparing to embark, thoſe ſtill in the town wavering and deſponding, the Iriſh of themſelves unequal to the enemy. Should they receive their cannon and other neceſſaries attending it, they muſt ſoon become maſters of Limerick. He, therefore, reſolved to Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

make one bold effort to intercept them, the laſt he could attempt for his countrymen with any proſpect of ſucceſs; ſhould he fail, he reſolved to abandon their hopeleſs cauſe, and retire to France. With a party of choſen cavalry, he croſſed the Shannon at Killalloe, about twelve miles above the Engliſh camp, marched by private ways well known to his men, lurked in the mountains, and waited the approach of the artillery and its eſcort. His motions were not unknown to the beſiegers. They were informed that Sarſefield had croſſed the Shannon on ſome ſecret expedition, of conſequence enough to be entruſted to an officer ſo diſtinguiſhed; the information was at firſt received with indifference; but being conveyed to William, he ordered Sir John Lanier to march with five hundred horſe, and meet the train. Lanier executed his orders, but not with due alacrity. In the mean time, the artillery advanced within ſeven miles to the rear of the Engliſh camp. The officer who commanded the convoy, apprehending no danger at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the army, encamped looſely on a plain, without precaution or diſcipline. The main body of the convoy was retired to reſt, their horſes at graſs, their baggage and cannon careleſsly diſpoſed, when Sarſefield ruſhed ſuddenly upon them, in a moment cut their centinels and waggoners to pieces, fell on the convoy, as they ſtarted from their ſleep and attempted to regain their horſes, and ſlaughtered or diſperſed the whole party. He now collected the cannon, carriages, waggons, and ammunition; the cannon he filled with powder, fixing their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. The hideous exploſion announced the ſucceſs of this enterprize to Lanier and his party; who, when the havock was already over, arrived in view of the enemy's rear, and made a futile attempt to intercept them. Sarſefield was better acquainted with the country, and returned triumphantly to Limerick.

THE news of this diſaſter was received in the Engliſh camp with conſternation, immediately ſucceeded by clamour and murmuring. It was imputed to the neglect of lord Portland and count Solmes, to the general indifference of the great officers to the king's ſervice, or any other object but their own emolument, and to the ſecret diſaffection of Lanier, who had formerly been a favourite of king James. While the army thus gave vent to their indignation, each agreeably to his paſſions and ſentiments, William alone maintained that compoſure which was unaccountable to his ſoldiers. They ſuſpected him of having no real deſign to conclude the war, but only to keep the enemy cantoned about Limerick, and to preſerve the conqueſts he had already made. But it was obviouſly his intereſt to complete the *reduction of Ireland without delay.* Two of his cannon had eſcaped uninjured in the general havock, ſome others were brought from Waterford. With theſe he furniſhed his batteries, and, after the interruption of a week, renewed his operations with vigour. The beſieged, on their part, encouraged by the late ſucceſs, animated by their officers, fired with emulation at the brave defence of Derry, and equally inveterate againſt their aſſailants, defended themſelves like men whoſe intereſts were to be decided by one final effort. Without entering into a minute detail of all the incidents of this ſiege, let it be ſufficient to obſerve, that from the opening of the trenches on the eighteenth day of Auguſt, both the aſſault and the defence were maintained with vigour; and William, who took an active part in every operation, was frequently expoſed to danger; when, on the twenty-ſeventh, a breach was made twelve yards in length, and the king ordered the counterſcarp, and two towers on each ſide of the breach, to be aſſaulted. Five hundred grenadiers in the fartheſt angle of the trenches leaped over, ran towards the counterſcarp, were furiouſly oppoſed, but, in the midſt of a tremendous fire, diſlodged the enemy; and purſuing even to the breach, many were

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

were actually in the town, while the Iriſh ran from the walls in confuſion. The regiments appointed to ſecond them ſtopped at the counterſcarp, agreeably to their orders. They whoſe ardour had hurried them within the walls, thus found themſelves unſupported, their ammunition ſpent, and the enemy, who diſcovered their diſtreſs, rallying and pouring down upon them. They prepared to retreat, but many of them were killed, and almoſt all wounded. The Iriſh again marched to the breach, and defended it in a rage of valour. Even their women mingled with the men, encouraged them, advanced before them, defied the beſiegers, and aſſailed them with ſtones. For three hours a perpetual fire both of great and ſmall arms was maintained on each ſide. One regiment of Brandenburghers ſeized a battery, but the powder catching fire, they were almoſt all blown into the air. The breach was ſtill obſtinately defended; where the walls were entire, the beſiegers, who had no ſcaling-ladders, waſted their fire to no purpoſe, and were expoſed defenceleſs to all the fury of the enemy. Five hundred of their numbers were ſlain, and more than one thouſand deſperately wounded, when William at length ordered a retreat. On the ſucceeding morning a drummer was ſent into the town to demand a truce for the purpoſe of burying the dead; but the governour haughtily refuſed it. The Engliſh army, ſtill undiſmayed, was impatient for another aſſault. But a diſappointment ſo ſevere in an advanced ſeaſon, when heavy rains were expected, which might render the roads impaſſable to the artillery, determined the king to raiſe the ſiege. He ordered the batteries to be diſarmed, and his forces drawn gradually off, retired by ſlow marches without any moleſtation from the garriſon. Here too, as at Athlone, the army was attended by a melancholy troop of proteſtants, who dreaded the fury of an exulting enemy, and followed the camp with ſo much of their effects as they could carry with them, without abode or ſettlement to ſhelter themſelves and their children, and without any ſecurity from the indiſcriminate ravages of the ſoldiery.

THE friends of William deſcribe him as ſupporting this defeat with aſtoniſhing compoſure and ſerenity; his enemies inſiſt, that he was tranſported by his vexation even to the exceſſes of ſavage barbarity. We are told, that to free himſelf from the encumbrance of his ſick and wounded, the houſes in which they lay were ſet on fire; but unfortunately for this inſolent defiance of truth, his ſick and wounded had no houſes to ſhelter them, and were indeed carefully conveyed to Caſhel and Clonmel. Again, we are aſſured, that William on his retreat was aſked what ſhould be done with his priſoners? that he anſwered peeviſhly, "Burn them!" and that his orders were literally obeyed, and one thouſand deſtroyed by fire. Such *enormous and ridiculous falſehoods appear ſcarcely calculated to impoſe even on the vulgar and ignorant*; yet the zealous impugners of hereſy have found their account, it ſeems, in propagating and tranſmitting them.

Macgeoghan.

Porter, quoted by the author of Hibernia Dominicana.

HERE was the period of William's perſonal enterpriſes in Ireland. While his army lay at Clonmel, he proceeded to Waterford, and with prince George, the duke of Ormond, and other attendants, embarked at Duncannon fort, leaving the command of his forces to count Solmes and Ginckle, and committing his civil government to two lords juſtice, lord Sidney and Thomas Coningſby, with a blank in their commiſſion to be filled by a third name.

Harris's Life of King Will. Appendix.

BUT notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon, the campaign was not yet ended. The earl of Marlborough had continued unemployed in England; and ſeems to have become obnoxious to the king, by the part which he and his conſort had taken in the quarrel with the princeſs of Denmark. Impatient of his preſent inactivity, he formed a project for raiſing his own character, without being overſhadowed by the king's perſonal interpoſition, or rivalled by his foreign generals. He repreſented the importance of Cork and Kinſale, places the moſt convenient for pouring ſuccours into Ireland from France; and which, if once gained, would enlarge the quarters of the army, ſecure all the ſea-ports from Dublin to the ſouth, and favour the Engliſh traffic to the Weſt Indies. All apprehenſions from the French navy were diſſipated; thoſe of England and Holland were refitted; all internal diſorders were allayed; five thouſand forces lay in England ready for any ſervice; with theſe, and ſuch reinforcements as might be ſpared in Ireland, he engaged to reduce theſe two towns. The propoſal was accepted, and the embarkation prepared at Portſmouth, while William yet lay before Limerick. While men indulged their conjectures, the real object of this expedition remained a profound ſecret, until it was too late for the enemy to guard againſt it.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

On the twenty-firſt day of September the earl arrived in Cork-road, drove the enemy from a battery, ſent ſome armed boats to ſeize their guns, and landed without farther oppoſition. Ginckle, on whom the chief command devolved by the departure of count Solmes, detached Sgravenmore to his aſſiſtance with nine hundred cavalry; and theſe were ſoon followed by four thouſand foot under the prince of Wirtemburg, who expreſſed an ambition to ſhare in this expedition. The operations of the ſiege had been already carried on with ſucceſs when Wirtemberg arrived, and threatened to defeat the whole enterprize. He claimed the chief command by virtue of his ſuperiour rank; Marlborough inſiſted on the priority of his commiſſion; he reminded the prince that his troops were merely auxiliaries, or rather Daniſh mercenaries, and that he himſelf led the forces of his own nation. The diſpute grew warm and alarming; but, by the interpoſition of La Mellionere, a prudent French officer, was happily accommodated. The earl was perſuaded to ſhare the command with his rival, rather than retard the king's ſervice. He commanded on the firſt day, and gave for the word, "Wirtemberg." The prince felt the full force of this politeneſs, and on the next day, when he received the command, the word was "Marlborough."

Original Letter of Sgravenmore in Clarke's Correſpondence.

THE ſiege was now carried on, but not without ſome farther conteſt between theſe generals. The garriſon gradually abandoned their outworks; a breach was made in the wall, and the beſiegers prepared for an aſſault. When, for this purpoſe, they were on the point of croſſing a marſh at low water, the governour parleyed, and propoſed terms of capitulation. Marlborough, who had now the command, inſiſted that the garriſon ſhould become priſoners of war. Wirtemberg condemned this ſeverity, and contended, that more favourable terms ſhould be granted. The diſpute continued until the tide returned, and the water was at the higheſt. But now, the governour imagining all danger over, broke off this conference. The generals were provoked at his colluſion; the breach was enlarged, and now the Dutch and Engliſh, encouraged by the duke of Grafton and other volunteers, bravely paſſed the river, wading to their ſhoulders, and expoſed to the enemy's fire, and poſted themſelves under the bank of a marſh, which ſerved as a counterſcarp to the city wall. Here the duke of Grafton was borne away mortally wounded, the moſt reſpected of all the ſons of Charles the Second. The ſoldiers lamented the fate of this gallant lord, but without diſmay prepared for a general aſſault. But now the garriſon, whoſe ammunition was exhauſted, renewed their parley, and conſented to become priſoners of war, with all their officers, of whom ſeveral were of conſiderable note. The proteſtant priſoners were ſet at liberty; the proteſtant magiſtrates reſumed their offices, and proclaimed the king and queen. All papiſts were ordered on pain of death to ſurrender their arms; a precaution abſolutely neceſſary, as there were more than five thouſand priſoners in the town.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

The ſeverity of winter was approaching, and not a moment to be loſt. On the very day of Marlborough's entry into Cork, a detachment was ſent to ſummon Kinſale. The governour returned a ſcornful anſwer, threatening to put the meſſenger to death. The town itſelf was ſcarcely tenable; he, therefore, ſet it on fire, and placed his reliance on the two forts, the old, or Caſtle-ny-fort, and the new, which the late duke of Ormond had completed, and called Charles-fort. The firſt of theſe was taken after a brave reſiſtance, in which the governour, ſeveral officers, and half the garriſon were ſlain. The reduction of Charles-fort appeared of ſtill greater difficulty; and Marlborough could not conceal his diſappointment, at finding it ſo much ſtronger than he expected. To his ſummons the governour careleſsly replied, that "it would be time enough to talk "on this ſubject a month hence;" but, being vigorouſly preſſed for ten days, when the beſiegers were preparing for a general aſſault, he parleyed and capitulated. In this critical time, when delay might prove fatal to the Engliſh forces, he was allowed conditions more favourable than thoſe granted to Cork. The garriſon marched out with arms and baggage, and was conducted to Limerick. Thus, in twenty-three days, the earl of Marlborough effected his brave purpoſe, to the utter mortification of thoſe who had repreſented the undertaking as injudicious and impracticable. The king did juſtice to his merit; the people were delighted at the ſucceſs of their native general. Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

WHILE the fate of Cork and Kinſale remained yet uncertain, Ginckle could by no means venture to diſpoſe his forces in winter-quarters, for the enemy was alert and elevated. No ſooner had the ſiege of Limerick been raiſed, than Boileau retired with his French troops, and joined his countrymen who were recalled, in conſequence of the ſhameful repreſentations of *Iriſh* cowardice made by James, and ſtill waited at Galway for tranſports. The Iriſh were by no means mortified at their departure. Ibid.

ture. That ſuperiority which theſe foreigners affected to aſſume, the partiality which James had diſcovered to his French auxiliaries, and the preference given to their officers in all promotions, diſguſted and exaſperated the natives. The French ſpoke with contempt of the meanneſs of the Iriſh; the Iriſh affected to ridicule the pomp and pageantry of the French. They curſed thoſe proud fellows who ſtrutted in their "leathern trunks," ſo they called their great boots, and lamented that they were ever preferred to their own brave countrymen. Hence aroſe frequent broils and quarrels; and now the ſeparation was equally agreeable to both parties. The Iriſh were left to the command of Sarſefield, their countryman, ſo diſtinguiſhed by his valour, and ſo popular by his late ſucceſs. They reſolved to exert their native ſtrength with double vigour; *and, tranſported by their victorious defence of Limerick, talked wildly of croſſing the Shannon, piercing through Leinſter, and* ſetting fire to the capital. Their neceſſities might drive them to ſome deſperate excurſions: Ginckle, therefore, ſtill kept his forces poſted in different parts about the Shannon, ready to embody, and to oppoſe any ſudden attempts. But, on the reduction of Cork and Kinſale, the general conceiving that the ardour of the enemy muſt be abated, ventured to withdraw his troops into winter-quarters.

Walker's Diary.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

He ſoon found reaſon to regret that he had not ſo formed his frontier line as to ſecure the paſſes and caſtles along the Shannon. The Iriſh, inured to the ſeverity of winter, acquainted with every road, urged by neceſſity, heated with animoſity, made their excurſions with ſucceſs, ſurpriſed his ſmaller parties, ravaged, plundered, ſet houſes and villages in flames, and ſpread a general terrour and conſternation. The miſerable inhabitants, of whatever party or denomination, fled from the outrages of the ſoldiery to their reſpective friends, but found no ſecurity or protection. The contending armies were equally

Ibid.

diſtreſſed; and ſoldiers unpaid and unprovided, ſpurned at all diſcipline with impunity, and ſupplied their wants by violence, without diſtinction of parties, and without regard to formal protections, or the faith of promiſes. To aggravate the diſtreſſes ariſing from a rapacious ſoldiery, the country ſwarmed every where with robbers and murderers, who lived in a ſtate of ſavage nature, unreſtrained by the laws of peace or war. The northern province had from the earlieſt times harboured a particular ſpecies of Iriſh called Creaghts, who iſſued from their retreats with their wives, children, and cattle, roved in ſearch of ſubſiſtence, without any certain abode or deſtination, and plundering every diſtrict which they viſited, were dreaded and deteſted by their countrymen. In the civil war commenced in ſixteen hundred and forty-one, we have ſeen them particularly active, and forming the army of *Owen O'Nial*: *nor had they been entirely ſuppreſſed on the concluſion of this war*; *but*, during the reign of Charles the Second, continued their depredations; and, under the name of Tories, became a peculiar object of the attention of government. They ſeized the occaſion of preſent diſorders; and when, at every maſs, the prieſts exhorted all men to take arms, and ſtand prepared for war, they multiplied, and were ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the title of * RAPARREES, from the Iriſh name of their half pike, a weapon eaſily procured by the moſt barbarous. Many were influenced by example, and many driven by neceſſity to unite with them. They who received protections from William's generals, and were yet plundered by his ſoldiers, ran with particular animoſity to ſwell the numbers of theſe ravagers. In ſummer they hung about the Engliſh camp; every ſtraggling ſoldier they killed, even for the ſake of his arms or cloathing; and, in the rage of national hatred, frequently mangled his dead body. In winter, they appeared in the different quarters with all the marks of humility and abaſement. Their weapons were carefully concealed, but lay ready for execution. They aſſembled in the dead of night in ſolitary places, projected their excurſions, ruſhed ſuddenly on their prey, vaniſhed at the firſt appearance of oppoſition, and were again readily collected. Through the whole dreary ſeaſon of the year, the Engliſh forces were every where harraſſed in purſuit of theſe miſcreants. The Iriſh ſoldiers were frequently permitted to join their troops, and to ſhare and encourage their diſorders; the Engliſh frequently found it neceſſary to repel them by another body of maurauders of their own party, who were called Proteſtant Raparrees.

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* A LATE ingenious writer aſcribes the outrages of theſe men to the eaſe with which they gained ſubſiſtence, and reſolves their manners into their diet, which, he ventures to aſſert, conſiſted of potatoes alone. I am obliged to obſerve, in juſtification of my own account, that they were really driven to their excurſions by neceſſity; that the Creaghts, whom all the narrators and the Gazettes of theſe times ſpeak of, as ſynonimous with Rapparees, fed on the milk of their kine, and wandered to find paſture; that this ſpecies of rovers, who now proved ſo offenſive, exiſted, lived by rapine, and were abhorred by their own countrymen, long before the potatoe was known in *Ireland*; and that neither at this time, nor for ſome years after the Revolution, were potatoes the general diet of Iriſh peaſantry.

To give ſome check to ſuch hideous aggravations of the calamities of war, the new lords juſtices at Dublin laboured to give form to the civil government. All indictments of high-treaſon were removed to the ſuperiour courts, now furniſhed with judges. Lords lieutenant, and deputy-lieutenants, were appointed in the ſeveral counties, ſubject to the Engliſh power; commiſſions granted to the officers of the militia, who were armed, in order to defend their properties, and a privy council conſtituted of ſuch men as were eſteemed moſt attached to the new government. The commiſſion of forfeitures, found of prejudice to the ſubjects, and of little advantage to the crown, was ſuperſeded; a variety of proclamations publiſhed, to regulate trade and commerce, to reſtrain the diſaffected, and to

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

promote the public peace. With a particular, and perhaps a neceſſary ſeverity, it was ordained, that papiſts of every county ſhould be reſponſible for the ravages committed by thoſe of their communion; and that where any number of rapparees were collected, no popiſh prieſt ſhould be ſuffered to reſide. Some weak attempts were made to correct the diſorders of the army; but the officers treated the civil power with diſregard; the ſoldiers acknowledged no ſuperiours but their officers; the foreigners knew no diſtinction between the different inhabitants of Ireland; the people exclaimed in the bitterneſs of grief, that the army were worſe than rapparees; yet they had the candour to acknowledge, that the Dutch were honourably diſtinguiſhed by an inoffenſive modeſty.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

NOTHING but a general reduction and ſettlement of the kingdom could end thoſe calamities which Ireland had experienced for ages, with little interruption, and which now oppreſſed the nation. But ſeveral officers of William's army were ſuſpected of ſecret reluctance to a final deciſion of the preſent war, which might call them from Ireland to a ſeverer ſervice, and againſt an enemy more dangerous than the Iriſh had as yet appeared. Several of his privy counſellors alſo, were ſaid to be equally averſe to ſuch extenſive offers of pardon as might break the power of the enemy, by inducing numbers to lay down their arms. It was ever the private intereſt of officers of ſtate, and the great Engliſh ſettlers in this kingdom, that rebels ſhould be exterminated rather than reconciled. Ginckle, indeed, was poſſeſſed with more liberal ſentiments, both as to a vigorous proſecution of the war, and the indulgence due to thoſe who might be inclined to ſubmiſſion. Winter did not paſs without ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the troops of each army, and almoſt perpetual action between the militia and the rapparees. The general projected an incurſion into *Kerry*, a country over-run with Iriſh, and which ſupplied their army with

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

many neceſſaries. The poſſeſſion of this part of Ireland was deemed of ſuch conſequence, that great preparations were made for the expedition; and Shovel, now on the coaſt, was directed by the lords juſtices to attend the orders of Ginckle with his fleet. The general, on this occaſion, made preſſing inſtances to be furniſhed with a declaration of pardon to repenting rebels. But this was not agreeable to the ſentiments of the privy council. The juſtices heſitated; they required that overtures of ſubmiſſion ſhould firſt be made by conſiderable bodies of the enemy: they pleaded their limited inſtructions, and that the letter of lord Nottingham, which directed them to treat with rebels, did not authorize them to publiſh a declaration ſo extenſive as was required; they expreſſed their deſire, that Ginckle ſhould publiſh offers of pardon in his own *name, and promiſed to ratify them at any hazard, ſhould they be found abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice.* This reluctance and heſitation, which proceeded from a fear of diſobliging ſome powerful members of the privy-council, was of the leſs conſequence at preſent, as the general found it impracticable to penetrate into Kerry through broken roads, and in a dreary ſeaſon.

THE enemy, on their part, made ſeveral efforts to break in upon the Engliſh frontier. A magazine of forage was provided at Athlone for five thouſand horſe and dragoons for ten days, which indicated ſome deſign of more than ordinary moment. It ſoon appeared, that the enemy intended to attack the Engliſh garriſon of Molingar; and for this purpoſe they were now employed in fortifying Ballymore, a little town between this garriſon and Athlone. The garriſon was reinforced; and Ginckle himſelf arrived at Molingar, and led about two thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe againſt a conſiderable body of the enemy, encamped near Ballymore. They drew up with an appearance of reſolution. The paſs which they occupied was ſecured

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Pulteney's Letter in Tindal's Continuation.

by paliſadoes; but the Iriſh, in their ignorance aud precipitation, pointed the paliſadoes inward towards themſelves, ſo as to ſecure, inſtead of reſtraining the enemy. They were quickly put to flight, and purſued to a place called the Moat of Grenoge, from which the ſkirmiſh took its name; here they again drew up, but were driven into the town, where they attempted to entrench themſelves, but ſoon abandoned the deſign, and fled finally to Athlone, in the utmoſt conſternation. In this action the Iriſh loſt about three hundred men, and ſeveral officers, with their baggage, a quantity of arms, and five hundred horſes; and ſo great was the terrour and confuſion at Athlone, that the gates were ſhut againſt the fugitives, of whom many fled for ſhelter to the bogs, and many periſhed in the river.

Impartial Hiſtory, &c. Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

THIS action was of the greater conſequence, as it defeated a deſign on the Engliſh garriſons, which might have proved fatal to the operations of the enſuing campaign, and as it damped the ſpirits of the Iriſh, a people violently affected either with good or bad fortune, and encreaſed the confuſion now ſubſiſting in their councils. Tyrconnel had been ſent to France to ſolicit ſuccours, and returned with a miſerable pittance of eight thouſand pounds, and ſome cloathing, wretchedly inſufficient. The money was diſtributed as a donation among the ſoldiers, but could not allay their diſcontents and their ſuſpicions of the inſincerity of France. Tyrconnel himſelf appeared gloomy and deſponding; he had ſerved his maſter without conſcience, and was now diſgraced without reaſon. James committed the adminiſtration of his civil affairs to Sir Richard Nagle and Sir Stephen Rice; and, as Tyrconnel declared for moderate meaſures, and for ſecuring the remains of the nation by a ſubmiſſion, he was accuſed of treachery. To this it was imputed, that in France he had recommended to ſend officers, ſtores, and proviſions to Ireland, without any troops. Sarſefield, whoſe military genius determined him to ſeek ſecurity in arms, and rather to die bravely in the field than to abandon the cauſe in which he was engaged, oppoſed the temporizing councils of Tyrconnel. The officers who declared for war reviled and inſulted him. They ſtill flattered their followers with hopes of aſſiſtance from France; that Louis would ſpeedily ſend his triumphant navy againſt Cork and Kinſale; that arms, cloaths, and other neceſſaries, for twenty-five thouſand men, were every day expected; that England was ſtill diſcontented, ſecret deſigns ſtill formed in favour of James, and that the weakneſs of government was evidently manifeſted in the diſtreſſes to which the Engliſh forces in Ireland were abandoned. Some French officers gradually arrived, and repeated the aſſurances of ſpeedy A. D. 1691. ſuccours. At length monſieur Saint-Ruth, a man who boaſted *his ſervice againſt the heretics of France, and had lately the honour of reducing Savoy,* landed at *Limerick with a commiſſion of chief commander.* Sarſefield was juſtly diſcontented; nor could the title of earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him to this unneceſſary and unreaſonable partiality to a foreigner. Saint-Ruth, who was not ſupplied with thoſe vaſt ſtores the Iriſh had expected, reſolved on a defenſive war, ordered the towns on the Iriſh ſide of the Shannon to be ſtrengthened, and with the main army took his ſtation behind Athlone.

Ginckle, on his part, had been conſiderably retarded by the Clarke's Correſpondence, MS. want of money, proviſions, and other neceſſaries. Theſe were however gradually ſupplied, new reinforcements arrived from England; and while the lords juſtices iſſued ſuch orders to the militia, as might ſecure the exteriour quarters of the kingdom, the army aſſembled at Molingar, as it was reſolved to open the campaign by the ſiege of Athlone. Ginckle was attended by a number of gallant officers, fired with emulation, and tenacious of the honour of their reſpective countries, the princes of Wirtemburg and Heſſe-Darmſtadt, Talmaſh, the

Engliſh general, Mackay the brave Scot who had reduced the Highlanders, Sgravenmore, La Melloniere and Rouvigny, Tetteau the Dane, the Dutch count Naſſau, all already diſtinguiſhed in the Iriſh war. A conſiderable train of artillery arrived from Dublin; but the army, when collected, was inferiour to that of the enemy; a defect abundantly ſupplied by the confidence of the men, and the gallantry and experience of their officers.

Story's Wars of Ireland.

THE campaign opened auſpiciouſly by the reduction of the fort of Ballymore, which the enemy, encouraged by the convenience and natural ſtrength of the place, had fortified in the winter, and occupied with a thouſand of their choiceſt forces. No attempt was made either to relieve or to abandon this place. The governour was threatened with *military execution, if he did not ſurrender within two hours. He demanded to* march out with *the honours of war*; and, when this was denied, ſuſtained the attack for one day; but, at the ſight of ſome armed boats, launched on a lake which encompaſſed the defenceleſs ſide of the iſland on which his fort was built, he and his garriſon cried for mercy, and were admitted priſoners of war. As the place lay convenient for maintaining a communication between Athlone, Molingar, and Dublin, Ginckle ordered the breaches to be repaired, and additional fortifications to be made; nor did he march forward until theſe works were finiſhed, and an Engliſh garriſon ſtationed in the fort.

ON the eighteenth day of June, the general advanced with a party of horſe within a few miles of Athlone, and from an eminence ſurveyed the town, and the ſituation of the Iriſh army, which lay encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at a diſtance of two miles from the Shannon. The next day his army was in motion through lanes lined with Iriſh infantry, who gradually retired at the approach of their enemy; and, as if they had been ſtationed as guides to lead them forward by the

Ibid.

neareſt ways, poured into the Engliſh diſtrict of Athlone. Here, though the houſes had been laid in ruins, yet Douglas, in his expedition of laſt year, had not found time to demoliſh the walls. Theſe were repaired and ſtrengthened, and the enemy ſeemed reſolved to defend both ſides of the river. A battery of ten guns ſoon made a conſiderable breach, and orders were given for the aſſault. The enemy defended the breach; but, after ſome loſs on each ſide, were driven to the bridge, (by this time repaired) and ran with ſuch confuſion into the Iriſh town, that many were cruſhed to death, and many plunged into the river from the battlements, and periſhed. But now the aſſailants, in the ardour of their ſucceſs, found new difficulties to encounter. The arch of the bridge neareſt to the Iriſh town was again broken. The enemy lay entrenched on the other ſide, and from their works fired furiouſly on the Engliſh diſtrict. The ford between the two towns was deep, narrow, and ſtony. At another place towards Laneſborough, he formed a ſcheme for paſſing by a bridge of pontons; but the enemy diſcovered the deſign, and guarded the paſs. Ginckle now ſaw no means of forçing his way but by the bridge: here, while his batteries and mortars played inceſſantly, he carried on a wooden-work for the purpoſe of throwing planks over the broken arch. Though his workmen were by no means ſheltered from the batteries of the enemy, they had almoſt completed their deſign, when a ſerjeant and ten men in armour ruſhed from the oppoſite ſide, attempted to deſtroy their works, and were all ſlain. Another party repeated the deſperate attack, and with more ſucceſs; they reſolutely caſt down the beams and planks into the river, and two ſurvivours returned in triumph.

Story's Wars of Ireland.

THE general, not yet diſconcerted, made another effort to force a paſſage to the town, and carried on his work by a cloſe gallery on the broken arch, which was ſoon completed; and now, after an obſtinate conteſt of nine days, when ſeveral breaches had been made both in the walls and the caſtle, it was reſolved in a council of war, to paſs the Shannon by three different ways. One party was appointed to force the bridge, another to croſs the ford below it, and a third to paſs by floats and pontons about nine hundred feet farther. In the morning, when this bold effort was to be made, and the army ſtood ready to be commanded, the pontons were not prepared without ſome delay, the Iriſh were informed by deſerters of the intended enterprize, and their troops were ſeen marching in great numbers from their camp into the town. The beſiegers ſtill perſevered; money was diſtributed among the ſoldiers to animate them in an attempt of ſo much danger; the choiceſt of the Iriſh forces were drawn to the works, and on each ſide all was anxiety and agitation; when, in this moment of *ſuſpence*, the enemy's granadoes ſet fire to *ſome faſcines on the broken arch*; the flames quickly caught the gallery; the fire and ſmoak were blown into the faces of the beſiegers with inſupportable violence; nor could they prevent the utter deſtruction of that part of their gallery which extended towards the enemy. The attack was countermanded; the Iriſh exulted; and Saint-Ruth expreſſed his confidence in the ſecurity of Athlone, by inviting a number of gentlemen and ladies to his camp, and entertaining them with all the eaſe and elegance ſuited to a time of perfect peace.

It was now expected that the ſiege muſt be immediately raiſed; and the Engliſh, by drawing off ſome of their cannon, ſeemed to countenance ſuch expectations. Ginckle, without delay, convened another council, in which it was warmly debated whether the beſiegers were to retire, or ſtill to attempt the paſſage of the Shannon. To remain for any time in their preſent ſituation was impoſſible, as the forage was deſtroyed for ſeveral miles; to retire before an exulting enemy was inconvenient and diſpiriting, might open them a way to the very walls of Dublin, might force the army back to the northern province, and confine them to a defenſive war. On the other hand, the conſequences of an unſucceſsful attack were evidently fatal, and Ginckle ſeemed inclined to retire. The duke of Wirtemburg, and other general officers, contended, that no brave action could be performed without hazard; that on all great attempts they had hitherto experienced the undaunted bravery of their own troops, and the inferiority of the enemy. They reminded Ginckle that the paſſage by the ford was not ſo dangerous as they had at firſt imagined, that three Daniſh criminals had tried it on promiſe of their lives, paſſed and returned, and thus pointed out the way to victory. Mackay, the Scottiſh general alone, in the caution and poſitiveneſs of age, oppoſed the deſign, and from the beginning declared againſt attempting to paſs the river *in the face of a town and an army**. The others thought only of the glory attending ſuch a daring enterprize, and each contended for the honour of leading on the troops. Ginckle gave ſuch a degree of oppoſition as might encreaſe their ardour and engage their pride, in the ſucceſs of a deſign in which they had borne down the opinion of their general; and it was finally re-

Story's Wars of Ireland.

Dalrymple, from MS. Memoirs of Mackay.

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* In ſome circumſtances of this ſiege I deemed it neceſſary to follow Sir John Dalrymple, who profeſſes to write from MS. memoirs of general Mackay. Such memoirs, if written by the general, or under his direction, are of undoubted authority with reſpect to the operations, in which he took ſo conſiderable a part: in other particulars their authority may be fairly conteſted. For inſtance, we are told, from theſe memoirs, that on the firſt repulſe of the Engliſh, and the burning of their works, when Saint-Ruth expected that the ſiege muſt be raiſed, a ſudden pannic ſeized the proteſtants of Ireland, and the citizens of Dublin barricaded all the avenues of the city. Now, it evidently appears from the original correſpondence between the lords juſtices at Dublin and the Engliſh camp, that this event was not known in the capital until intelligence was received of the taking of Athlone on the ſucceeding morning: nor was it poſſible indeed, that in ſo ſhort an interval it could have been conveyed through the different parts of Ireland, ſo as to have any extenſive influence on the proteſtant party.

ſolved to attempt the paſſage on the next morning. To encourage the Engliſh forces, they were aſſured by deſerters, that Saint-Ruth, in full confidence that the ſiege muſt be immediately raiſed, had detached three of his worſt regiments to man the works; and, to enflame their pride, the Iriſh all night inſulted them from the oppoſite banks of the river, and exclaimed in deriſion, "that they had but ill earned the money yeſterday diſ-
"tributed by their officers."

Dalrymple, from MS. Memoirs of Mackay.

In the rotation of duty, the command of the paſſage devolved on Mackay: but Ginckle, unwilling to entruſt it to the officer who alone had declared againſt the attempt, conſigned it to Talmaſh; Mackay complained of this indignity; the Engliſh general modeſtly relinquiſhed his pretenſions, entreating permiſſion to attend as a volunteer. That the enemy might not be alarmed by any extraordinary commotion in the camp, or the Engliſh town, it was reſolved to make the attack at the ordinary hour of relieving the guards, when a double garriſon might appear without notice or ſuſpicion. Two thouſand men were appointed for this ſervice; and, at the ſignal given, by tolling the church bell, their advanced guard boldly entered the river, amidſt the acclamations of their companions. Mackay, their commander, waded by the ſide of his men; he was followed by La Melloniere, Tetteau, the prince of Heſſe, and other officers; Talmaſh attended as a volunteer, encouraging the men. Wirtemburg having his horſe ſhot under him, was conveyed through the river on the ſhoulders of his grenadiers. The Engliſh from their works and batteries fired furiouſly upon the enemy; the enemy with equal fury thundered on thoſe who were paſſing the ford: but the detachment advanced intrepidly through fire and ſmoak, gained the oppoſite banks, and mounted the breaches next the river. Some flew to the aſſiſtance of their friends, who were laying planks over the broken bridge, others to ſupport the pontons, while the Iriſh fled with

Story.

Dalrymple, from Mackay's Memoirs. Story.

aſtoniſhment to their camp, and not without conſiderable ſlaughter. Thus, by a ſurpriſing effort of valour, the Engliſh gained the town, and poſſeſſed the works which remained entire towards the enemy's camp, within half an hour from their firſt entrance of the river.

ON this occaſion Saint-Ruth betrayed a careleſſneſs and confidence utterly unworthy of a commander. On receiving the firſt intelligence that the enemy were paſſing the ford, he exclaimed that it was impoſſible; that they could not preſume to attempt the town while he and his army lay ſo near. Sarſefield replied calmly, that he knew the enterprize was not too difficult for Engliſh courage, and preſſed him to ſend ſpeedy ſuccours. The Frenchman was offended; Sarſefield retorted his diſdain; when a meſſenger in breathleſs conſternation juſt found words to inform them that the enemy were in the town. Saint-Ruth diſſembling his vexation, proudly commanded that they ſhould be driven out again; and ſome fruitleſs efforts were made for this purpoſe. But now the Engliſh poſſeſſed the works oppoſite to his camp, and pointed their own cannon againſt the enemy. Saint-Ruth retired in vexation; the French officers exclaiming againſt the Iriſh, the Iriſh execrating their French general and his countrymen. The caſtle of Athlone followed the fate of the town; the governour and five hundred men were here made priſoners of war; and twelve hundred more of the enemy's numbers were either ſlain or taken during the courſe of the ſiege.

Story.

SAINT-RUTH had hitherto, it is ſaid, flattered himſelf with hopes of reducing Ireland to the dominion of the French monarch. He ſolicited the Iriſh to ſwear allegiance to his maſter; all orders were iſſued in the name, not of James, but of Louis. Such, at leaſt, was the intelligence given by deſerters; and, to confirm it, the Engliſh ſaw, with ſurprize, the ſtandards of France waving in the town of Athlone. The reduction of this

Story.
London Gazette.
Narrative of the progreſs of General Ginckle. 4to. Lond. 1691.

place, in view of this general and his army, was a dreadful mortification to his hopes, and ſuch a diminution of his character, as required ſome immediate effort to redeem it. Thoſe of the Iriſh who inclined to the French intereſt, were ſtill amuſed with expectations of powerful ſuccours, and ſtill implicitly obedient to Saint-Ruth. They who had bravely ſuſtained the fury of battle, imputed their late misfortune to the weakneſs and inexperience of their aſſociates, and ſtill entertained hopes of better ſucceſs, when their men ſhould be more inured to danger, and their general leſs confident and more cautious. They who had fled in the hour of trial, were ſtung with reproach, and impatient for an occaſion to retrieve their honour. They who were moſt affected with the neglect and inſincerity of the French king, who eſpouſed the cauſe of James from principle, who had fought for *the freedom of their religion*, or the recovery of *what they called their property*, reflected ſeriouſly on the alarming ſituation of their party. They knew the real power of Engliſh government; they had no hopes of pardon, no proſpect of ſubſiſting but by ſome deſperate exertion of valour. "It is your fault," ſaid their priſoners to the Engliſh officers, "that you have ſo many enemies. We are ſenſible "of our unhappineſs in depending on the French; but you have "made it neceſſary for us; we muſt, and will, and are preparing to fight it out." Thus, the whole Iriſh party, with different views, and from various motives, concurred in the reſolution of bringing their long-protracted conteſt to a final deciſion in the field.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

THE Engliſh general, on his part, had experienced the inconveniences of war in an exhauſted country, irregularly and ſcantily ſupplied from England, and was equally impatient for an immediate deciſion. He was now employed in repairing the fortifications of Athlone; and, before he advanced in ſearch of the enemy, it was deemed highly neceſſary to publiſh ſuch a proclamation, and encouragement to thoſe who ſhould ſubmit, as might break the force of the enemy, and poſſibly prevent the neceſſity of an engagement. But here the great Engliſh ſubjects of Ireland interpoſed, and laboured to defeat any accommodation with the Iriſh. "I did very much hope," ſaid the ſecretary of the lords juſtices in a letter to Ginckle, "that upon "this progreſs over the Shannon, ſome favourable declaration "might have been emitted to break the Iriſh army, and ſave "the expence of a field battle. But I ſee our civil officers re"gard more adding fifty pounds a year to the Engliſh intereſt "in this kingdom, than ſaving England the expence of fifty "thouſand. I promiſe myſelf it is for the king's, the allies, "and England's intereſt, to remit moſt or all of the forfeitures, "*ſo that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their "majeſties obedience.*" Ginckle was ſo poſſeſſed with the neceſſity of a proclamation of pardon, that he publiſhed one on the fifth day of July, which the juſtices, in deference to the privy counſellors, ſeemed inclined to diſavow; but the propriety of this meaſure was ſo evident, and the occaſion ſo preſſing, that in two days after a proclamation was formally ſigned and publiſhed by government, offering a free pardon to all ſoldiers and officers who ſhould ſurrender within three weeks, with a reaſonable payment for their horſes, arms, and furniture; to all governours of garriſons who ſhould ſurrender their poſts; to all officers who ſhould bring with them their regiments, troops, or companies, a free pardon and full poſſeſſions of their eſtates; liberal rewards to thoſe who had no landed property; and to all a free exerciſe of religion, with ſuch ſecurity in this particular as a parliament of Ireland might deviſe, and which the king would endeavour to procure, ſo as to convince the Iriſh of the difference between the bleſſings of Engliſh government and the tyranny of France.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

This proclamation, however liberal and extenſive, was yet publiſhed too late for the deſired effect. Some of the Iriſh ſued for protections; and even of the rapparees, numbers laid down their arms. But Saint-Ruth collected his forces from the ſeveral garriſons, poſted them advantageouſly, and reſolved to wait the approach of the Engliſh; and the great body of his forces was equally determined to ſet their fortune on one deſperate effort. Ginckle was no ſtranger to their purpoſe, and to ſtrengthen his army drew off every detachment that could be ſpared from every Engliſh poſt. The proteſtants were terrified at the defenceleſs ſtate to which their diſtricts were thus reduced. Even in the capital, the lords juſtices were alarmed, and formed a camp of militia to guard againſt any incurſions of the enemy.

Clarke'sCorreſpondence, MS.

The fate of Ireland was now ready to be decided. Whether the Engliſh power was to be at length unalterably eſtabliſhed in this harraſſed country, or whether it was to be once more expoſed to the calamities of a tedious inteſtine war, ſeemed to depend on the event of a few days, and the minds of all men were of conſequence ſtrained to a painful pitch of anxiety and expectation. On the tenth day of June Ginckle marched from Athlone, and encamped along the river Suc, in the county of Roſcommon, a paſs which the Iriſh might have maintained with advantage: but it ſoon appeared that they had taken their ſtation to greater advantage, about three miles farther to the ſouth-weſt. Their camp extended more than two miles along the heights of Kilcommeden, with a rivulet on their left running between hills and moraſſes, and theſe again ſkirted by a large bog, in breadth almoſt a mile; on the ſide of which ſtood the ruins of an old caſtle, called by the name of the neighbouring village, Aghrim, entrenched and occupied by infantry, and commanding the only paſs on that ſide to the Iriſh camp. All along the front, at a diſtance of about half a mile from their encamp-

Story.

encampment, the bog extended to their right, where was another paſs through a range of ſmall hills opening into wider ground. The ſlope of Kilcommeden, even to the edge of the bog, was interſected by hedges and ditches communicating with each other, and lined with Iriſh muſketeers. Ginckle, with eighteen thouſand men, was now to attack an enemy amounting to twenty-five thouſand, thus poſted, and who wanted only an additional number of cannon to take the full advantage of their ſituation. Saint-Ruth, from his eminence, had a full view of the motions of the Engliſh; he ſaw them croſs the river and prepare to give him battle; he drew out his main army in front of his camp. He rode to every ſquadron and battalion; he reminded the Iriſh officers, that their future fortune depended *on the iſſue of one encounter; that they were now to fight for their honours, their liberty, and their eſtates*; that they were now to eſtabliſh their religion, for which he himſelf had diſplayed an extraordinary zeal, on ſuch a firm baſis, as the powers of hell and hereſy ſhould never ſhake; that the deareſt intereſts and moſt honourable engagements of this life, and the raviſhing proſpects of eternal happineſs called for a vigorous exertion of that valour which their enemies affected to deny them. The prieſts ran through the ranks, labouring to inſpire the ſoldiers with the ſame ſentiments; and, we are told, obliged them to ſwear on the ſacrament, that they would not deſert their colours.

On the twelfth day of July at noon, (for the fogs of the morning had hitherto prevented them) the Engliſh army advanced in as good order as their broken and uneven ground would admit. It was, in the firſt place, deemed neceſſary to gain the paſs to the right of the enemy. A ſmall party of Danes ſent to force it, fled inſtantly at the appearance of a ſtill ſmaller party of the enemy. Some Engliſh dragoons were next employed, were boldly oppoſed, were ſuſtained by other bodies; the Story.

the enemy retreated: as the aſſailants preſſed forward, they found themſelves encountered by new parties; but, after an obſtinate conteſt of an hour, they forced their way beyond the bog; nor poſſibly was Saint-Ruth diſpleaſed to have an opportunity of fighting one wing of the Engliſh ſeparately, in a place where, if defeated, their retreat muſt prove fatal. The ſkirmiſh ſerved to convince Ginckle both of the ſpirit and of the advantages of the enemy. It was now debated whether the battle ſhould not be deferred to the next morning; and, with difficulty, reſolved, to prevent the enemy from decamping in the night and prolonging the war, by an immediate renewal of the engagement. By the advice of general Mackay, it was reſolved to begin the attack on the enemy's right wing, which would oblige Saint-Ruth to draw off ſome forces from his left, ſo that the paſſage by Aghrim-caſtle would be rendered leſs dangerous for the Engliſh horſe, and the whole army be enabled to engage. About the hour of five in the evening, the left wing of the Engliſh, both horſe and foot, advanced boldly againſt the enemy, who obſtinately maintained their poſts. The muſqueteers, ſupported by their cavalry, received and returned the Engliſh fire, defending their ditches until the muſquets of each ſide cloſed with the other; then retiring by their lines of communication, flanked their aſſailants, and charged them with double fury. The engagement was thus continued for one hour and a half, when Saint-Ruth, as was foreſeen, found it neceſſary to draw a conſiderable part of the cavalry from his left to ſupport his right wing. Mackay ſeized the favourable moment, and while the cavalry were in motion to gain the paſs by Aghrim-caſtle, ſeveral regiments of infantry in the center were ordered to march through the bog, extending along their front, and to poſt themſelves on the loweſt ditches, until the horſe ſhould gain the paſſage, and wheel from the right to ſupport their charge. The infantry plunged into the bog, and were inſtantly ſunk to their middle in mire and water; they floundered on unmolſted, but no ſooner had they gained the oppoſite ſide than they received a furious fire from the hedges and trenches occupied by the enemy. They advanced ſtill undiſmayed; the Iriſh retired on purpoſe to draw them forward; tranſported with ardour, they forgot their orders, and purſued almoſt to the main battle of the Iriſh. Both horſe and foot now poured down upon them, aſſailed them in front, in flank, forced them from their ground, drove ſome of them back into the bog, purſued them with ſlaughter, took ſeveral priſoners of note; while Saint-Ruth exclaimed in an extacy of joy, "Now will I drive the Engliſh to the very walls of "Dublin."

His attention was ſoon diverted to the Engliſh cavalry on his left, commanded by Talmaſh, who ſeeing the alarming diſorder of the center, puſhed with incredible ardour cloſe by the walls of the caſtle, through all the fire of the enemy, forcing their way through a narrow and dangerous paſs, to the amazement of Saint-Ruth, who aſked what the Engliſh meant? "To "force their way to our left," replied his officers. "They are "brave fellows!" ſaid the general, "it is pity they ſhould be "ſo expoſed." Story.

Mackay, Talmaſh, Rouvigny, now gradually preſſed forward from the right, bearing down all oppoſition; the infantry of the center rallied, advanced, and regained their former ground; the left wing fought bravely, and was bravely oppoſed. Saint-Ruth ſaw that the fortune of the day depended on making an impreſſion on the enemy's cavalry in their rapid progreſs from the right. He rode down from his ſtation on the hill of Kilcommeden, and having directed one of his batteries where to point their fire, led a body of horſe againſt them. In this critical moment, a cannon-ball deprived him of life. His body was conveyed away, and the intelligence of his death ran Ibid.

through the lines. His cavalry halted, and, as they had no orders, returned towards their former ſtation. The Iriſh beheld this retreat with diſmay; they were confounded and diſordered; their diſorder encreaſed; Sarſefield, on whom the command devolved, had been neglected by the proud Frenchman ever ſince their altercation at Athlone. As the order of battle had not been imparted to him, he could not ſupport the diſpoſitions of the late general. The Engliſh, in the mean time, preſſed forward, drove the enemy to their camp, purſued their advantage until the Iriſh, after an engagement ſupported with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs, while they had a general to direct their valour, fled precipitately, the foot to a bog, the horſe towards Loughrea.

Story. DURING the heat of this action, ſome Daniſh forces ſtationed at the extremity of the left wing, kept ſeveral bodies of the enemy in awe. When they perceived the advantage at length gained by the battalions in the centre, they charged their opponents, to prevent their falling back to the relief of their aſſociates. The Iriſh received them intrepidly, and continued the conteſt for ſome time; but, on the general route of the army, fled with their countrymen. In the battle, and in a bloody purſuit of three miles, ſeven thouſand of the Iriſh army were ſlain. The unrelenting fury of the victors appeared in the number of their priſoners, which amounted only to four hundred and fifty. On their ſide, ſeven hundred fell, one thouſand were wounded. All the cannon, ammunition, tents, and baggage of the enemy were taken, with a great quantity of ſmall arms, eleven ſtandards, and thirty-two colours, deſtined as a preſent to the queen. Such was the crowning victory of the Engliſh army.

NIGHT put an end to the purſuit, and till morning the victors lay on their arms amidſt the heaps of their ſlaughtered enemies. After a few days of neceſſary refreſhment to the troops, Ibid.

Ginckle led them through a deſolated country to Galway, which he deemed neceſſary to be reduced, before he ſhould attempt Limerick, the great and final refuge of the Iriſh. The garriſon of Galway conſiſted of ſeven weak regiments; but they expected conſiderable reinforcements. D'Uſſone, a French officer of diſtinction in the town, aſſured them of ſuccours from his royal maſter. An Iriſh partizan, who was known and celebrated by the name of Balderog O'Donnel, promiſed to march to their relief at the head of ſix or ſeven thouſand northern rovers; and ſome aſſiſtance was expected from the garriſon of Limerick. With ſuch hopes, lord Dillon, the governour, returned a defiance to the ſummons of Ginckle, and declared, that he, D'Uſſone, and all his officers were unanimous in their reſolution of defending the town. But, after a reſiſtance of a few days, it was found that the attempt made to throw ſome troops into the town from Limerick, was fruſtrated by the vigilance and bravery of the beſiegers; that O'Donnel's followers, alarmed at the defeat of Aghrim, had deſerted him with the uſual inſtability of the old Iriſh; and that he, with the remains of his wild troop, amounting to ſix hundred, were preparing to make terms with Engliſh government. The townſmen and magiſtracy declared warmly for ſurrendering, and, although they were at firſt impriſoned for their preſumption, yet the garriſon quickly adopted the ſame ſentiments. The Iriſh had been buſily employed in finiſhing a fort to the ſouth-eaſt of the town, which commanded a great part of the wall on that ſide. A detachment croſſed the river, and, conducted by a deſerter, ſurpriſed and ſeized the fort. The governour parleyed, a ceſſation was granted, and a treaty of capitulation commenced. Talmaſh, and other officers, elevated by ſucceſs, were utterly averſe to granting any terms. But Ginckle wiſely conſidered that the ſeaſon of action was gradually waſting; that the Iriſh war was a grievous embarraſſment to the continental intereſts of the king,

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

Story.

king, and a dangerous encouragement to the diſaffected in England. William, he knew, was impatient to be freed from an oppreſſive and vexatious burden. To prevent another year of bloodſhed in a country already waſted by diſtreſs, to extricate the king at once from difficulties grievous and dangerous, he reſolved to grant ſuch conditions to Galway, as might convince the whole Iriſh party of the infatuation of their perſeverance in a deſperate cauſe, and diſpoſe them to an immediate ſubmiſſion. The garriſon was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Limerick, with liberty to thoſe who deſired it to continue in the town, or to repair to their reſpective habitations. A free pardon was granted to the governour, magiſtracy, freemen, and inhabitants, with full poſſeſſion of their eſtates and liberties under the *acts of ſettlement* and explanation. The *Romiſh clergy and laity were* allowed the private exerciſe of their religion, their lawyers to practiſe, and their eſtated gentlemen to bear arms. Nor were theſe favourable terms without their effect; ſeveral conſiderable parties daily revolted from the Iriſh, and were either entertained in the army on taking the oaths of fidelity to the king and queen, or diſmiſſed peaceably to their habitations, at their own option.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

THE capitulation of Galway was conſidered in England as an event immediately to be attended by the final reduction of Ireland. In full aſſurance that Limerick muſt ſurrender, the queen gave orders that a fleet of tranſports ſhould be prepared, for conveying ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe from Cork and Kinſale to the aſſiſtance of her royal conſort in Flanders. An interval of one month was happily allowed for this embarkation, and the deſign was farther poſtponed until the reduction of Limerick ſhould be effected, an enterprize in which the generals employed in the ſervice of Ireland ſaw more danger and difficulty than were diſcovered in the Engliſh cabinet. Sarſefield now adventured over he tShannon with all the forces he could collect, amounting to ſeven thouſand, reſolving to deſolate the country, and threatened the city of Caſhel with fire and ſlaughter: and, although he was ſoon obliged to retire, as the garriſon of Caſhel was reinforced, and the Engliſh advanced towards Limerick, yet the Iriſh ſpoke with confidence of meeting the enemy, and once more trying their fortune in the field. Ginckle proceeded gradually and cautiouſly; and, as the time limited for the ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh, by a former proclamation of government, was expired, he enlarged the term by a new declaration, promiſing pardon and protection, favour and encouragement, to all thoſe, who by a timely ſubmiſſion ſhould contribute to ſave the effuſion of blood.

Story.

THE town to which he approached, notwithſtanding the apparent reſolution of the garriſon, was a ſcene of contention, diſcord, and ſuſpicion. The French and Iriſh parties, the moderate and the violent, thoſe who were for fighting to the laſt, thoſe who wiſhed to ſave the remains of their country by ſubmitting, all contended with an acrimony encreaſed by their misfortunes. Tyrconnel expired in the bitterneſs of vexation; the vulgar Iriſh imputed his death to poiſon, adminiſtered by thoſe who deteſted his moderate counſels; others were confident that he had been tried, condemned, and executed, for a private correſpondence with the Engliſh. Three new lords juſtices now aſſumed the civil government in the name of the abdicated king, Fitton, Nagle, and Plowden; and, like Tyrconnel, declared for ſubmiſſion. Sarſefield was brave, violent, and enterpriſing, and of conſequence averſe to all compoſitions. The French generals expected ſuccours from their own country, and declared for war. Some of the Iriſh officers had already engaged in a private correſpondence with the Engliſh, and were ſolicitous to ſecure their own particular intereſts; others, with

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

more generous ſentiments, declined any compoſition which ſhould not include the whole party of Iriſh catholics. Among theſe different factions, they who favoured the French intereſt, and contended for a vigorous proſecution of war, were encouraged by new intelligence of twenty ſhips of war ſpeedily to arrive, under the command of monſieur Chateau-Renault, and for the preſent became predominant. Nor were the Engliſh leſs divided in ſentiments: ſome condemned all overtures made to the enemy; others, with more condeſcenſion to the king's views, were for terminating the war on any terms; ſome advanced to Limerick in full confidence of ſucceſs; others, recollecting the misfortune of the former attempt on this town, deſponded, and propoſed to fortify Loughrea, and other places, ſo as to ſecure good winter quarters in caſe of any diſappointment or delay.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

The memory of the former ſiege ſeems to have made a deep impreſſion on Ginckle. He ſtrengthened his army by withdrawing every garriſon that could be ſpared; he ſecured the paſſes of the Shannon; ſome Engliſh ſhips lay in this river, under the command of captain Cole, to favour his operations; ſir Ralph Delaval cruiſed off Cape Clear, to intercept the French ſuccours. Some Iriſh garriſons were reduced which threatened to interrupt the communication between the camp and Kerry; a diſtrict reſerved for his winter quarters, and in which extraordinary efforts were made to ſuppreſs the Iriſh party. His artillery was brought up under a ſtrong eſcort, with every poſſible precaution. The government at Dublin were alarmed at his delays; they dreaded the approach of winter, and the arrival of the French fleet; they urged the general to make ſome reſolute attempt without delay. But the general knew his own ſtrength, the advantages of the enemy, the danger and the fatal conſequences of a repulſe. He contented himſelf with ordering Cole to burn the country and deſtroy the forage on the Clare ſide of the Shannon, the diſtrict on which the beſiegers depended for ſupport.

By this time Ginckle was ſeated before the town, to which he advanced on the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt. His approaches were made in the ſame manner as in the former ſiege. The Iriſh ſeemed determined againſt trying their fortune without the walls; and, after a feeble reſiſtance, abandoned Ireton's, Cromwell's, and ſome other forts to the beſiegers. Every precaution was now taken for the ſecurity of their camp; and for ſeveral days their cannon and mortars played furiouſly upon the Iriſh town, which lay on the ſame ſide of the river with the beſiegers. The houſes were in flames, the inhabitants terrified, and, removing from the danger, formed a ſort of camp to the north-eaſt, where they hoped to lie ſecure from the enemy on the other ſide of the river. New batteries were raiſed againſt the Engliſh town. But it ſeemed of little advantage to the beſiegers to ſet fire to houſes abandoned by the inhabitants, and plundered by the ſoldiers, or to make breaches in the walls which they could not venture to ſtorm, as the garriſon was healthy, well ſupplied, and in numbers equal to their aſſailants. The only effectual means of reducing the town was to inveſt it on all parts, by gaining the oppoſite ſide of the river, and to cut off the garriſon from all intercourſe with the county of Clare, by commanding the bridge which opened to this quarter, and was called Thomond-bridge. It was reſolved to make a bold effort to gain the other ſide of the river. To conceal the deſign, Ginckle gave ſuch orders as indicated a purpoſe of raiſing the ſiege. The Iriſh ſaw his batteries diſmounted with ſhouts of joy, and, lulled as they were in perfect ſecurity, never once ſuſpected any danger, until a bridge of tin boats was almoſt completed in the darkneſs of night. A conſiderable body of forces was thus conveyed into an iſland, from which the river was fordable to the main land. Four regiments of Iriſh dragoons, commanded by an officer of the name of Clifford*, were poſted near the paſſage. Clifford was of the number of thoſe who contended for a timely ſubmiſſion, and not diſpleaſed that the garriſon ſhould be ſo preſſed as to force them into ſuch a meaſure. To this it is imputed, that he ſuffered the Engliſh troops to paſs gradually over, ſcarcely with the ſhew of reſiſtance. The Iriſh horſe, in their encampment, now heard of the enemy's paſſage with aſtoniſhment; the inhabitants, who lay near them, were in confuſion; ſome prepared to ſeek ſecurity in the mountains, others ran for ſhelter to the town, but were refuſed admittance. In this uproar and confuſion ſeveral were killed, and the ſlaughter muſt have been greater, had not the Engliſh forces been reſtrained from purſuing by their general, who apprehended an ambuſcade.

Story. NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs, it was debated whether the ſiege ſhould be carried on, or converted into a blockade; ſuch were the difficulties foreſeen in reducing the town. Though the beſiegers had made a lodgment on the other ſide of the Shannon, though their pontons were ſecured by a fort, yet the King's Iſland, as it was called, which lay northward of the

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* The vulgar malice of the Iriſh propagated a report, that colonel Henry Lutterel commanded at this poſt, and treacherouſly betrayed *it* to the enemy. This report has been adopted by ſome precipitate writers of memoirs, and Lutterel was unjuſtly and fatally purſued by popular odium. He was indeed of the number of thoſe who ſaw the *folly* of an obſtinate reſiſtance to the preſent government, and had contrived to notify his own deſire of being reconciled to king William. He had by ſome means offended Tyrconnel, who procured him to be tried by a court martial for holding a traiterous correſpondence with the enemy. But though the court was formed *entirely* of Tyrconnel's creatures, yet Lutterel was honourably acquitted. *He* was, however, ſtill confined in the caſtle of Limerick, where he lay at the very time when the Engliſh paſſed the river. See lord Weſt-Meath's letter to W. Harris. Life of K. William. Appendix, No. lxii.

Engliſh town, was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the enemy; its ſoil low and marſhy, the ſeaſon far ſpent, and little hope of ſucceſs, unleſs this important poſt could be ſecured. Ginckle, who probably held a ſecret intelligence with ſome officers of the garriſon, and hoped to prevent the effuſion of blood by offers of grace, iſſued a declaration, promiſing the garriſon and inhabitants of Limerick, who ſhould ſubmit within eight days, pardon for all offences, reſtitution of their eſtates, and all other benefits of the proclamation publiſhed by the lords juſtices, from which no act of parliament debarred them, as they were falſely made to believe by thoſe who ſacrificed their country to the tyranny and ambition of France. This declaration was not attended by any immediate effects. The counſels of the Engliſh general were various and fluctuating; the intelligence of deſerters uncertain and contradictory. It was dangerous for the beſiegers to continue in their preſent ſtation on the approach of winter; it was hazardous to divide an army ſufficient only for aſſailing the town on one ſide. At length, however, it was finally reſolved, to lead another body of troops acroſs the river. On the twenty-ſecond day of September, Ginckle, Wirtemburg, Sgravenmore, with a powerful party both of cavalry and infantry, marched over the bridge of boats, animated with intelligence of the reduction of Sligo by the earl of Granard. Their advanced guards were at firſt repulſed, were ſuſtained, repelled the enemy in their turn; the party ſtill advanced, and about the hour of four in the evening, the grenadiers, ſupported by four regiments, were ordered to aſſault the works which covered Thomond-bridge. Here the conteſt was for ſome time deſperately maintained. The grenadiers were tranſported by their ardour, and preſſed forward, even contrary to orders. The Iriſh, when puſhed from their ground, were reinforced, and renewed the engagement: but through the fire of their muſquettry, through the tremendous diſcharge of their cannon, the Engliſh forced their way undauntedly, and, at length, by the moſt obſtinate efforts of valour, broke, routed, and purſued the enemy. A French major, who commanded at Thomond-bridge, fearing that the grenadiers would enter with his own party, ordered the draw-bridge to be raiſed, and thus left the fugitives to the mercy of their purſuers. Before the carnage could be ſtopped, ſix hundred filled the bridge, even to the battlements, with their carcaſſes; about an hundred and fifty were forced into the river and periſhed; one hundred and twenty-ſix, officers and ſoldiers, were made priſoners, with an inconſiderable loſs on the part of the aſſailants.

Story.

The beſiegers now made a lodgment within ten yards of the bridge, aſtoniſhed at their own ſucceſs, and at a loſs to account for the conduct of the enemy, in not hazarding a general engagement when the Engliſh forces were divided, rather than ſuffer the town to be ſurrounded. But the garriſon was by this time weary of the war; the diſſenſions of their leaders every day encreaſed; the late behaviour of the French officer at Thomond-bridge, exaſperated the whole Iriſh party; they exclaimed with the utmoſt virulence againſt ſuch treacherous allies; they reſolved to ſeek their ſecurity in a timely accommodation, before they were reduced to ſuch a ſtate of diſtreſs as might cut them off from all hopes of advantageous terms. On the twenty-third day of September, when the garriſon had for many hours fired from their batteries with unuſual fury, they cloſed the evening with beating a parley. A ceſſation was granted, and continued for three days, in order to give time for the horſe, (which ſince the late rencounter had encamped at ſome diſtance) to take advantage of the capitulation now projected. An amicable intercourſe was thus opened between the two armies; but it exhibited a ſpectacle neither honourable to the Iriſh, nor conciliating to the beſiegers. About two hundred and forty Engliſh priſoners were led out to be ſurrendered to their friends. While the inhabitants continued in the town, they had received all charitable relief, particularly from the proteſtants; but from the moment of their departure, were abandoned unheeded to diſeaſe and famine, and the fire of the beſiegers. Thirty of their number had been killed; the ſurvivors tottered feebly on; ſome fainting on their firſt expoſure to the air; ſome expiring by the way; ſome writhing with the torture of wounds never dreſſed; and all hideous and ghaſtly. But, however the paſſions of the ſoldiers might be enflamed by ſuch an object, Ginckle had urgent directions to terminate the war on any conditions: and, as he ſent to the ſecretary at war on the firſt parley, for "the "king's letter touching lord Lucan," (ſo Sarſefield was called by both parties) he was probably inſtructed to practiſe with this lord, and, if poſſible, to entice him to the ſervice of king William.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

On the laſt day of the ceſſation the Iriſh leaders offered their terms of a capitulation, which was to include the whole body of their party not yet reduced. They required an act of indemnity for all paſt offences, with a full enjoyment of the eſtates they poſſeſſed before the preſent revolution; freedom for the Roman catholic worſhip, with an eſtabliſhment of one Romiſh eccleſiaſtic in each pariſh. They demanded that Roman catholics ſhould be declared fully qualified for every office, civil and military; that they ſhould be admitted into all corporations; and that the Iriſh army ſhould be kept up, and paid in the ſame manner with the king's other troops, provided they be willing to ſerve. Ginckle replied, that ſtranger as he was to the laws of England, yet he underſtood that ſuch demands were equally inconſiſtent with theſe laws, and with his own honour. In return for the Engliſh priſoners, he ordered thoſe of the Iriſh to be reſtored, but not in the ſame wretched condition, for they had been treated with humanity, and their ſick and wounded carefully

Ibid. Story.

carefully attended. He now gave orders for new batteries, as if reſolved to continue the ſiege.

Story. By a ſecond deputation, he was deſired to propoſe ſuch terms, on his part, as he could grant. The ſeaſon was far advanced, the continuance of the ſiege dangerous, and the event ſtill precarious; he, therefore, made little difficulty to renew the treaty. If the Iriſh offered terms, not as a conquered people, the general made his propoſitions as to men who claimed attention and indulgence. He conſented that all Iriſh Roman catholics ſhould enjoy the exerciſe of their religion, as in the reign of Charles the Second; and promiſed, that their majeſties would endeavour to procure them farther ſecurity in this particular, when a parliament could be convened. He engaged, that all included in the capitulation ſhould enjoy their eſtates, and purſue their callings and profeſſions freely, as in the reign of Charles the Second; that their gentry ſhould be allowed the uſe of arms, and that no oath ſhould be required of any except the oath of allegiance. Should it ſtill be diſagreeable to any of their party to reſide in Ireland on theſe conditions, or ſhould their army chuſe to engage in any foreign ſervice, he conſented that all thoſe of every quality who wiſhed to retire with their families and effects, ſhould have free liberty, and be conveyed to the continent at the expence of government.

SUCH liberal conceſſions were mortifying to thoſe Iriſh who had already ſubmitted on leſs favourable terms. They were deteſted by thoſe proteſtants who lived in an habitual hatred and horrour of the Iriſh, enflamed by late tranſactions; they were provoking to thoſe who ſtudied the extenſion and ſecurity of the Engliſh intereſt, or were impatient to enjoy the eſtates of their enemies. But they were neceſſary to the king's immediate views and intereſts; nor is it juſt to this prince not to allow ſomething to his equity and humanity. He knew the

Iriſh had engaged in the preſent quarrel not without ſome plauſible and pardonable motives: that they fought for a king of their own religion, by whom they hoped to be reſtored to thoſe advantages their anceſtors had forfeited, or of which they themſelves had been deprived in the conflict of parties. The moſt indifferent and unprincipled among them were neceſſarily obliged to take ſome part. Should they oppoſe the revolution, they were attainted by Engliſh government; ſhould they ſupport it, they were at the mercy of the Iriſh parliament convened by James. In this neceſſity they were naturally determined to the popiſh prince, who was for a conſiderable time acknowledged even by the proteſtants of Ireland, where the juſt and generous ſentiments of liberty had not been generally imbibed, and where James was preſent to enforce his authority.

The garriſon, on their part, with a ſecret pride and ſatisfaction, accepted the conceſſions of Ginckle as the ground of a treaty. Sir Theobald Butler, an acute and artful lawyer of the Iriſh party, was directed to reduce the ſeveral points ſettled in different conferences to a ſet of formal articles. Some ſuperiours of the popiſh clergy were in the town, and attended the progreſs of the treaty. Probably they conferred privately with Butler; and, without any great violation of charity, we may impute it to their zeal for the catholic cauſe, as well as to the ſubtility of their lawyer, that he ventured to inſert in his draft many particulars exceeding his inſtructions. They did not eſcape the obſervation of Ginckle; he remonſtrated warmly to lord Lucan; and the honour and temper of this lord happily prevented all [redacted] The articles of capitulation were reduced to the original intention and agreements of the parties. On the firſt day of October the lords juſtices arrived in the camp*.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

Story.

Clarke's Correſpondence, MS.

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* We are told that they had already prepared a proclamation, offering terms ſtill more advantageous to the Iriſh than thoſe granted by the general; but

On the third the capitulation was finally adjuſted and ſigned, the civil articles by the chief governours, Porter and Coningſby, the military by the general, not many days before a formidable French fleet arrived in the Shannon, with forces, arms, and proviſions for the relief of Limerick. Story.

IT is not the intention of this hiſtory to enter into any detail of events ſubſequent to this important tranſaction. The war was now concluded, the conteſt for power finally decided in Ireland, and the authority of the crown of England unalterably eſtabliſhed.

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but on the firſt intelligence of a treaty, they ſuppreſſed it. Hence it was called the SECRET PROCLAMATION, becauſe, though printed, it was never publiſhed. See Harris, Writers of Ireland, in the article Cox.

APPENDIX.

The CIVIL and MILITARY ARTICLES of LIMERICK, exactly printed from the Letters Patents; wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their Majeſties, under the Great Seal of England.

GULIELMUS & Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, rex & regina, fidei defenſores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præſentes literæ noſtræ pervenerint ſalutem: *inſpeximus irrotulament.* quarund. literarum patentium de con*firmatione* geren. *dat.* apud Weſtmonaſterium viceſſimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. noſtr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October laſt paſt, made and agreed on between our juſtices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part; and ſeveral officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our ſaid kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our ſaid juſtices and general did undertake that we ſhould ratify thoſe articles, within the ſpace of eight months, or ſooner; and uſe their utmoſt endeavours that the ſame ſhould be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenour of which ſaid articles is as follows, viz.

ARTICLES agreed upon the third Day of October, One Thouſand Six Hundred and Ninety-one.

Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conningſby, Eſq. Lords Juſtices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the Engliſh Army; on the one Part.

And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viſcount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cuſack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown; on the other Part:

In the Behalf of the Iriſh Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In Conſideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, and other Agreements made between the ſaid Lieutenant General Ginckle, the Governour of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Iriſh Army, bearing Date with theſe Preſents, for the Surrender of the ſaid City, and Submiſſion of the ſaid Army: it is agreed, That,

I. THE Roman catholics of this kingdom ſhall enjoy ſuch privileges in the exerciſe of their religion, as are conſiſtent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majeſties, as ſoon as their affairs will permit them to ſummon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the ſaid Roman catholics ſuch farther ſecurity in that particular, as may preſerve them from any diſturbance upon the account of their ſaid religion.

II. All the inhabitants or reſidents of Limerick, or any other garriſon now in the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, and all officers and ſoldiers, now in arms, under any commiſſion of king James, or thoſe authoriſed by him, to grant the ſame in the ſeveral counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commiſſioned officers in their majeſties quarters, that belong to the Iriſh regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not priſoners of war, or have taken protection, and who ſhall return and ſubmit to their majeſties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, ſhall hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy, all and every their eſtates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and intereſts, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of king Charles II. or at any time ſince, by the laws and ſtatutes that were in force in the ſaid reign of king Charles II. and ſhall be put in poſſeſſion, by order of the government, of ſuch of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his *tenants, without being put to any ſuit or trouble therein;* and *all ſuch eſtates ſhall be freed and diſcharged from all* arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due ſince Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all perſons comprehended in this article, ſhall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattles, real and perſonal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any perſons whatſoever, in truſt for, or for the uſe of them, or any of them: and all, and every the ſaid perſons, of what profeſſion, trade, or calling ſoever they be, ſhall and may uſe, exerciſe, and practiſe their ſeveral and reſpective profeſſions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did uſe, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſame in the reign of king [redacted]vided that nothing in this article contai[redacted] be conſtrued to extend to, or reſtore any forfeiting perſon now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter compriſed: provided alſo, that no perſon whatſoever ſhall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that ſhall neglect or refuſe to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in

England, in the firſt year of the reign of their preſent majeſties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garriſon now poſſeſſed by the Iriſh, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are abſent beyond the ſeas, that have not bore arms ſince their majeſties declaration in February 1688, ſhall have the benefit of the ſecond article, in the ſame manner as if they were preſent; provided ſuch merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the ſpace of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterel, captain Rowland White, Maurice Euſtace of Yermanſtown, Chievers of Mayſtown, commonly called Mount-Leinſter, now belonging to the regiments in the *aforeſaid garriſons and quarters* of the Iriſh *army, who were beyond the ſeas,* and ſent thither upon affairs of their reſpective regiments, or the army in general, ſhall have the benefit and advantage of the ſecond article; provided they return hither within the ſpace of eight months from the date of theſe preſents, and ſubmit to their majeſties government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and ſingular the ſaid perſons comprifed in the ſecond and third articles, ſhall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſon, premunires, felonies, treſpaſſes, and other crimes and miſdemeanours whatſoever, by them, or any of them, committed ſince the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the *lords juſtices,* [illegible] general, will uſe their beſt endeavours *to* get the ſame repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reverſed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. And whereas theſe preſent wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all ſorts of private actions, the animoſities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public diſturbances laſt: for the quieting and ſettling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding thoſe inconveniencies which would be the neceſſary conſequence of the contrary, no perſon or perſons whatſoever, compriſed in the foregoing articles, ſhall be ſued, moleſted, or impleaded at the ſuit of any party or parties whatſoever, for any treſpaſſes by them committed, or for any arms, horſes, money, goods, chattles, merchandizes, or proviſions whatſoever, by them ſeized or taken during the time of the war. And no perſon or perſons whatſoever, in the ſecond or third articles compriſed, ſhall be ſued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houſes, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, *ſince the beginning of the preſent* war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any *waſte or treſpaſs by him* or them committed in any ſuch lands, tenements, or houſes: and it is alſo agreed, that this article ſhall be mutual and reciprocal on both ſides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman compriſed in the ſaid ſecond and third article, ſhall have liberty to ride with a ſword, and caſe of piſtols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houſes, for the defence of the ſame, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and reſidents in the city of Limerick, and other garriſons, ſhall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and proviſions, out of the ſame, without being viewed and ſearched, or paying any manner of duties, and ſhall not be compelled to leave ~~the houſes or~~ lodgings they now have, for the ſpace of ſix weeks next enſuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be adminiſtered to ſuch Roman catholics as ſubmit to their majeſties government, ſhall be the oath aboveſaid, and no other.

X. No perſon or perſons who ſhall at any time hereafter break theſe articles, or any of them, ſhall thereby make, or cauſe any other perſon or perſons to forfeit or loſe the benefit of the ſame.

XI. The lords juſtices and general do promiſe to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, that all the perſons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, ſhall be protected and defended from all arreſts and executions for debt or damage, for the ſpace of eight months next enſuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords juſtices and general do undertake, that their majeſties will ratify theſe articles within the ſpace of eight months, or ſooner, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours that the ſame ſhall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown ſtood *indebted to* ſeveral proteſtants, by *judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel, and lord Lucan,* took away the effects the ſaid John Brown had to anſwer the ſaid debts, and promiſed to clear the ſaid John Brown of the ſaid debts; which effects were taken for the public uſe of the Iriſh, and their army: for freeing the ſaid lord Lucan of his ſaid engagement, paſt on their public account, for payment of the ſaid proteſtants, and for preventing the ruin of the ſaid John Brown, and for ſatisfaction of his creditors, at the inſtance of the lord Lucan, and the reſt of the perſons aforeſaid, it is agreed, that the ſaid lords juſtices, and the ſaid baron De Ginckle, ſhall interceed with the king and parliament, to have the eſtates [illegible]cured to Roman catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of ſo much of the ſaid debts, as the ſaid lord Lucan, upon ſtating accompts with the ſaid *John Brown, ſhall certify* under his hand, that the effects taken from the ſaid Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be ſtated, and the balance certified by the ſaid lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto ſet our hands,

Char. Porter,
Tho. Coningsby.
Bar. De Ginckle.

Preſent,
Scravemore.
H. Maccay.
T. Talmash.

AND whereas the ſaid city of Limerick hath been ſince, in purſuance of the ſaid articles, ſurrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having conſidered of the ſaid articles, are graciouſly pleaſed hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the ſame, and every clauſe, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to ſuch parts thereof, for which an act of parliament ſhall be found to be neceſſary, we ſhall recommend the ſame to be made good by parliament, and ſhall give our royal aſſent to any bill or bills that ſhall be paſſed by our two houſes of parliament to that purpoſe. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the ſaid articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the ſecond of the ſaid articles, the words following, viz. "And "all ſuch as are under their protection in the ſaid counties," ſhould be inſerted, and be part of the ſaid articles. Which words having been caſually omitted by the writer, the omiſſion was not diſcovered till after the ſaid articles were ſigned, but was taken notice of before the ſecond town was ſurrendered: and that our ſaid juſtices, and general, or one of them, did promiſe that the ſaid clauſe ſhould be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inſerted in the foul draught thereof. Our further will and pleaſure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the ſaid omitted words, viz. "And all ſuch as are under their protection in the ſaid counties," hereby for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every perſon and perſons therein concerned, ſhall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in ſuch and the ſame manner, as if the ſaid words had been inſerted in their proper place, in the ſaid ſecond article; any omiſſion, defect, or miſtake in the ſaid ſecond article, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Provided always, and our will and pleaſure is, that theſe our letters patents ſhall be enrolled in our court of Chancery in our ſaid kingdom of Ireland, within the ſpace of one year next enſuing. In witneſs, &c. witneſs our ſelf at Weſtminſter, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & *Mariæ quarto per breve de privato ſigillo. Nos autem tenorem premiſſor.* predict. Ad requiſitionem attornat. general. domini regis & dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per preſentes. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſtibus nobis ipſis apud Weſtmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. { S. KECK. } In Cancel.
per nos { LACON W^{M}. CHILDE. } Magiſtros.

MILITARY

MILITARY ARTICLES agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the Engliſh Army, on the one ſide.

AND the Lieutenant Generals De Uſſoon and De Teſſe, Commanders in Chief of the Iriſh Army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto ſubſcribing.

I. THAT all perſons without any exceptions, of what quality or condition ſoever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, ſhall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the ſeas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, houſhold-ſtuff, plate, and jewels.

II. THAT all general officers, colonels, and generally all *other officers of horſe*, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, *dragooners, ſoldiers of all kinds that are in* any *garriſon*, place, or poſt, now in the hands of the Iriſh, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as alſo thoſe called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond ſeas as aforeſaid, ſhall have free leave to embark themſelves whereever the ſhips are that are appointed to tranſport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now compoſed, or in parties, companies, or otherwiſe, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. THAT all perſons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, ſhall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tueſday next in Limerick; the horſe at their camp on Wedneſday, and the other forces that are diſperſed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th inſtant, and on none other, before monſieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after ſuch declaration is made, the troops that will go into France muſt remain under the command and diſcipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither: and deſerters of each ſide ſhall be given up, and puniſhed accordingly.

IV. THAT all Engliſh and Scotch officers that ſerve now in Ireland, ſhall be included in this capitulation, as well for the ſecurity of their eſtates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here) as for paſſing freely into France, or any other country to ſerve.

V. THAT all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commiſſaries at war, and of the artillery, the treaſurer, and other French officers, ſtrangers, and all others whatſoever, that are in Sligo, Roſs, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of ſtation or condition, ſhall have free leave to paſs *into* France, or any other country, and ſhall *have leave to ſhip* themſelves, with all their horſes, equipage, *plate, papers,* and all their effects whatever; and that general Ginckle will order paſſports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them ſafe from Limerick to the ſhips where they ſhall be embarked, without paying any thing for the ſaid carriages, or to thoſe that are employed therein, with their horſes, cars, boats, and ſhallops.

VI. THAT if any of the *aforeſaid equipages*, merchandize, horſes, money, plate, or other moveables, or houſhold-ſtuff belonging to the ſaid Iriſh troops, or to the French officers, or other particular perſons whatſoever, be robbed, deſtroyed, or taken away by the troops of the ſaid general, the ſaid general will order it to be reſtored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the perſon ſo robbed or plundered: and the ſaid Iriſh troops to be tranſported as aforeſaid; and all other perſons belonging to them, are to obſerve good order in their march and quarters, and ſhall reſtore whatever they ſhall take from the country, or make reſtitution for the ſame.

VII. THAT to facilitate the tranſporting the ſaid troops, the general will furniſh fifty ſhips, each ſhip's burthen two hundred tons; for which, the perſons to be tranſported ſhall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there ſhall be occaſion, without their paying for them; and if any of the ſaid ſhips ſhall be of leſſer burthen, he will furniſh more in number to countervail; and alſo give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and ſerve for a convoy to the veſſels of burthen.

VIII. THAT a commiſſary ſhall be immediately ſent to Cork to viſit the tranſport ſhips, and what condition they are in for ſailing; and that as ſoon as they are ready, the troops to be tranſported ſhall march with all convenient ſpeed, the neareſt way in order to embark there: and if there ſhall be any more men to be tranſported than can be carried off in the ſaid fifty ſhips, the reſt ſhall quit the Engliſh town of Limerick, and march to ſuch quarters as ſhall be appointed for them, convenient for their tranſportation, where they ſhall remain till the other twenty ſhips be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ſhip that may come in the mean time.

IX. THAT the ſaid ſhips ſhall be furniſhed with forage for horſe, and all neceſſary proviſions to ſubſiſt the officers, troops, dragoons, and ſoldiers, and all other perſons that are ſhipped to be tranſported into France; which proviſions ſhall be paid for as ſoon as all are diſembarked at Breſt or Nants, upon the coaſt of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. AND to ſecure the return of the ſaid ſhips (the danger of the ſeas excepted) and payment for the ſaid proviſions, ſufficient hoſtages ſhall be given.

XI. THAT the garriſons of Clare-caſtle, Roſs, and all other foot that are in garriſons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and

Kerry, ſhall have the advantage of this preſent capitulation; and ſuch part of thoſe garriſons as deſign to go beyond ſeas, ſhall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the proviſions, and half the ammunition that is in the ſaid garriſons, and join the horſe that march to be tranſported; or if then there is not ſhipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next tranſported after the horſe, general Ginckle will order that they be furniſhed with carriages for that purpoſe, and what proviſions they ſhall want in their march, they paying for the ſaid proviſions, or elſe that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. THAT all the troops of horſe and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, ſhall alſo have the benefit of this capitulation; and that ſuch as will *paſs* into France, ſhall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by general Ginckle, until they can be ſhipped; and within their quarters they ſhall pay for every thing, except forage and paſture for their horſes, which ſhall be furniſhed gratis.

XIII. THOSE of the garriſon of Sligo that are joined to the Iriſh army, ſhall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders ſhall be ſent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the ſhorteſt way.

XIV. THE Iriſh may have liberty to tranſport nine hundred horſe, including horſes for the officers, which ſhall be tranſported gratis: and as for the troopers that ſtay behind, they ſhall diſpoſe of themſelves as they ſhall think fit, giving up their horſes and arms to ſuch perſons as the general ſhall appoint.

XV. IT ſhall be permitted to thoſe that are appointed to take care for the ſubſiſtence of the horſe, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are aſſigned for them, without any let or moleſtation, and to carry all neceſſary proviſions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpoſe, the general will furniſh convenient carriages for them to the places where they ſhall be embarked.

XVI. It ſhall be lawful to make uſe of the hay preſerved in the ſtores of the county of Kerry, for the horſes that ſhall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it ſhall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it ſhall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all priſoners of war that were in Ireland the 28th of September, ſhall be ſet at liberty on both ſides; and the general promiſes to uſe his endeavours, that thoſe that are in England and Flanders ſhall be ſet at liberty alſo.

XVIII. The general will cauſe proviſions and medicines to be furniſhed to the ſick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and ſoldiers of the Iriſh army that cannot paſs into France at the firſt embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ſhips to paſs into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the ſigning hereof, the general will ſend a ſhip expreſs to France; and that beſides, he will furniſh two ſmall ſhips of thoſe that are now in the river of Limerick, to tranſport two perſons into France that are to be ſent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the ſaid ſhips ſhall have orders to put aſhore at the next port of France where they ſhall make.

XX. That all thoſe of the ſaid troops, officers, and others, of what character ſoever, that would paſs into France, ſhall not be ſtopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If after ſigning this preſent treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other tranſport-ſhip, ſhall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a paſſport, not only for ſuch as muſt go on board the ſaid ſhips, but to the ſhips to come to the neareſt port, to the place where the troops to be tranſported ſhall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the ſaid fleet, there ſhall be free communication and paſſage between it and the quarters of the aboveſaid troops; and eſpecially, for all thoſe that have paſſes from the chief commanders of the ſaid fleet, or from monſieur Tameron the intendant.

XXIII. In conſideration of the preſent capitulation, the two towns of Limerick ſhall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other perſon he ſhall appoint, at the time and days hereafter ſpecified, viz. the Iriſh town, except the magazines and hoſpital, on the day of the ſigning of theſe preſent articles; and as for the Engliſh town, it ſhall remain, together with the iſland, and the free paſſage of Thomond-Bridge, in the hands of thoſe of the Iriſh army that are now in the garriſon, or that ſhall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above-mentioned, until there ſhall be convenience found for their tranſportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all diſorders that may happen between the garriſon that the general ſhall place in the Iriſh-town, which ſhall be delivered to him, and the Iriſh troopers that ſhall remain in the Engliſh-town and the iſland, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the firſt fifty ſhips ſhall be gone for France, and no longer; they ſhall intrench themſelves on both ſides, to hinder the communication of the ſaid garriſons: and it ſhall be prohibited on both ſides, to offer any thing that is offenſive; and the parties offending ſhall be puniſhed on either ſide.

XXV. That it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid garriſon to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, ſix braſs guns, ſuch as the beſieged will chuſe, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the ſaid place: and for this purpoſe, an inventory of all the ammunition in the garriſon ſhall be made in the preſence of any perſon that the general ſhall appoint, the next day after theſe preſent articles ſhall be ſigned.

XXVI. All the magazines of proviſions ſhall remain in the hands of thoſe that are now employed to take care of the ſame, for the ſubſiſtence of thoſe of the Iriſh army that will paſs into France: and if there ſhall not be ſufficient in the ſtores, for the ſupport of the ſaid troops, whilſt they ſtay in this kingdom, and are croſſing the ſeas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furniſh them with *ſufficient proviſions*, at the king's rates; and that there ſhall be a *free market at Limerick*, and other quarters, where the ſaid troops ſhall be; and in caſe any proviſion ſhall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town ſhall be given up, it ſhall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the proviſions to be furniſhed to the troops on ſhipboard.

XXVII. That there ſhall be a ceſſation of arms at land, as alſo at ſea, with reſpect to the ſhips, whether Engliſh, Dutch, or French, deſigned for the tranſportation of the ſaid troops, until they ſhall be returned to their reſpective harbours; and that on both ſides, they ſhall be furniſhed with ſufficient paſſports both for ſhips and men: and if any ſea-commander, or captain of a ſhip, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, ſoldier, or any other perſon, ſhall act contrary to this ceſſation, the perſons ſo acting, ſhall be puniſhed on either ſide, and ſatisfaction ſhall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers ſhall be ſent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the Engliſh and French fleets of the preſent conjunċture, that they may obſerve the ceſſation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the ſecurity of the execution of this preſent capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the beſieged ſhall give the following hoſtages —— And the general ſhall give ——.

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginckle; all thoſe that ſhall be appointed to command the ſame, ſhall be obliged to obſerve and execute what is ſpecified in theſe articles, or cauſe it to be executed punċtually, and ſhall not aċt contrary on any account.

Oċtob. 91.

Baron De Ginckle.

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Fedlim, prince of Connaught, oppoſes de Burgo, i. 209. Addreſſes himſelf to king Henry III. and receives an anſwer ſufficient for his immediate purpoſe, 211. Is acknowledged as the king's liege-man, and has the royal commiſſion to act againſt de Burgo, ibid. Suddenly appears at the court of England, 219. Repeats his application to the throne on having his territories invaded, ibid. Pleads his cauſe with ſucceſs, ibid. Proves his gratitude by performing good ſervices againſt prince David of Wales, 220.

Fitz-Andelm, William, appointed governour of Ireland by Henry II. i. 113. Lands at Wexford, 114. Begins his adminiſtration by a ſtately progreſs along the coaſt, ibid. Diſcovers no diſpoſitions nor abilities ſuited to a government to be ſupported by a martial ſpirit, 115. The chief object of his adminiſtration, ibid. His government deſpiſed, 121. He is recalled, 128.

Fitz-Euſtace, Sir Edward, appointed to the government of Ireland, ii. 37. Fitted for that government by his military accompliſhments, ibid. Surpriſes O'Connor, the turbulent Iriſh chieftain of O'Fally, and puts his troops to the rout, 38. Removed from his government, 40.

———— Sir Rowland, created baron of Portleſter, and entruſted with the adminiſtration of government, as deputy to the duke of Clarence, 48.

Fitz-Gerald, Maurice, conſents, with ſome other adventurous knights of Wales, to take part in the Iriſh expedition, i. 20. Inveſted, jointly with Robert Fitz-Stephens, his maternal brother, with the lordſhip of the city of Wexford, and its domain, 25. Lands at Wexford, 29. Extricates Maurice de Pendergaſt from a dangerous ſituation, and ſecures his retreat by his valour and addreſs, ibid. Attends Dermod, with his Britiſh forces, into the territories of Dublin, 37. Affected by the ſubmiſſion of the citizens, he becomes their interceſſor with the prince of Leinſter, ibid. Seized with a ſpirit of deſperate valour, 58. Aſſailed furiouſly by O'Ruarc, with his battle-axe, 91. Reſcues Hugh de Lacy, ibid. Marries his daughter to Henry de Mountmorres, 106. Indulged with a new grant, ibid. His death, 115.

———— Maurice, appointed ſucceſſor to Hubert, in return for the ſervices of his noble family, i. 209. Receives a letter from king Henry III. 210. Is directed how to act in conſequence of that letter, 211. Dreading the king's reſentment, thinks it expedient to repair to London, 218. Exculpates himſelf by oath from any part or concurrence in the death of earl Richard, 218. Is gained by de Burgo, 219. Ordered by the king to take the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing Fedlim in full poſſeſſion of his rights, 220. Removed from the Iriſh government, 222.

Fitz-Henry, Meiler, ſucceeds Hamo de Valois, i. 170. Marches to reduce William de Burgo, 174. Is joined by Cathal and O'Brien of Thomond, 174. Receives hoſtages from them, 175. Is inveſted by the king with all the iſſues and profits of his penſion to be expended on fortifying and improving Connaught, ibid.

Fitz-Maurice, Maurice, marches againſt ſome inſurgents, i. 240. Is ſeized and taken priſoner, ibid. Retires, when releaſed from his confinement, to his own lands, to raiſe new commotions, ibid. unites with lord Theobald Butler, and makes private war upon the Iriſh of Munſter, ibid.

————, James, threatens his country (Ireland) with an invaſion, ii. 267. Retires to the continent with an unconquerable hatred of the queen (Elizabeth) and an impatience of new diſorders, ibid. His practices in Italy and Spain, 268. Procures a bull at Rome in his favour, ibid. Lands at Kerry with a troop of Spaniards, at a bay called Smerwick, 269. Is unable to ſuppreſs his vexation at the earl of Deſmond's duplicity, 270. Falls in a ſkirmiſh with one of the ſons of ſir William de Burgo, 472.

Fitz-Stephen, Robert, arrives near the city of Wexford, i. 23. Marches to Wexford, 24. Leads up his forces to the walls, ibid. Is obliged to retire, ibid. Leads his troops again to the aſſault, and is ſucceſsful, 25. Settles the terms of capitulation with the inhabitants, ibid. Receives deputies from Roderic O'Connor, 32. Sends them back without complying with their propoſals, 33. Dreading the inſtability of the men of Wexford, he determines to build a fort to keep them in perpetual awe, 36. He is beſieged in the fort of Carig, 56. Deceived, 60. Surrenders, ibid. Is cruelly treated by his enemies, ibid. Preſented by the men of Wexford, as their priſoner, to the king, 69. Is ſternly reprimanded by the king for his preſumption, and ordered back to priſon, ibid. Is releaſed, 71. Has a conſiderable diſtrict in the neighbourhood of Dublin granted him, 85. Made one of Hugh de Lacy's coadjutors, ibid. Settles in Deſmond, 132. Obliged to take arms again, 139. Is relieved by Raymond le Groſs, ibid. Is deprived of his reaſon, ibid.

———— Ralph, (ſon of Robert) aſſaſſinated, i. 139.

Fitz-Thomas, John, confiding in the pacific diſpoſition of his rival, departs from the kingdom, and attends the ſervice of king Edward I. in Flanders, i. 257. Attends the king's ſtandard in Scotland, 258.

————, Maurice, ſtrictly enjoined on his allegiance, by the king, to pay due obedience and ſubmiſſion to his chief governour, the earl of Kildare, i. 288. Takes the field againſt John de la Over, who had perſonally affronted him, ibid. Is invited by Darcy to his aſſiſtance, 291. Diſcovers a deteſtable propenſity to oppreſſion, ibid. Is honoured with the title of earl Deſmond, and and receives a confirmation of his royal liberties in the county of Kerry, ibid. Is ſeized by the governour, ſir Anthony Lucy, 293. Is diſcharged on great ſurety, after a long confinement, and ſent to England, ibid. Is ſummoned to attend a parliament in Dublin, 307. Slights the mandate, and ſummons an aſſembly of his own, 308. Shocked at the intrepid ſeverity of ſir Ralph de Ufford, and conſcious of his own irregular conduct, retires in diſmay, leaving his ſureties to anſwer for his default, ibid. Again emboldened by the death of Ufford to appear and remonſtrate againſt the wrongs he alledged to have received from him, 309. Is reſtored to favour ibid. Attends the king's ſervice in France, ibid. Succeeds ſir Thomas Rokeby as lord deputy, 312. Dies ſoon after his promotion, ibid.

Fitz-William, ſir William, ſucceeds ſir Henry Sidney in the government of Ireland, ii. 253. Remonſtrates warmly againſt the commiſſion granted to the earl of Eſſex, 255. Deſires to be relieved from the burden of his Iriſh government, 258. Succeeds ſir John Perrot in the government of Ireland, 311. Aſſumes the reins of government at a favourable period, ibid. Reſolves to make his poſt as advantageous to him as poſſible, 312. Marches into Ulſter in purſuit of Spaniſh treaſure, 313. Commits two gentlemen who had done ſervices to the government to cloſe durance in the caſtle of Dublin, ibid. *Inflames the diſaffection of the northern chieftains by his cruelty*, 316. *Receives a ſingular anſwer from Mac-Guire*, the chieftain of Fermanagh, 317. Behaves with great partiality with regard to the earl of Tirone, 328. Recalled, at his own ſollicitation, 331.

Fleetwood, general, appointed lord deputy of Ireland for three years, iii. 399. Succeeded by Henry Cromwell, 401.

Forbes, lord, arrives at Kinſale with twelve hundred men, iii. 173. His character, ibid. He diſdains to unite with any not of the *Godly*, ibid. Reimbarks after ſome indiſcriminating depredations, and proceeds to the bay of Galway, ibid. His intemperate and extravagant conduct, 174.

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Furnival, lord, lands near Dublin, and aſſumes the reins of government, ii. 10. His ſucceſſes, ibid. His adminiſtration odious, ibid. He departs from Ireland, with the execrations of all thoſe clergy and laity alike who had been injured by the tyrannical exerciſe of his power, 13.

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den attempts, 587. Encamps near Ballymore, 591. Reduces it, 594. Orders the breaches to be repaired, ibid. Advances to Athlone, to lay ſiege to it, ibid. Meets with great oppoſition, but is not diſconcerted, 595. Convenes a council, 596. Makes himſelf maſter of Athlone, 599. Proclaims a pardon, 601. Marches from Athlone, 602. Comes to an engagement with Saint Ruth, 604. Leads his victorious troops to Galway, 607. Grants honourable conditions to the garriſon of Galway, 608. His cautious procedures, 609. Makes a ſucceſsful attempt to paſs the Shannon, 610. Lays ſiege to Limerick, 611. Conceals his deſign, ibid. Publiſhes a declaration, 613. Is animated by the intelligence he receives of the reduction of Sligo, ibid. Gains an advantage over the enemy at Thomond bridge, 614. Rejects the demands of the capitulating Iriſh leaders, 615. Remonſtrates againſt Sarſefield, called by both parties lord Lucan, 617.

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Gormanſton, lord, appointed lord deputy, ii. 94. Supported by the earl of Kildare and other lords, 95. Convenes a parliament at Drogheda, ibid.

Grey, lord, conſtituted by king Edward IV. deputy to the duke of Clarence, ii. 63. Refuſed admittance into the caſtle of Dublin, 64. Convenes his aſſembly, ibid. Appointed, by a new commiſſion, deputy to prince George, the king's infant ſon, ibid. Returns to England, 65.

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Henry II. conceives a deſign, ſoon after he aſcends the throne of England, to annex Ireland to his dominions, i. 4. His pretences for the invaſion of Ireland, 5. Applies to pope Adrian, 6. His deſign neceſſarily ſuſpended, 10. Receives a ſupplicating viſit from Dermod, king of Leinſter, while he is engaged in Aquitaine, 17. Diſcourages the earl of Chepſtow, 43. Treats his ſcheme of an adventure in Ireland with contempt and ridicule, ibid. Commands him paſſionately to be gone, ibid. Prepares for an expedition to Ireland, ibid. Alarmed at the progreſs of Strongbow, (the above-mentioned earl) 51. Iſſues a royal edict, ibid. Summons the earl to appear inſtantly before him, 64. His reſentment is allayed by the earl's ſubmiſſions, ibid. Makes preparations for the intended invaſion, 66. Arrives at Waterford, 68. Orders the execution of an Oſtman lord immediately on his landing, 69. Receives the Wexfordians in a gracious manner, ibid. Makes a ſhort progreſs, 70. Returns to Wexford, 71. Marches to Dublin, ibid. Receives the homage of ſeveral Iriſh lords, ibid. Attempts to reduce Roderic O'Connor, 72. Feaſts the Iriſh lords in Dublin, 73. Orders a ſynod of the clergy to be ſummoned, to enquire into the ſtate of morality and religion, 74. Recalled to Normandy, 84. His diſpoſitions and grants in Ireland, 84, 85. Embarks at Wexford, 86. Treats with the legates, ibid. Threatens to return to Ireland, ibid. Is reconciled to pope Alexander, who confirms the grant of Ireland made by Adrian, 87. Eſtabliſhes the ſeveral branches of his family, 92. Excites the jealouſy and envy of his neighbours by that eſtabliſhment, ibid. And finds the exaltation of his ſons productive of a rebellion among them againſt himſelf, ibid. Surpriſed and alarmed at the behaviour of his eldeſt ſon, 93. Receives intelligence of new miſfortunes, ibid. Withdraws ſeveral of his garriſons from Ireland, 94. Summons earl Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, 95. Permits him to employ Raymond in any ſervice he ſhall deem neceſſary, ibid. Alarmed by the marriage of Hervey de Mountmorres, with a daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, 106. Diſpatches four commiſſioners to Dublin, to conduct Raymond to him, 107. Makes a generous obſervation on the burning of Limerick by the perfidy of O'Brien, 111. Makes a formal and ſolemn appointment of his ſon John to the lordſhip of Ireland, 128. Declines the pope's offer to crown him king of Ireland, 143. Sends him to his government with a conſiderable force and a magnificent retinue, but without any additional titles or ceremonial, ibid. Dies at Chinon in France, 151.

——— III. ſends a remarkable letter to Geoffry de Mauriſco, juſticiary of Ireland, on his acceſſion, in anſwer to a petition to the throne for new graces, 198. Makes grants, 207. Receives an application from Fedlim, prince of Connaught, which ſurpriſes him, 209. Dreads the effects of

Richard Mariſhal's diſpoſitions, 211. Behaves with meanneſs on his death, 216. Receives a perſonal application from Fedlim, 219. Encourages him to expect a redreſs of all his wrongs, ibid. Requires all the toparchs who had ſubmitted, or were ſuppoſed to be well affected to him, to repair to his ſtandard with their forces, in order to aſſiſt him againſt the king of Scotland, 220. Obliged repeatedly to enforce the obſervance of the Engliſh laws, 223. Veſts his ſon, prince Edward, with the lordſhip of Ireland, 228. Makes the ſevereſt exactions, 232.

Henry IV. the effect of his acceſſion on Ireland, ii. 2. He receives the archbiſhops of Armagh and Dublin, deputed by an Iriſh parliament to repair to him, graciouſly, 3. Appoints his ſecond ſon, Thomas, duke of Lancaſter, vicegerent, ibid.

——— V. neglects Ireland on his acceſſion, ii. 9.

——— VI. the diſorders of Ireland increaſed on his acceſſion, ii. 18. He orders, by a ſpecial mandate, the earl of Ormond to appear before him without delay, 26. Is petitioned to remove the earl from his government, 27. Complies with the petition, ibid.

——— VII. finds his Iriſh ſubjects very much diſpleaſed with him on his acceſſion, ii. 70. Alarmed with imperfect rumours of ſome plots ſecretly ripening to execution, 73. Apprehends ſome ſecret plots in Ireland, 74. Summons the earl of Kildare to repair to him, ibid. Engages the rebels headed by Lambert Simnel, near Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, 84. Defeats them, and takes Simnel priſoner, 85. Acts with apparent lenity and real policy, 87. Diſmiſſes the earl of Kildare, and other lords who attended him at Greenwich, with marks of favour, 90. Receives archbiſhop Walter in a favourable manner, 95. Confers with him on the ſtate of Ireland, ibid. Deſires his opinion of a foreign ambaſſador's very florid harangue, 96. Returns a laconic anſwer to his uncourtly reply, ibid. Turns his thoughts to the regulation of his dominions, and to the eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion in his family, 97. Permits the earl of Kildare to confront his adverſaries before him, 110. Becomes acquainted with his real character, ibid. Directs him to prepare for his defence, ibid. Finds the allegations againſt him dictated by private reſentment and factious malignity, ibid. Surpriſes his accuſers by a ſingular anſwer, 111.

——— VIII. neglects Ireland on his acceſſion, ii. 123. Courted by the two great rival monarchs, Francis I. and Charles V. 126. Receives a very extraordinary addreſs from an Iriſh ambaſſador while he is going to chapel, 133. Is ſeduced by the emperor to declare war againſt France, 135. Is enraged againſt the earl of Deſmond and his preſumptuous treaſon, ibid. Diſpatches orders for the ſeizure of the earl, ibid. Expoſes Ireland to all the evils of ſhort-lived, feeble, and diſorderly adminiſtrations, by being too attentive to the brilliant affairs of his reign, 136. Receives a ſtrong petition for redreſs againſt the earl of Kildare's irregularities, 141. Orders the earl to repair to him without delay, ibid. Becomes an inſtrument of Providence to introduce the firſt beginnings of the reformation in his kingdom, 156. Reſolves to gain a reception for the new doctrines in Ireland, 157. His royal commiſſion treated in Ireland with indifference and neglect, 161. Has the title of king of Ireland conferred on him by an Iriſh parliament, 178. Receives ſubmiſſions from the Iriſh and degenerate Engliſh lords, 180. Flattered by the appearance of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his new Iriſh ſubjects at the court of England, 182. Diſmiſſes them with ſtriking marks of his favour, 182, 183. Takes meaſures to ſecure their attachment, 183. Defects in his policy, and in his Iriſh adminiſtration, 184.

Hervey de Mountmorres, his character as a man and as a ſoldier, i. 94. He is inflamed with envy by the popularity of Raymond le Groſs, 95.

Heſcu'ph, governor of Dublin, eſcapes from thence while it is ſtormed, i. 48. Appears at the head of a conſiderable force, conſiſting of troops collected in the northern iſlands, 53. *Is defeated and taken priſoner*, 54. *Led to Dublin in triumph*, ibid. Executed, ibid.

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JAMES I. finds the popiſh party virulent in Ireland on his acceſſion, ii. 413. Orders an act of oblivion and indemnity to be publiſhed by proclamation, 416. Conſtitutes Mountjoy lord lieutenant of Ireland, ibid. Iſſues a *commiſſion of grace*, for ſecuring the ſubjects of Ireland againſt all claims of the crown, 419. Expreſſes a tenderneſs for the religious tenets of Rome, 420; but has a ſincere abhorrence for thoſe who taught the ſupreme authority of the pope, ibid. Commands the popiſh clergy of Ireland to depart within a limited time, 421. His ſtrong deſire to reform Ireland by the introduction of Engliſh law and civility, favoured by the temerity of the Northerns, 424. Takes a ſpeedy advantage of their precipitate flight from Ulſter, ib. Diſpatches judges into the counties of Tirone and Tirconnel, ibid. Iſſues a proclamation to juſtify his proceedings with regard to the earls of Tirone and Tirconnel, againſt the clamours of the popiſh agents, 425. Reſolves to diſpoſe of the lands in Ireland eſcheated to the crown, in ſuch a manner as to introduce all the happy conſequences of peace and cultivation, 429. Proceeds deliberately with regard to the intended plantation in Munſter, 430. Finds the advice of ſir Arthur Chicheſter upon that occaſion the moſt ſerviceable, ibid. Inſtitutes the order of baronets, 434. Makes proviſion for the corrections of ſome eccleſiaſtical abuſes, 436. For the inferior clergy, and for the univerſity, 437. Incorporates ſeveral of the towns in the northern counties, improved by plantation, ibid. Highly pleaſed with the adminiſtration of ſir

ArthurChicheſter, 438. Veſts him with the territory of Inniſhowen, ibid. Extremely diſguſted at the petition of the lords of the Pale, 444. Receives the complaints of the Iriſh agents with temper and attention, 452. Admits the recuſants to plead their cauſe before the council, 453. Finally pronounces their allegations groundleſs, ibid. Promotes doctor James Uſher to the ſee of Meath, 459. Reſolves to execute new plantation ſchemes, 460. Makes diſtributions of lands forfeited by rebellion, 461. Creates ſir Arthur Chicheſter, baron of Belfaſt, ibid. Recalls him to England, ibid. Appoints ſir Oliver St. John, his ſucceſſor, ibid. Creates him, by way of amends for the mortifications he has received in the execution of his office, an Iriſh and an Engliſh peer, makes him lord high treaſurer of Ireland, and privy counſellor of both kingdoms, 463. Gives a favourable reception to a project for the eſtabliſhment of an extenſive plantation in Connaught, 477. Reſolves to augment the forces of Ireland, 478. Dies, ibid.

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